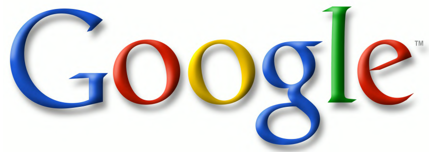

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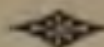

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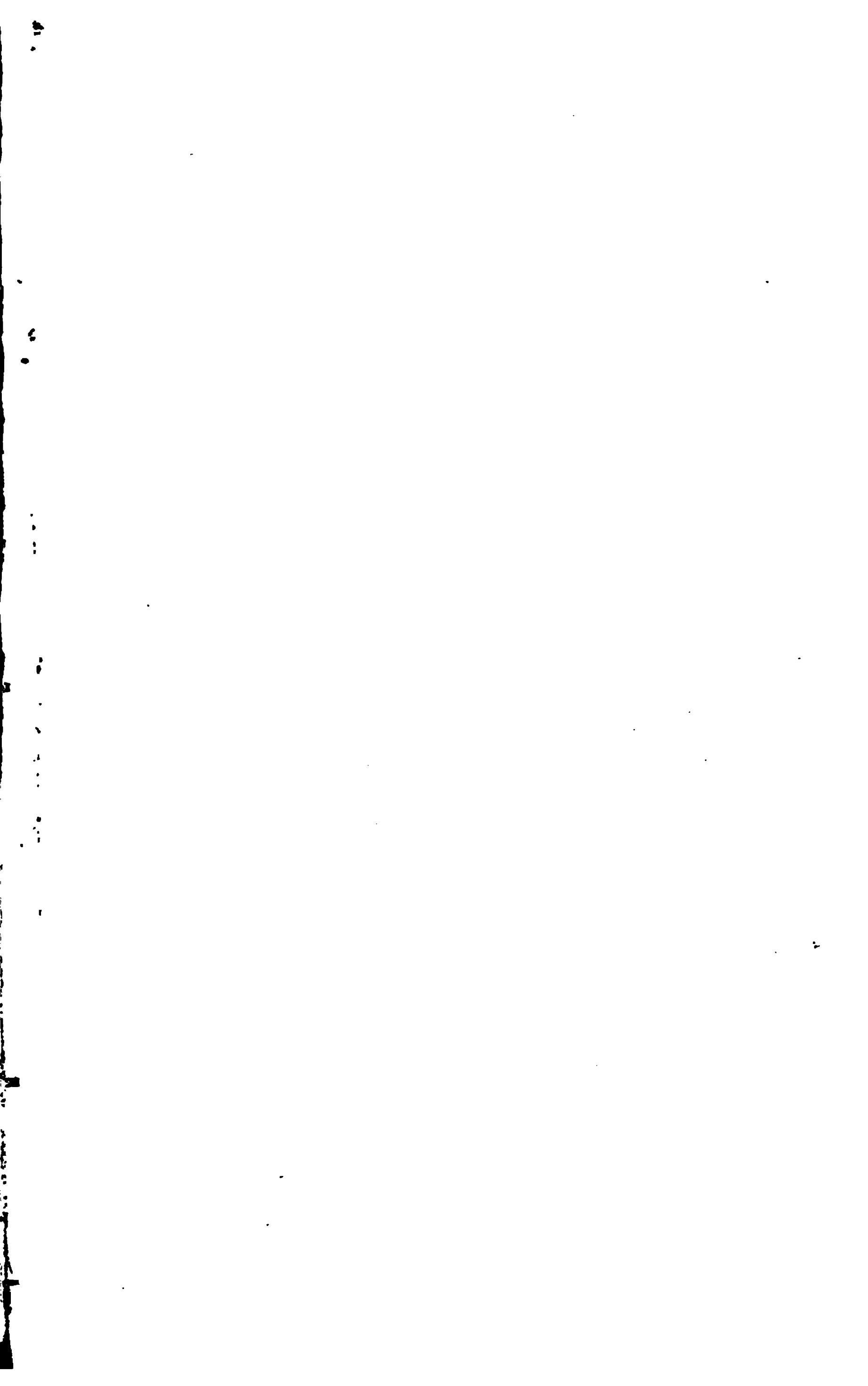

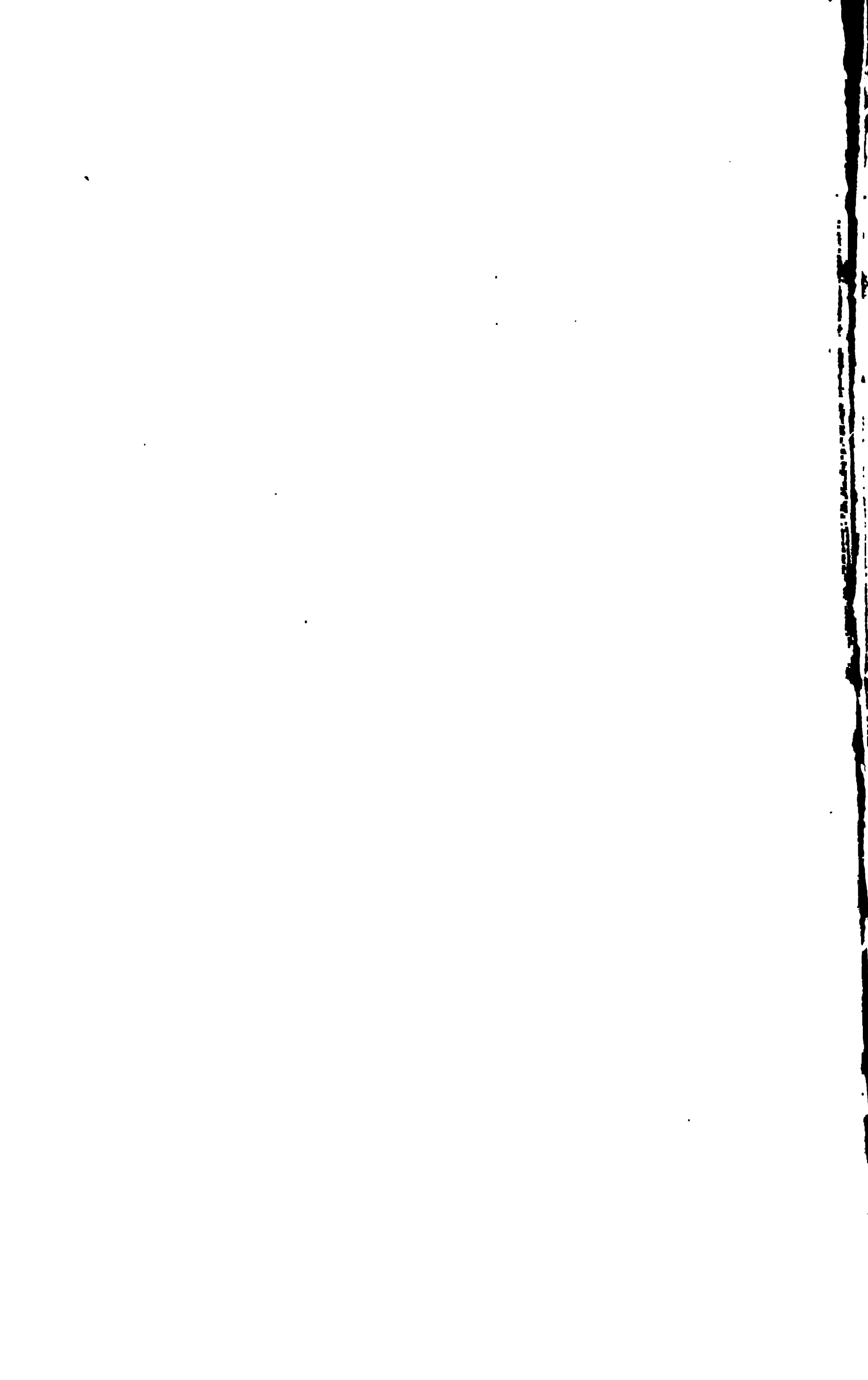

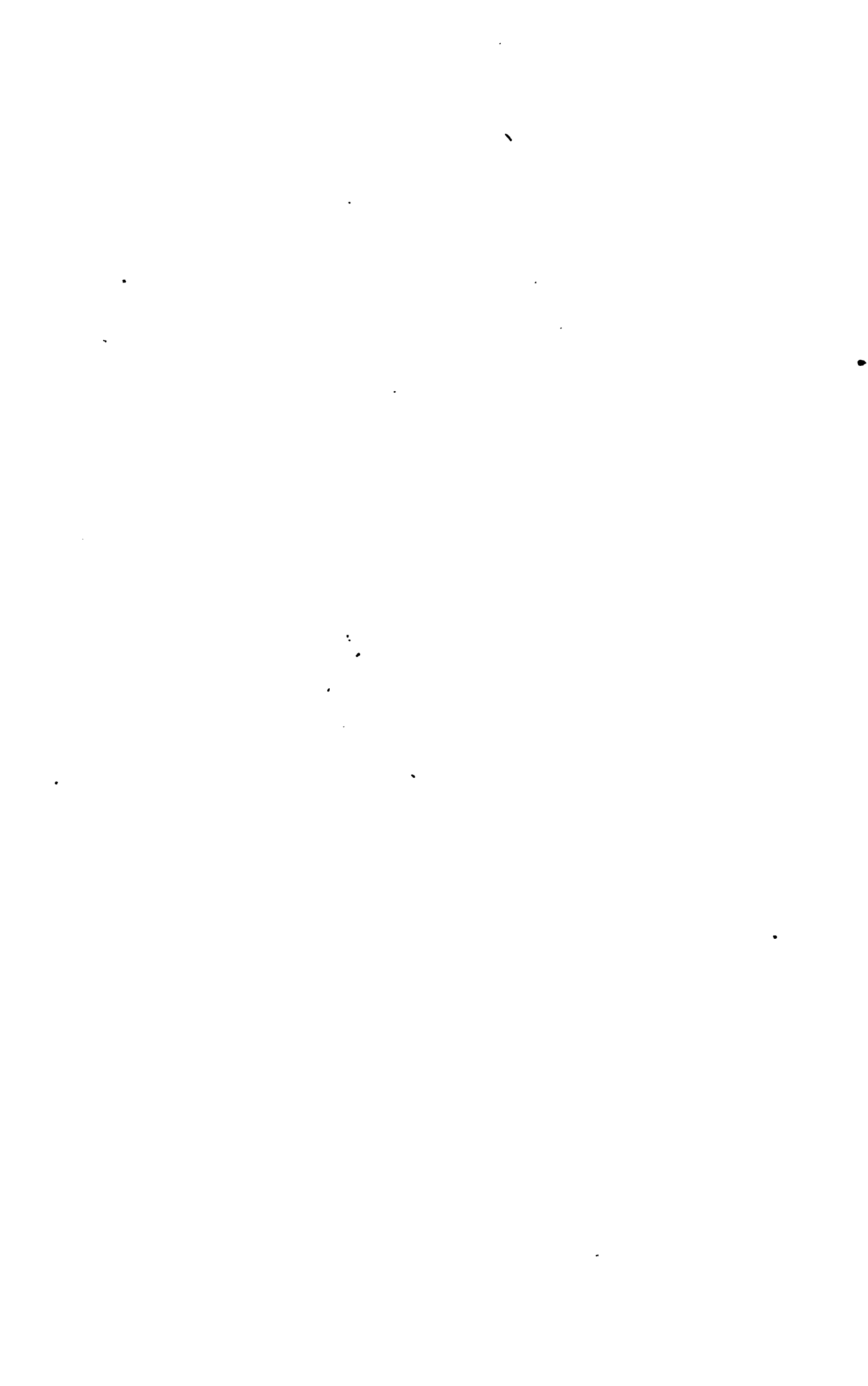

POLITICAL HISTORY

OF

RECENT TIMES

1816–1875

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GERMANY

BY

WILHELM MÜLLER

PROFESSOR IN TÜBINGEN

REVISED AND ENLARGED BY THE AUTHOR

Translated

WITH AN APPENDIX COVERING THE PERIOD FROM 1876 TO 1881

BY THE

REV. JOHN P. PETERS, PH.D.

NEW YORK

HARPER & BROTHERS, FRANKLIN SQUARE

1882

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PREFACE.

In presenting Professor Müller's "Politische Geschichte der Neuesten Zeit" to the public in an English dress, the translator, with Professor Müller's permission, has somewhat abridged the space allotted to Germany, and enlarged that allotted to England, while omitting the United States entirely. He has also accorded slightly fuller mention to one or two of the secondary States. These, and a few other insignificant changes, he has not thought it necessary to indicate in the text. The third edition of Professor Müller's work, from which this translation has been made, appeared in 1875. The translator has added several sections, bringing the history forward to the year 1882; in doing which he has relied for his materials almost exclusively (up to 1881) on Professor Müller's annual publication, "Politische Geschichte der Gegenwart"—the same method which Professor Müller himself pursued in writing the history of the period 1870–1875. It would, therefore, be unfair to make Professor Müller responsible for that portion of the work. The translator has used for the most part his materials, but followed his own discretion in the selection and mode of presentation.

The difficulty of composing an unbiassed record of the immediate past must be so manifest to all, that it is hardly necessary to ask the reader's indulgence for the shortcomings of the last period. Since the section on France was written, Gambetta, the "man of revenge," has fallen (January 26, 1882), substantially on the question of "Scrutin de liste," and been succeeded by de Freycinet, the man of peace, supported by Léon Say and Jules Ferry, thus reversing for the present French foreign policy. In other countries the outlook has not materially changed since the various sections went to press.

The publication of the official statistics of the Franco-Prussian war, however, necessitates a few changes in the numbers given on page 459. The total number of French officers who were made prisoners, laid down their arms, or were disarmed, was 21,508; of common soldiers, 702,343. The number of French officers taken as prisoners of war to Germany was 11,360; of common soldiers, 371,981. The number of cannon captured was 7441; of eagles and colors, 107.

I have endeavored to make the book useful for purposes of general reference by the addition of a general index, arranged as far as possible under general heads; a complete index of all persons mentioned; and an exact index of principal dates.

My thanks are due to the friends who have assisted me in various ways, and, above all, to President White (of Cornell University) and Professor Müller.

JOHN P. PETERS.

PREFATORY NOTE.

For many years — as Professor of Modern History, first at the State University of Michigan, afterward at Cornell University—I had been seeking a work which should give to thoughtful students a view, large but concise, of the political history of Continental Europe in the nineteenth century.

Such a work was needed by students preliminary to the lecture-room, and by the general public preparatory to reading the newspapers.

The search seemed hopeless. The number of historical works upon the period was immense, but there was nothing which answered the purpose; all were either lifeless compilations or extended treatises, giving a world of confusing incidents.

Occasionally I found a work which seemed likely to be useful; but if short, it was dry, and if long it wove about the subject a web of details which soon shut out any large general view. But at last I came upon the "Politische Geschichte der Neuesten Zeit," by Professor Wilhelm Müller, of Tübingen. The fact that it had run through several editions showed that it was appreciated in Germany; three readings of it satisfied me that it is what is needed in America.

The whole course of Continental history since 1815 is wisely divided into periods, and the development of each nation is kept distinct, yet easily brought into relations with that of every other; the events presented are those an American mainly cares to know, and unobscured by those he does not care to know. It is not an abridgment; it is a living history; the style is clear, the spirit manly and healthy.

Pervading the whole is faith in the existence of good on earth,

hope in well-ordered liberty; skepticism as to the efficiency of noise and political hysterics; contempt for sham statesmanship; hatred for selfish and stupid statesmanship, yet withal impartiality, though often the impartiality of a just judge reviewing careers and courses of scoundrelism.

I have succeeded in inducing a gentleman, whose ability gives every guarantee, to translate this book, and would most heartily commend it to every young man, whether he call himself a student or not, who desires a clear idea of that political development in modern Europe which has brought on the amazing events of these latter years.

To general readers it will give what they most wish to know; for students it will serve to bind together and bring into proper relations what they may secure by special studies.

ANDREW D. WHITE.

BERLIN, *July* 8, 1881.

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POLITICAL HISTORY

OF

RECENT TIMES.

FIRST PERIOD. 1816-1830.

POLICY OF THE RESTORATION.—STRUGGLES FOR A CONSTITUTION.—CONGRESSES.

§ 1.

GERMANY.—AUSTRIA.—PRUSSIA.

The battle of Waterloo had been fought. For the second time the Parisians had been compelled to see the victorious allies within their walls—for the second time peace had been dictated to them; and the man who had filled two decades with his military genius and his ambition, who, not content with the splendid crown of France, had stretched forth his insatiable hands after a continental empire, now lay condemned to powerlessness, on the rock of St. Helena. But at the very time when, to the relief of the Bourbons, the light of the great Corsican's life went out upon that world-renowned island, in both the Old World and the New, popular outbreaks against the restored princes and their mediæval governments flamed up like a monstrous funeral pyre, a clear sign, had one been needed, that the day of freedom had not broken with Napoleon's fall; that in his fall one insolent giant had but been replaced by a swarm of swaggering pygmies. Europe was indeed in need of peace after the enormous strain and excitement of so many years of war; but the peace with which the returning rulers blessed their people was such as to bring new convulsions on the weary region. From the mouth of the Tagus to the Neva

and the islands of the Grecian Archipelago all was effervescence and fermentation, and hot streams of national exasperation were poured upon those feudal dynasties which "had forgotten nothing and learned nothing." Promises on the part of the princes; unrestrained devotion and satisfaction on the part of the people; a call for constitutional freedom; open and secret reaction; revolutions in the south; intervention of the areopagus of princes; abrogation of popular rights: this is in brief the history of the years 1816–1830.

One might have believed that the sovereigns had no less an aim in mind than to give to the world a new Golden Age. For on September 26th, 1815, Alexander, Czar of Russia, Francis, Emperor of Austria, and Frederic William III., King of Prussia, issued a proclamation wherein they announced their firm resolve, from that time forth, to adopt the Christian religion alone as their standard; to rule wholly in accordance with Christian love and peace, as well within their respective states as in their intercourse with foreign governments; to afford one another assistance in all cases, and to regard themselves merely as the plenipotentiaries of Providence appointed to rule three branches of one and the same family. Within the next few years all European sovereigns, with the exception of the King of England, the Pope, and the Sultan, entered this holy alliance. It was essentially the work of Alexander, who was influenced by a certain religious enthusiast, Frau von Krüdener. It was during the summer of 1815, in Heilbronn, Heidelberg, and Paris, that she aroused him to the formation of such a league by personal exhortations, naming him, in contrast with the "black angel" Napoleon, the "white angel of peace" and the chosen of the Lord.

Alexander, with all his susceptibility to such influences, was unquestionably the most important and influential of the monarchs of that time; but his nature was not of a greatness calculated to carry out successfully and to the advantage of Europe the part which he felt himself called upon to play—the Napoleon of peace. Of a yielding disposition and excitable temperament, he was much inclined toward magnificent creations and political reforms, and readily inflamed with noble ambitions. He was full of general good intentions, but energy and perseverance failed him, formidable hinderances frightened him, new persons rendered him untrue to his former resolutions and principles; and hence he easily

gave the impression of an untrustworthy man. The brilliant successes of the last years of the war, the idolization he had met with in Paris, London, and Vienna, had changed his former modesty into inordinate self-esteem, and the pleasure with which he received the homage of princes and diplomats displayed a feminine vanity. Napoleon, in comparing the times of Tilsit and Erfurt with later years, found in him a "Byzantine Greek," and named him the "Talma of the North."

The judgment upon Alexander would have been a more favorable one, if it had not been that in all important questions another name was coupled with his—the name of a man who, more than he, was the true ruler of Europe. That man was Prince Metternich. From October 8th, 1809, until March 13th, 1848, he was minister of foreign affairs in Austria; and after 1821, when he celebrated his Italian triumphs, he also sustained the rank of chancellor. He was frivolous enough to wish, in the midst of entertainments and love affairs, to take into his hands the guidance of Europe. Not content to rule the motley empire of Austria after his very simple system, he wished to make Germany and Italy his prefectures, to treat the upward-striving Prussia as his vassal, and to take the lead everywhere. He knew how to conceal his limited knowledge by great versatility of expression in speech and on paper, to cloak his mean endowments as a statesman by a rigid adhesion to conservative principles. In the thirty-eight years of his ministerial activity he never and nowhere showed leading, creative thought; he worked everywhere merely for the law of inertia, of inactivity, and made himself at last so hated and despised that in 1848 a liberal minister, one of the so-called *March* ministers, was able to say, with universal assent, "I sum up the whole disgrace of the last decades in the name Metternich." Playing before princes "the submissive courtier, corrupting diplomats by his fine-gentleman bearing, confounding the ambassadors of the lesser states by condescension and princely splendor," he had exalted himself to a kind of oracle of whose title no one could give a satisfactory account. To carry conservatism to the point of absurdity and barbarous harshness, to forbid to the people all participation in the government, and reduce them to a tax-paying mass, to regard the princes not as the regents, but as the private possessors of their states, and to cause them to govern accordingly —these were the principles on which turned the whole political

wisdom of a man who, as Napoleon said, mistook intrigue for statesmanship.

How convenient for him must have been the phrases of the Holy Alliance, speaking to the nations like a second Gospel, proclaiming the infallibility of the princes, those "plenipotentiaries of Providence!" In regard to his own people, each sovereign was henceforth to wear in political matters the same halo as the Pope in matters spiritual, which, however, did not prevent the English diplomats from perpetrating their insular witticisms on the "triune monster" of the Eastern powers.

In his disinclination to allow his enjoyable life to be disturbed by political innovations, Metternich was in complete accord with his master, the "good" Emperor Francis. The latter enjoyed great popularity in Austria, and especially in Vienna. He passed there for a good-natured, benevolent monarch, who readily gave audience to each of his subjects, and entered into the details of their wishes; and he was master of the Austrian dialect in its broadest form. It was quite a different story when he saw his carefully hedged state threatened with innovations. "New ideas are being promulgated of which I cannot and will not approve. Abide by the old; for they are good, and our fathers have prospered under them—why should not we? I do not need savants, but brave citizens. It is your duty to educate the young to become such. He who serves me must learn what I command; he who cannot, or who comes to me with new ideas, can go, or I will dismiss him." With this address to the professors of the Laibach Lyceum, he openly announced himself an absolute governor whose nod was law. He was, furthermore, so impressed with the idea of unlimited authority that he accorded to no one a lasting influence, and least of all to those who had the best right to it. Distrustful of himself, he was more so of others—of each superior, powerful personage—a thing which the most deserving of his generals, Schwarzenberg and Radetzky, and the most distinguished of his brothers, the Grand-dukes Charles and John, were compelled to learn by bitter experience. Even the clergy did not attain under him the position of an independent power; they were the assistants of the Imperial power, but not its rivals. Metternich was able to retain his post for so long a time by the fact that, owing to the very formation of his mind, he did not interfere in the emperor's favorite department. The latter had no inclination but

for the minutiæ, the details of government; while the former showed a dislike for details, and did not busy himself with the actual administration.

Austria must make herself felt, not by her military strength, but through the skill of her diplomats and the omnipresence of her police and her spies. This was Metternich's chosen field, while the emperor found his pleasure in the details of the police system, which was developed under him into a system of espionage of the most unworthy sort. This was, however, admirably adapted to that patriarchal system in accordance with which the government, so far from denying its Oriental views, even dared to inculcate in its subjects the doctrine that the sovereign "has full power over their lives and property." No less care was exercised in shutting up Austria against other lands. The influx of foreign intellects and intellectual products was guarded against like the smuggling in of the cattle plague. Study in foreign universities was forbidden. The entrance into Austrian schools of foreign teachers, and of scholars over ten years of age, was forbidden, and even for younger children special permission had to be obtained. The imparting of private instruction was rendered very difficult, permission being granted by the police only under oppressive conditions, and, even then, revocable every six years. All political literature, as well as modern histories, was subjected to strict censorship, with a view to police prohibition. For Austria, the German movement in the province of philosophy and theology, the progress in history and the natural sciences, did not exist. What was there permitted and pursued was the study of Oriental languages and literature, a little poetry, and by preference music, in order to charm the excited spirits into a soft world of sense, and to rock the empire into an Epimenidean sleep of years. And as for popular instruction, scarcely three-fifths of the children of school age attended school, and those who attended were, with their teachers, confined to a mechanical drill from which the *why* and *wherefore* were carefully excluded. The object was not to produce savants, but subjects and officials trained to blind obedience. For this purpose no guard and overseer could be more effective than the clergy. Upon their religious certificate depended every advance in the gymnasiums and universities, and confession was exacted from teachers and scholars six times yearly. It will readily be understood that the Protes-

tants were much oppressed—hardly tolerated. Upon purchasing a house—upon assuming a trade—they were obliged to apply for a dispensation. To enter the military academy in Vienna-Neustadt they must abjure their religion.

As to material interests the situation was not much better. There was scarcely a country in which business and industry were at so low an ebb as in Austria. Almost nothing had been done to unfetter the land and establish better relations between the tillers of the soil and its owners; and rich Austria, which under favorable agricultural laws and business conditions could have earned an enormous income from its grain export, produced scarcely enough for its own needs. The favorable situation on the Adriatic Sea, with the ports of Venice and Trieste, was sadly misused; the development of a prosperous merchant marine was hindered; and a good navy was looked upon as useless furniture, so that merchants were compelled to place their ships under the protection of the Turkish fleet against the insolence of the Barbary States. It was with a doubtful pride that the authorities could point to their German Austria as the land where, rather than in Italy, Spain, Germany, or France, the "old Europe" was still to be found.

In its internal political development, also, Austria sought to remain as far behind as possible. In the year 1816 and the following years, in order to satisfy in some measure the requirements of the Act of Confederation, parliamentary representation had been introduced into the Germano-Slavonic provinces, or been re-established there. Since, however, the powers of these assemblies, of which the nobles and clergy had complete control, and which often began and ended on the same day, were limited to the granting of taxes and raising of recruits, they soon sunk to a mere formality —to expensive "farces," as Stein said—which might just as well have been replaced by any sort of decree-issuing machine. The nobility, which was without education or patriotism, leading, according to the expression of one of its members, a "polypus" life, had neither the will nor the ability to play a part in politics; and the people, growing up in uncertain striving for their daily bread, or sunk in sybaritic indulgence, had no inclination for public affairs. Yet, even in Austria, the time could not pass wholly without a *memento mori*. The emperor and his Metternich had succeeded in lulling all the German provinces to sleep, in taming

the obstinate Diet, and in leading back student-like South Germany to a quiet, tradesmanlike state of being; but the Hungarian heath, they found, nourishes wild and spirited steeds. For fourteen years the Hungarian *Reichstag*, which ought constitutionally to have assembled every three years, was not called together; and, spite of all opposition, government business was conducted by commissioners and soldiers, who impressed recruits and collected the taxes. But though the Hungarians bent before superior force, they still abode by their protest. At last, too, the arrears of taxes reached a serious figure. At the very same time—it was in the year 1825—there was every reason for not pushing affairs to an extreme, for in consequence of the Grecian war of independence there was fear of a war between Russia and Turkey, and hence of complications on the lower Danube. Unless the object were to bring about an open revolt in Hungary, the dissatisfaction could not be allowed to increase further. So Metternich himself advised giving way, and the Hungarian *Reichstag* was opened in Presburg in September, 1825. Here bitter complaints about the policy of the Hapsburgs—their inclination toward absolutism, their disregard of constitutional rights—soon found expression; and when the emperor spoke of the "mad endeavors of innovators and of punishment of the disobedient," he was compelled, in order to check the excitement caused thereby, to interpret his "misunderstood words" into a recognition of the rights of the *Reichstag*. There the matter rested; and, after an existence of almost two years, the *Reichstag* separated without having effected much more than the sharper definition of its rights, and their definite recognition by the crown. The policy of suspense and passivity had gained the victory.

Another field of activity presented itself to Metternich in Germany. Here, owing to late events, several hundred independent states had been mediatized—absorbed in their neighbors—and a league of thirty-nine sovereign states founded. Great hopes attached themselves to this transformation. The need born of long oppression had once more given the name "father-land" a meaning—the exaltation and self-sacrifice of the war of freedom, the victory won by the common efforts of all German peoples, had awakened their national feeling and roused them to a consciousness of their natural union. Princely proclamations, ministerial explanations, and the judgment of the foremost patriots, all seem-

ed to show that the time had come for the formation of a united "father-land," strong without, free within. As to the details of the national structure there were differences of opinion.

The first thing to be considered was the interior structure of the individual states. From the Lake of Constance to the Baltic Sea resounded the demand for a constitution. Even the articles of confederation had been compelled to take notice of this, and in the 13th article was the following: "In all countries of the Confederation there will be [originally, "shall be"] a constitution with representation." In this, however, nothing was said about the *when* and *how*, and a broad field left to the ill-will of individual sovereigns. A beginning in the path of progress was made by Charles Augustus, Grand-duke of Saxe-Weimar, who had up to that time been known as the Mæcenas of Germany's greatest poets. In full harmony with the Estates of the land he granted, in May, 1816, a constitution, which contains all the essential points of modern state life—viz., representation of all citizens, right of voting taxes, freedom of the Press. But among all the north German princes he stood alone. In the north the aristocracy was still too powerful, and with too slight a comprehension of the times to yield any of its old privileges, or tolerate any other sort of representation of the estates than one in which there was no semblance of a proper representation of the middle and lower classes, one in which the different estates, still in part divided, debated as "little chambers," the nobles having the preponderance. Outside of Weimar there was not in all north Germany a constitution granting representation in which the people as such, and not the separate estates, were represented. In Saxony, Mecklenburg, Hanover, Brunswick, Oldenburg, the aristocratic system was in force as well after the Act of Confederation as before it.

The comical element among these mediæval forms was represented in the seventy-year-old Elector William I. of Hesse, who had been in banishment from 1806 to 1813, and who had been one of those whose lands were converted into the kingdom of Westphalia. Upon his return he struck out those years completely, and set everything so exactly upon the footing of the year 1806 that he even recalled to their former barracks the regiments furloughed in November of that year, and censured the commandant of Hanau because he had not delivered the quarter-

ly report of the fortress since that time. The soldiers once more wore cues and powder, the pensioned officials were reinstated, the new laws abolished, and the purchasers of the crown-lands disposed of by the Westphalian Government were compelled to restore the same without compensation; and yet he offered his people a constitution which was not among the worst, and which included representation of the whole people. Since, however, owing to his notorious avarice, he wished to have free scope in financial matters, would not consent to a separation of the public purse from his private one, and would grant no right to levy taxes, the negotiations miscarried, the delegates were sent home, and Hesse remained without a constitution.

Matters took another form in south Germany, where the princes, in order to amalgamate the old and the new parts of their lands, and to break the opposition of the mediatized nobles, took the lead in the introduction of liberal constitutions. They were led to this action furthermore by the consideration that through the means of liberal constitutions they could the more readily escape the ascendency and consequent oppression of the great powers; and they moved all the more emphatically upon the path of liberalism, since the reactionary system was in force with the great powers of Germany. So King Maximilian of Bavaria, in the year 1818, granted a constitution, which Stein greeted as a significant advance in the constitutional career. In August of that year Grand-duke Charles of Baden gave a still more liberal one, in order to outbid the hated Bavaria, which would fain round out its own dominions by the possession of the Maine and Tauber districts. In the following year, 1819, the contest over a constitution came to an end in Würtemberg. In that state King Frederic had taken the initiative, but had died during the conflicts that arose. His son William resumed the negotiations immediately upon his accession, and after a struggle of three years with the Estates, which showed no wisdom or enlightenment in the whole matter, agreed with them upon a constitution. This constitution was the more readily accepted, since at that time the storm of the diplomatic conference at Carlsbad threatened to break. In consequence of these precedents Hesse-Darmstadt was also forced to yield to the pressure of the people (December, 1820). In Nassau, after the death of the prince, the constitution given in 1814 was as far as possible neutralized by the bureau-

cratic minister Marschall. It was not until 1818 that the first parliament (which, by the way, Stein was obliged to leave), was opened.

Before the ill-will and the illegal measures of the east and north, the aspirations after freedom had taken refuge in the south German chambers, and had there made themselves a place. The question was, whether the position could be maintained, whether new alliances could not be formed, whether Prussia could not be drawn into the liberal current. King Frederic William III. had, in his decree of May 22d, 1815, expressly promised a general representation of the people, and set the limit of time within which a commission of delegates and royal officials should meet to draw up a constitution. The time elapsed, but the commission was not called together, for the king was no longer in the hands of those who during the last three years had led him to victory. In political matters Frederic William III. proved himself a man of wavering and undecided character. He had no comprehension of the aspirations of a new period, but saw in each movement of the people, even though wholly intellectual, future revolution. He loved to bury himself in theological studies and fashions. He possessed all the virtues of a simple, honorable father of a family, but was not richly enough gifted for the government of a great kingdom; he felt no call to set himself at the head of the new Germany, to compel the second-rate German states—Bavaria, Saxony, etc.—into his orbit, and to leave Austria no other choice than either to abdicate in Germany, or to break completely with her former policy. Instead of this he gave himself up more and more to the extreme reactionary party, and sought the advice of his most pliant courtiers, such as Prince Wittgenstein. In his chancellor, von Hardenberg, he found a minister, but no character. Although Hardenberg was inclined toward a constitutional system, yet at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle he allowed himself to be brought over to the party of the Berlin nobles and the Austrian policy by Prince Metternich, who knew no more terrible spectre than a liberal Prussia. Under such conditions nothing else could be expected than that the king, out of good nature and thankfulness toward his self-sacrificing subjects, should promise a constitution, but that the fulfilment of his promise should be constantly postponed, and finally wholly abandoned. On this point Bishop Eylert expresses himself in the näivest manner in his defence of the the-

ological sovereign: "The king has acted like a wise father, who, touched by the devoted love of his children upon his birthday or his recovery from illness, is in a kindly humor, and consents to their wishes; but afterward, upon consideration, he modifies his assent, and asserts his natural authority."

Between the 22d of May and the 1st of September, the limit set for the meeting of the commission, appeared Privy-councillor Schmalz's denunciation. Although a brother-in-law of the noble Scharnhorst, this man in a badly-written pamphlet reproached the German patriots with revolutionary machinations, and attributed to them the most atrocious plans for the overthrow of all the existing states and the attainment of German unity. With these plans he connected the *Tugendbund* (league of virtue), to which in the time of need all the great men of Prussia had belonged. Enthusiasm and exalted sentiment on the part of the people, who had achieved so much in the war of freedom, he utterly denied. He ascribed all that had then been accomplished solely to the command of the king. His subjects simply yielded him a natural obedience, and hastened to arms, "as, at the alarm of fire, from the commonest feeling of civil duty, one hastens to help in extinguishing the conflagration." And this man and privy-councillor, over whose pamphlet the court and the whole noble party raised a cry of triumph, received from the king the red order of the eagle—from the same king from whose eyes tears had streamed when, in the spring of 1813, Scharnhorst led him to a window of the palace in Breslau, pointed out the troops of volunteers that were pouring in, and asked him whether he was now convinced that the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice of his people were real. A significant result of the bestowal of this order, which is to be regarded as the beginning of the reaction in Prussia, was that the constitutional commission was not summoned, and the project was postponed. It can readily be understood how stirred those men must have been who had raised Prussia out of her abasement to a noble height. Blücher stormed about "scoundrels" in his free-and-easy fashion. Gneisenau urged the chancellor, behind whose back the order had been granted, to protest against it while there was yet time.

If gray-haired men did not restrain their indignation, what was then to be expected of the young? They had founded the most ardent hopes on Prussia's pledge and on the opening of the Diet

—to be deceived in the latter case, as they had been in the former. The Austrian delegate, Count Buol-Schauenstein, opened the Diet at Frankfort, November 5th, 1816, with a *beautiful* speech full of promises, all of which were followed by no one satisfactory act; but, on the contrary, by such acts as called down the heartiest curses upon a system which spoke constantly of the exalted position of princes and of their rights, but never of the rights of the people. The first year of its activity soon showed that the Diet, itself still in the dark as to its own powers, was a dam against the liberal stream of the second decade; that at least in every question of importance, whether in the intellectual or material sphere, whether political or social, it would not agree with the popular sentiment. The postponement of decision in questions where the delegates had received no instructions recalled too vividly the *dolce far niente* of the old Ratisbon Diet. This lamentable condition of affairs was keenly felt, especially in student circles—in the newly founded *Burschenschaft* (students' league). At the general celebration of the German *Burschenschaft*, to which the branch in Jena invited the branches in the other institutions, this sentiment received expression in a way which in point of definiteness left nothing to be desired. The meeting took place October 18th, 1817, at the historically famous Wartburg, near Eisenach, and was to celebrate at the same time the battle of Leipzig and the jubilee of the Reformation. About 500 young men from all parts of Germany met together, and Professors Kieser, Fries, and Oken, from Jena, also took part. The whole character of the proceedings was earnest and religious; hymns were sung at the opening and the close; the addresses spoke of the disappointment of German hopes, of the political oasis of Weimar, of true endurance in the strife. Toward evening an afterpiece was enacted. A few students remained behind, and in memory of Luther's deed of December 10th, 1520, in token of "fierce hatred toward all rascals and knaves in the father-land," held a critical *auto-da-fé* of several "lampoons" in which absolutism was defended, and suspicion thrown on the call for constitutions. In addition to the insignia of a "slavish and unnatural time"—a periwig, a corporal's staff, and a pair of stays—the writings of *un-German* men—such as the pamphlet of Schmalz, the police codex of Kamptz, Kotzebue's "German History," and others—were, after an introductory address, cast into the fire.

Schmalz had already shown that Berlin privy-councillors were not to be trifled with. Privy-councillor von Kamptz wished to distinguish himself also, and, in his indignation at the slight that had been put upon his codex, composed a special address of expostulation, and wrote the Grand-duke of Weimar a shameless letter, full of reproaches for not keeping better order in his dominions. Pressure was exerted upon the liberal prince from all sides; it was not alone Austria and Prussia, even France and Russia sent notes, ambassadors, and spies to Weimar and Jena, in order to compel the grand-duke to take measures against the Press, the professors, and the students. Such a quadruple alliance could not be wholly without effect: the government was obliged to consent to a few repressive measures.

An article written by a young Moldavian bojar, Alexander Stourdza, added new material to the general agitation. At the command of Emperor Alexander, he had composed a memorial on the situation in Germany, which he presented to the princes and diplomats assembled at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in the autumn of 1818. The immediate cause of this congress was the relation of the four great powers to France; it was to consider the proposal to make an end of the occupation at once, after three years instead of after five, and to withdraw the foreign troops from French barracks. But such a convenient opportunity of having the leading members of the Holy Alliance together could not be allowed to pass without considering European politics in general, *i. e.*, affairs in Germany, and we have already seen how Metternich made use of Hardenberg's presence to bring him to book about his Prussian constitution. In such circles Stourdza's memorial, which held before the princes the Gorgon-head of a German revolution in case the strongest measures were not adopted against the Press and the universities, was a welcome novelty. They decided to carry out Stourdza's proposition, but for this purpose they preferred to assemble a purely German congress, to which the other German states should also be invited, not an international one; and so they separated, to meet the next year in Carlsbad. In the following year the diplomats had already prepared to make a journey to the Bohemian health resort, when news reached them than which nothing could have been more acceptable.

Stourdza's article, which was nothing else than the open inter-

ference of Russia, still further increased the excitement in Germany. The young men in Jena gnashed their teeth with rage. Two students of the place, Counts Bochholz and Keller, challenged the bojar as the enemy of the German youth. The latter now found the climate of Weimar too sultry for his health, exchanged it for Dresden, and declared that he was not really the composer of the article; he had thought it, written it, and completed it at Alexander's command. After this modest acknowledgment the students replied that they could not, of course, demand further satisfaction from a "writing and acting machine." But a new opponent appeared upon the board. In the summer of 1817 the Russian Government had sent State-councillor Augustus von Kotzebue to Weimar, in order to obtain regular information regarding the spirit and doings of the liberal party. Already ill thought of as the author of several frivolous writings, this Russian spy, who published a periodical, the *Literary Weekly*, drew general hatred upon himself by his attacks upon the men and principles of the national party, by the raillery which he showered upon the political students, and, finally, by his open approval of Stourdza's article. Then Professor Luden, of Jena, succeeded in getting possession of one of Kotzebue's despatches to the Russian Government, which he printed without delay in his journal, *Nemesis*. The consequences were a suit on Kotzebue's part, and a Russian note about the "insolence of the Press in Weimar," but at the same time a publicity unwelcome to Kotzebue. All eyes were now turned on him; in him were hated reaction, the interference of foreign powers, treason against the most sacred sentiments. The question was asked, whether for one month a German spy would dare to do in France or Russia what this German-Russian had been doing with impunity for more than a year in the very heart of Germany, under the eyes of the grand-duke, in the immediate neighborhood of the excited *Burschenschaft* in Jena. Men recalled the deed of the eighteen-year-old Frederic Staps, of Naumburg—how at Schönbrunn, October 12th, 1809, after Austria's overthrow, he made an attempt upon Napoleon, in whom he saw the Attila of Germany. And were the purposes of the reactionary governments, those "plenipotentiaries of Providence," of men like Kotzebue, Kamptz, Schmalz, and the like, toward the people one jot better? Kotzebue had won his suit against one Nemesis, would he also win it against the other?

A special branch of the *Burschenschaft* was the society of the "Uncompromising," whose members sought to carry out uncompromisingly whatever they recognized as true and right. To this belonged Charles Sand, of Wunsiedel, an honest, morally irreproachable young man; a zealous but not prominent member of the league, inclined to religious enthusiasm, and of a brooding disposition withal. The two brothers Follenius, one of whom was *privat-docent* at Jena, and the soul of the society, exerted a decided influence over him. It had become his fixed idea that something great must be done, if the father-land were not to go to pieces; and it became daily clearer to him that this must be wrought by him, that he must give himself as an offering for the father-land. Kotzebue appeared to him the person most worthy of hatred, the one who had done the greatest injury to the aspiring freedom of Germany. He, the spy, the traitor, the frivolous mocker, the personification of servility and every tendency hostile to the rights of the people, appeared to him the fittest victim for the goddess of revenge—to be forfeit to the vehmic tribunal of the people. His resolve was taken. He had earlier felt the strength within him, had occasion offered, to raise his hand against Napoleon's life, and he had not in the mean time grown weaker.

Without giving any one the slightest indication of his intentions, he travelled in March, 1819, from Jena to Mannheim, where Kotzebue had been living since the end of the previous year, further residence in Weimar having become quite impossible. Sand reached Mannheim at ten o'clock in the morning of March 23d, presented himself at Kotzebue's house about eleven, and made an appointment to come between four and five in the afternoon. He returned punctually, and was ushered into a room. Kotzebue appeared shortly. The first salutations had hardly been exchanged, when, with the cry, "Take that, thou traitor to the father-land!" Sand thrust a dagger into his heart, following this by two thrusts more. Then he stabbed himself in the breast, ran down the stairs, shouted to the passers-by, "Long live my German father-land!" knelt down and thrust the knife a second time into his breast, with the words: "I thank thee, God, for this victory!" Taken in charge by the watch, who had been summoned to the spot, he was carried to a hospital and soon afterward to prison. There he recovered from his wounds, and was subjected to a searching examination. But diligently as they sought to discov-

er a far-reaching conspiracy—of at least 300 young men, as in the case of Mucius Scævola—no trace was found of complicity or cognizance on the part of any one. They had to content themselves with the blood of this one theological student. May 20th, 1820, Sand, who gloried in his deed to the last, was beheaded in Mannheim—admired by many, pitied by still more, hated by but few. He had done a deed of which Görres, at that time still liberal, said that though disapproved of by all Germany, its motives were approved. In two ways it was a political error: the reaction, which he imagined he could combat and destroy, was not to be checked by the death of a single man, whoever he might be, it was in fact strengthened and encouraged to more vehement assaults; and even if it could have been overcome by the downfall of a single individual, that individual was in any case not Kotzebue, but was to be sought for in a quite different quarter. The exact opposite of that which Sand had designed came to pass. And when in Schwalbach, soon after his attempt, July 1st, 1819, a young apothecary, Charles Löhning, attempted to assassinate State-councillor von Ibell, one of the principal tools of the reaction in Nassau, it was merely pouring oil upon the flames.

At that very time William von Humboldt was busy draughting a constitution for Prussia, regarding which he was in consultation with Stein, both by letter and by word of mouth. Then the news of Kotzebue's assassination reached Berlin. "Now the constitution is impossible," were Hardenberg's first words. The king ordered funeral honors to the murdered man. The harvest of the Berlin privy-councillors was ripe. Metternich did not cease harping on the two assassinations and the bugbear of the revolution, until he completely drove all idea of a constitution out of the Prussian king's mind, influenced him to a common campaign against constitutional governments, and excited him against all prominent men of the national party. By this Metternich gained further a special advantage for Austria. In assigning to Prussia the principal rôle in the persecution of the "demagogues"—in torpid Austria there were no "demagogues" to molest—he compelled her to lose the position of preference which she had hitherto enjoyed in public opinion.

Blow followed blow. In July, 1819, the places for gymnastic exercise were closed. Jahn, torn from his dying child, was sent to Spandau, later to Küstrin; the three Bonn professors—Arndt

and the brothers Welker — were imprisoned, and their papers seized. Many other arrests of teachers and students took place. In Berlin a committee of investigation was formed, to which Prince Wittgenstein, the reactionary minister of the palace, and Privy-councillor Kamptz belonged. This was followed by the Carlsbad decrees. August 6th, 1819, the congress of ministers was opened in Carlsbad. At this, besides Austria and Prussia, eight inferior states were represented, according to invitation. Metternich presided, and the Austrian court-councillor, von Gentz, draughted the protocol. He was a talented man, skilful with tongue and pen; earlier inclined to liberal views, he had later, in order the better to indulge his love of pleasure, entered the service of Metternich, who used him to draught protocols at most of the congresses, to write newspaper articles, and the like. What Gentz thought of his own and his master's system is shown by a saying of his shortly before his death, in 1832: "It still bears under Metternich and me." From such leaders nothing else was to be expected than that which actually occurred. The resolutions concerned principally five points: the freedom of the Press was restricted by censorship; a central commission was established at Mayence for the investigation of demagogical intrigues; the *Burschenschaft*, together with its gymnastic institutions, was forbidden; the universities were placed under the inspection of government deputies (curatores); and, finally, it was decided that all German governments must submit to the conclusions of the Diet. These Carlsbad decrees were only to take effect in case they were confirmed by the Diet of the confederation in Frankfort. That body, in general so inactive, very readily adopted them in its sitting of September 20th, 1819, sanctioning them at the outset for five years, a limit which was constantly extended. And yet this was not enough! In order utterly to destroy the last bulwark of freedom—the south German representant constitutions—to change them into old-fashioned, harmless representations of the estates, and to do away with the publicity of their meetings, new conferences of ministers were opened in Vienna, November 25th. The conclusions reached by them, May 16th, 1820, were confirmed by the diet of the confederation on June 8th, under the name of the "Vienna *Schlussakte*," and received among the fundamental laws of the German confederation. It is true that the measures intended to affect the character of the south

German parliaments could not be carried through on account of the resistance of Bavaria and Würtemberg; yet the relation of the individual governments to the confederation had entirely changed. Those who drew up the Act of Confederation at the Congress of Vienna had directed their efforts toward giving the confederation as little power, and the individual governments as much power as possible; and had meant in any case to leave the latter free and sovereign jurisdiction over their own internal affairs. But the situation had been changed by the various alliances, congresses, and conferences. The diet of the confederation was now armed with supreme power in all questions external and internal; the individual governments, on the other hand, had to follow without variation the tune set at Frankfort; and, as Austria and Prussia gave the key-note there, the sovereignty of the lesser princes soon appeared to be in a very critical condition, and foreseeing rulers were already forced to reconcile themselves to the thought of mediatization.

But even Prussia did not stand as peer by the side of overbearing Austria. Many a noble heart felt itself deeply stirred on seeing the country of Frederic the Great degraded into a vassal of the Hapsburgs and a subordinate of Metternich. There were still sober, intelligent men in the ministry, who wished to throw aside the Carlsbad decrees, indict the minister of foreign affairs for his part in them, and under a liberal banner make head against reactionary Austria. But the king did not support them, and so William von Humboldt, von Boyen, the minister of war, and von Beyme, high chancellor, were compelled to hand in their resignations, and leave the field to Wittgenstein and Kamptz. Thereupon the Prussian government adopted the sternest measures of censorship. The Carlsbad decrees were insultingly promulgated upon the 18th of October, the anniversary of the Wartburg festival. Measures were also taken against the professors. De Wette, professor of theology in Berlin, had written Sand's mother a consolatory letter, in which he spoke of her son's deed, in so far as its subjective motives were concerned, as a beautiful sign of the times; for this he was deprived of his position, and had finally to remove to Basle. Görres, who, in the year 1819, had escaped arrest by flight, also lost his place. Arndt remained suspended, and only received his papers and letters twenty years later from the government of Frederic William IV. Jahn was acquit-

ted after several years' detention, but placed under police supervision. At the same time, the ministry commenced a campaign against red-black-gold pipe-heads, tassels, and ribbons; busied itself for weeks with the form of students' caps and coats; made the clergy police servants by virtue of their office; and in a cabinet order of the year 1821 actually forbade the ambiguous, revolutionary-sounding names, "Protestant" and "Protestantism." The censors could no longer allow those words to stand in any publication, but were obliged to substitute "evangelical." The question of a constitution was settled by one quick stroke. Instead of a representation of the whole country, provincial parliaments were instituted by a royal patent of June 5th, 1823. These had merely an advisory voice, and could only advise when the ministers asked their advice. They were to discuss merely the affairs of their respective provinces, not of the whole kingdom, and were so composed that the aristocratic element had a great preponderance. In this way, it was claimed, Article 13 of the Act of Confederation was fully carried out. If a proof were still needed that Germany is not the home of revolution, one might surely bring forward the fact that such an unheard-of breach of trust had been committed against the German people—in other states as well as in Prussia—and yet the people had let it pass.

Prussia had cast herself unreservedly into the arms of Metternich's system; but south Germany, with its representative constitutions, was more coy. King William of Würtemberg was the soul of the opposition. In the prime of his manhood, heartily concerned for the welfare of his people, accessible to the influences of modern thought and feeling, he would not be dictated to in the government of his land. He was by nature too much of a soldier to become the prefect of the government offices at Frankfort. This effort was to influence the smaller states to enter into a political and military alliance, in order to deprive the great powers of their preponderance and hold the balance against them. But in view of the position of north Germany, and the perpetual jealousies of the various governments, this was almost an impossibility. Yet for a long time he maintained the unequal strife, in which he was ably supported by his delegate to the Diet, the keen and critical Baron von Wangenheim. Both were determined opponents of the whole system of the Vienna and Carlsbad congresses. To avert the threatened evil, King William applied per-

sonally to his brother-in-law, Czar Alexander. He also appealed to England, which had defended the cause of freedom in the European congresses, and whose sovereign had hence passed in the eyes of Prussia and Austria for a crowned Jacobin, his land, like Spain, for a hot-bed of revolution. When, in consequence of the resolutions adopted at the Congress of Verona, King William reproached the congressional powers with wishing to wield the same might "which Napoleon arrogated in Europe;" and when, in the diet of the confederation, Wangenheim assisted with all his eloquence the gentry and prelates of Holstein, who were there to accuse the King of Denmark of infringement of the constitution, and even proposed that a definite short period should be assigned for the introduction of the promised constitution—Austria wishing to see the accusers repulsed and referred to the good-will of the Danish king—Metternich's patience was exhausted. He denounced Wangenheim as a foe of Austria's German policy, even of the Holy Alliance itself, and demanded his recall. As this demand was not at once acceded to, the Austrian ambassador left Stuttgart, and the Prussian and Russian ambassadors followed his example. Without the support of the south German states, nothing was left for Würtemberg, as a small state, but to yield. King William wrote penitential letters to his brother-in-law, to Francis, and to Frederic William, and recalled Wangenheim from Frankfort. In the following summer (1824) he sent his minister, Waucler, to Johannisberg. Metternich was there holding a court of princes and diplomats, and revelling in the thought that the Diet had been purified by the removal of all liberal delegates, and restored to its primary intention—according to which it was to be a "permanent congress of ministers," an "international union of sovereign princes," a mere princes' council "at whose purely diplomatic transactions the princes alone should represent their subjects, since the latter ought to stand in no closer political connection with the confederation than with any foreign land." So the Diet had become a holy alliance in miniature, a simple tool of Prince Metternich, who openly announced, as the principle of his policy, "that at no point in Europe must the *status quo* be disturbed, and that divinely appointed majesty, protected by religion and historical right, must be defended at any price against the assaults of innovators." Here was proclaimed in the most absolute and objectionable manner the principle of intervention.

And Metternich's protégés, such as Charles of Brunswick and the blood-thirsty Miguel of Portugal, were certainly pretty specimens of a "divinely appointed majesty."

Metternich now had an easy game in Germany. His proposal to prolong the Carlsbad resolutions was accepted by the diet of the confederation (1824), and the Mayence commission of investigation was lucky enough to discover a revolutionary league of youths and men who wished to establish a German republic, or to erect again the German empire under William of Würtemberg. After this the hated commission pursued its work more industriously than ever, and was supported therein by Prussia in a way than which nothing could be more acceptable to Austria. Enthusiastic youths were sentenced to terms of imprisonment from thirteen to fifteen years! These revolutionary associations were the natural consequences of the Carlsbad decrees, and their prosecution and punishment was a new sowing of the dragon's teeth. In south Germany there were also disturbances bearing the stamp of the new regime. In Baden the new grand-duke appeared to be working directly for the subversion of the constitution. He would allow no interference in military matters, and, in defiance of the Chambers, allowed himself many liberties with the constitution. In Bavaria, under Maximilian, the government had carried things to a point where the people patiently endured everything. A new era appeared to have commenced after his death, when his son Louis mounted the throne. Like his neighbor in Würtemberg, at the time of the Confederation of the Rhine he had been the exact opposite of his father. He had shown everywhere genuine German sympathies; had associated in old German costume with the artists in Italy as one of themselves; had drunk to the unity of Germany; had sung a merry good-luck to the revolted Greeks (1821), "spite of the great ones of the earth, and the raging of all hell." As an art-loving prince, he strove to render Munich a metropolis of art and science. In 1826 he transferred the university from Landshut to the capital, and called thither famous men, like Schelling, Schubert, Oken, and Görres. But, as might have been expected, this rage for reforms and new institutions soon fell lame. Side by side with the splendor of the colleges and academies was experienced an enormous degeneration of the public schools, and little money was to be had for the repair of roads and other means of communication. Louis was

too much of a romanticist to take pleasure in actual governing; and his ministers, who were in dangerous alliance with the clergy, readily took the burden from him, in order to guide the car of state after the old system.

In literature, as in politics, the two opposing principles made themselves felt. Upon the one side stood romanticism with its mediæval forms and cloudy images. At first in league with the advocates of freedom, after the conquest of the external foe, it drew ever nearer and nearer to political reaction. The formerly honored Görres went over to it openly, and wrote indigestible books in behalf of romanticism and mysticism; while Arndt and Jahn, with whom he had for a time formed a triumvirate, withdrew from the public stage. The most extreme men of this school, among whom were Gentz and Frederic Schlegel, defended aristocracy and the theory of the "grace of God" to their ultimate consequences. In matters of religion they accepted domineering and unctious ultramontanism and pietism. They helped the King of Prussia to carry into effect the union of Lutheranism and Calvinism, a part of which was the *agende* (liturgy) drawn up by himself in conjunction with Bishop Eylert. Against this theological production the opposition of the theologian Schleiermacher, who was constantly wavering between orthodoxy and rationalism, availed nothing. Opposed to romanticism stood liberalism, which, presenting itself in religion as rationalism, in poetry as young Germany, battled against outlived conditions and beliefs. The abandonment of the irrational hatred of France, which dated from the revolution and the times of Napoleon, belonged to this tendency. Men would no longer blind themselves to the good resulting from that period—the idea of political equality, and the rest. Charles Rottek, professor of history and political science in Freiburg, and one of the most prominent men in the Baden Chambers, worked in the service of liberalism as an historian. By his history of the world, spread abroad in thousands of copies, bearing on every page the stamp of a liberal man, he had in spite, or perhaps on account of his one-sidedness, more effect in awakening political consciousness than any other historian, even than one so much his superior as Schlosser.

It should be added that at Berlin, the very focus of mysticism, the philosophy of Hegel was widely diffused. By its fundamental principle that reason is the only source of knowledge, and that

nothing can avoid its criticism, it set itself in open opposition to pietism, which, averse to all free inquiry, sought to forge unendurable fetters for the new age. Much as Hegel sought to remain at peace with the powers that were, his system was, nevertheless, of a sort which must necessarily break the way to a freer political development. This was especially shown in the forties, when his disciples overcame the clumsy presentation of their master—obtaining thereby great influence over society—and from the premises of their fundamental principles deduced in politics also the logical consequences.

Metternich had for a time taken pleasure in Heine, reading his witty, slippery poems with great delight. He hoped that the Germans would so bury themselves in poetry and science as to lose their taste for political promenades and rambles for a long time to come. There he was to find himself mistaken. Although he had succeeded in driving liberalism out of the field of active politics, of cabinets and congresses, it still worked in silence, constantly advancing, and counted the ablest minds among its followers.

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§ 2.

ITALY.—REVOLUTION IN NAPLES AND PIEDMONT.—CONGRESSES OF TROPPAU AND LAIBACH.

METTERNICH regarded Italy as well as Germany as his especial province. In fact, essentially similar conditions existed in both countries. Italy, like Germany, was a conglomerate of numerous separate, mutually independent states, whose princes, exceedingly jealous of one another, had estranged their people by their restoration policy. And the Italian princes, like the German, now had as colleague the Emperor of Austria. The latter, by the reacquisition of Milan and the occupation of Venice, had appropriated a choice morsel of the Napoleonic inheritance; moreover, he was determined to substitute his influence for that of France, and from upper Italy to rule the whole peninsula. In order to attain this end, Austria must spread the principles of the Holy Alliance, and here, as in Germany, carry on war against all aspirations after freedom, against the Press and against constitutions; she must repress

with all her power any longings after unity, leaving only that form of unity according to which all Italian states had to regard themselves as the vassals of Austria. But the question whether German long-suffering would spread its infection across the Alps, whether the inhabitants of Vesuvius would adapt themselves to the old feudal relations, as did the dwellers at Königstein and Brocken, still remained to be answered. Besides the readily inflammable temperament of the southerners, many things spoke against it. The transition from the French rule to that of the old dynasties was far sharper here than in Germany. There, in most of the states, the pre-existing governments had maintained themselves under Napoleon, whereas in Italy not a single sovereign had remained upon his throne; further, in Italy, as the result of the French Revolution, equality of all classes before the law, religious liberty, freedom in the tenure of property, and the prosecution of all industries, had been introduced everywhere; and the former deficient administration of justice had been remedied by the *Code Napoleon.* A multitude of abuses, the whole littleness of a system of miniature states, the unnatural oppression of an all-powerful hierarchy, had been done away with; and the returning royal families could not have done better than to retain the good of the French institutions, under which the majority of the people were prosperous, and upon this foundation build a popular structure. Instead of this, most of them acted like the Elector of Hesse; they struck a couple of decades out of their memories, connected themselves immediately with the old conditions, and at the most allowed such institutions to stand as lent more power and splendor to their authority. So of necessity dissatisfaction soon reached a high point.

There was no lack of organization among the different elements of opposition; for the league of the *Carbonari* (charcoal-burners), which had been for a long time spread over the whole peninsula, had definite political aims. Taking its rise in the eighteenth century from the freemasons, it had borrowed from them their different degrees, their ceremonies, and that mystery which exerts so powerful an attraction, especially upon the young. At the outset striving for enlightenment in opposition to ecclesiastical oppression, it soon, chiefly in consequence of the French Revolution, entered the field of politics and began to labor for freedom. It was disinclined toward the French rule as the rule

of strangers, and disappointed the expectations of Murat when, in 1815, he summoned all the peoples of the peninsula to the battle for Italy's independence and unity. It did nothing for him in the hope of better attaining its end with the Bourbons. The end sought was in reality the same thing which Murat had already proclaimed. As to the form of government to be set up, whether it should be a constitutional monarchy or a republic, the opinions of the *Carbonari* differed widely. In the year 1819 it was estimated that there were about 60,000 members in all Italy. Their head-quarters were at Naples. They constantly strove to strengthen themselves while awaiting from France the signal to strike.

The *Carbonari* had a favorable field in the States of the Church. There, upon the return of the captive Pope, Pius VII. (1814), everything was placed once more on the old footing, and unbounded claims set up. It was not enough to demand back all the parts of the former States of the Church; Pius even believed that, without degenerating into the comic, he could advance the claim that the old Holy Roman Empire, with all its filigree work, be restored; that the ecclesiastical states be re-established in Germany, and that secularized church property be given back. One might have believed himself transported into the times of the Augsburg Interim and the Edict of Restitution on hearing in the nineteenth century such pretensions on the part of a state that could not go without crutches. Hand-in-hand with such assumptions went the equipment of a complete establishment to combat heresy.[1] The inquisition was restored, and in 1816 the inquisitor of Ravenna condemned to death a Jew who had apostatized after conversion. The congregation of the index of books to be prohibited assembled once more, and by way of prelude forbade all political writings. The miracle-working, eye-winking madonnas again gave audiences, and 2436 convents, whose support was a burden upon the state, were at once called into existence. By a decree of August 7th, 1815, the order of Jesus was reinstituted; and, despite all opposition on the part of the people, it forced its way once more into Spain, Switzerland, and Germany. Cardinal Pacca abolished the French institutions in a manner so sweeping and unreasoning that even vaccination and street-lamps were not excepted. All the higher positions in the administration and on the bench fell once more into the hands of prelates,

under whose rule begging and robbery increased alarmingly. Whole communities pursued highway-robbery as their profession, and once the names of fifty-seven men guilty of both robbery and murder were posted at the same time. Agriculture, commerce, and industry were neglected. The attempted remedies of the more liberal Cardinal Consalvi met with insuperable opposition from Pacca's party. In spite of this failure in the administration of its own country, the Curia sought to extend its government over other lands, and to this end concluded concordats with both Italian and foreign states. In Naples so many concessions were made to the clergy that they really formed a state within a state. It was not much better in the duchy of Modena, which, like Parma, lay wholly under Austrian influence. But while in Parma the Arch-duchess Marie Louise, Napoleon's wife (perhaps more correctly the Austrian general, Count Neipperg), ruled, relatively speaking, with the greatest possible mildness, Duke Francis of Modena found his pleasure in the most senseless, hardly endurable despotism. Grand-duke Ferdinand III. of Tuscany, following in the footsteps of his father Leopold, wielded the mildest and most enlightened sceptre. Bent upon making his capital, Florence, the centre of the intellectual movement, he strove for the greatest possible independence from Austria, and permitted the free introduction of foreign papers and books. Nevertheless, there, too, the French institutions, even the best of them, were done away with; but although they were replaced by the earlier institutions of Leopold, yet those were something much better than was to be found in the States of the Church, Naples, or Sardinia.

Austria sought to keep its subjects at Milan and Venice in good-humor by other means. The fostering and advancement of the material interests, and a well-administered government, were the principles of her rule; she also permitted the clergy and nobles no ascendency, and bestowed the offices, with the exception of the highest, on natives. But in both of the separately administered countries the *central congregations* were a poor substitute for a national representation; for their selection was wholly dependent upon the government, and their sphere of activity scarcely extended beyond the composition of petitions. In accordance with the wishes of the people, an archduke was appointed viceroy, and held his court in Milan. But the jealous emper-

or took care that it should not be one of the ablest of his brothers who filled this important position, and that he should be allowed no political influence. Archduke Rainer spent there thirty years of his life from 1818 on. On the other hand, here, as in the whole empire, the police system showed itself as powerful as hated. This was alone sufficient to cause all liberal and intelligent men to hold aloof from the administration, and left it in all local questions dependent upon unworthy subjects. If the lower classes and the peasants were content with their material circumstances, the entire cultivated portion of the population, already repelled by the difference of language, felt the oppression of a conquered province, and nourished no less hatred against Austria than formerly the states of the old Lombard League had cherished against the rule of the Ghibellines.

Austria had to fear nothing so much as that the other Italian states might yield to the pressure of the *Carbonari*, and grant representant constitutions, and, in general, more liberal institutions. In that case it was impossible that the "poison of freedom" should not penetrate into Milan and Venice as well, rendering the population still harder to control, and leaving the system of Metternich no other way to maintain itself than by a display of overwhelming military strength. In order to prevent this danger, Metternich concluded with Ferdinand IV. of Naples—who, after his return, had named himself Ferdinand I., King of the Two Sicilies—the secret treaty of June 12th, 1815, in which the latter bound himself to introduce no constitution into his land, to permit no institutions which were more liberal than those of Lombardy, to make those his example in everything, and, when possible, even to remain a couple of degrees below the Milan thermometer. Nothing was easier for the old king than to carry out these promises, as far as he was concerned. He was a weak, ignorant man, wholly dependent upon his surroundings, and bestowed most confidence upon the man who confirmed him most in his conviction of divine appointment, and supported him most in the practice of his absolutism. When he returned to Naples after the fall of Murat, he abolished everything pertaining to the French regime which was inconvenient to him, and proclaimed Naples and Sicily one kingdom, under the name of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Since one-half of his realms could not have a constitution and the other half none, a wished-for opportunity was afforded to repeal

the liberal Sicilian Constitution of 1812, granted under the commanding influence of Lord Bentinck, the English general, and to re-establish an unlimited monarchy. With the acceptance of the concordat, the whole school system was transferred to the control of the Jesuits, and set back a century. On the other hand, robbery prospered so well that in 1817 about 30,000 men pursued this profession, and the government found itself obliged to conclude formal treaties with the individual robber chiefs, in order to drive out the robbers by their chiefs—the devil by Beelzebub. But the most foolish thing, under the circumstances, was the introduction of dissatisfaction among the soldiers by the slights put upon Murat's officers, the contemptuous treatment of the army in general, and the insult to the national spirit in intrusting an Austrian general—Count Nugent—with the military organization. But, although every effort was made to keep liberals out of the army, the government always had to fall back on them at last, and set them in the highest places. One of the ablest of the liberal leaders—the Calabrian republican, William Pepe, who all his life had done nothing but plan conspiracies—was sent into the provinces to organize the militia. Pepe sought to make them not merely good soldiers, but also zealous *Carbonari*. All looked on him as the head of the conspiracy, which was already so widespread in the land that there was scarcely need of an occasion for outbreak. But occasion was not wanting. News came that a revolution had broken out in Spain, and that the king had been compelled to accept the constitution of 1812.

July 2d, 1820, Lieutenant Morelli, of the cavalry regiment Bourbon, stationed in the town of Nola, called upon his soldiers to endure no longer the disgrace of their country, but to imitate the example of the Spanish army. The soldiers shouted their assent, a part of the inhabitants joined them, and under the tri-colored banner of the *Carbonaria* (black, rose-color, and sky-blue) the crowd of soldiers, monks, and citizens moved toward Avellino. The colonel at that place—De Conciliis—joined Morelli, and caused the Spanish Constitution to be proclaimed, the militia streaming in from all sides. The procession at once set out for Naples. There the greatest confusion prevailed on the report of Morelli's revolt. Pepe, as the most popular man, was commissioned to suppress the insurrection; but out of distrust the commission was immediately revoked. Thereupon Pepe, with two regiments of cavalry

which had attached themselves to him, went over to the rebels at Avellino, and was placed by them at the head of the undertaking. On the evening of his departure five *Carbonari* appeared in the palace, and demanded in the name of the nation the proclamation of the constitution. King Ferdinand replied that in a week he would publish the principles of a constitution, and in the mean time named his eldest son, the Prince of Calabria, his vicegerent. But the trick was of no avail. On the following day, July 7th, the prince was compelled to proclaim the Spanish constitution, and on the same evening the king ratified it. Thereupon Pepe presented his conditions: he demanded of the king a formal oath to the constitution, the establishment of a junta of fifteen persons to prepare for the introduction of the constitution, and, as security for the fulfilment of the royal promises, his own appointment as commander-in-chief of the whole army. Everything had to be granted. On July 9th, at the head of the revolted troops and a vast concourse of people, William Pepe made his entrance into Naples, while the Prince of Calabria, his brother, the Prince of Salerno, and the whole court, decked with the colors of the *Carbonari*, appeared on the balcony of the palace. The king was sick abed with vexation and distress, and hoped, under pretence of sickness, to escape the oath. But on July 13th he was compelled to swear to the constitution upon the Bible before a great assembly; and after the oath had been recited he added the words: "Almighty God, whose all-seeing eye reaches the soul and the future, if I lie or should break my oath, send down at once the lightning of thy revenge upon me!" Here and there tears of joy were shed; the princes embraced; ecstasy and noisy jubilation took possession of all the streets, and it was called a beautiful day. And yet this was nothing but a farce, such as twenty-eight years later was enacted in many a capital city of Germany with no less outlay of art!

A new ministry and a junta were at once formed, and for the most part friends of Murat were chosen for both. October 1st the national parliament was opened. It advised certain changes in the Spanish constitution, did away with feudal rights, ordained a more equitable distribution of taxes, and introduced improvements in all departments of the administration. By January 30th, 1821, the parliament had completed its work: the new constitution was sworn to by the prince-regent, and a permanent committee

of seven members was left behind in the name of the dissolved parliament. In the mean time, of course, anarchy had at first, ruled in the capital and the provinces; the number of the *Carbonari* rose to 300,000; even women were admitted, and founded the lodge of *le Giardiniere;* but quiet and moderation soon returned, for the chiefs of the *Carbonari* wished to give Austria no pretence for intervention, and succeeded in making their followers take this into consideration. This wise tact was more than outweighed by the terrible blunder in Sicily. The news of the revolution reached Palermo from Naples July 14th. It was the festival of Saint Rosalie, and the streets swarmed with people. It was at once agreed not to accept the Spanish constitution, but to set up once more their own constitution of 1812, and to make themselves as independent of Naples as possible. "Hurrah for the constitution! Hurrah for independence!" was the watchword shouted by a thousand throats. It did not stop there. The populace stormed Fort Molo, possessed themselves of the store of weapons there, and committed excesses against persons and buildings. The Neapolitan troops were at once sent against the rioters. The latter opened the prisons, released 3000 galley-slaves and other prisoners, and dispersed the troops. Thereupon the principal officials fled to the main-land, their palaces were burnt down, and whoever could not flee was mercilessly murdered. In all about 4000 men were killed. A provisory junta of twenty members, mostly nobles, was formed, and emissaries sent out in every direction, in order to spread the revolt over the entire island, and array the whole population capable of bearing arms under their banner. Voluntarily or under compulsion most communities joined them. The town of Caltanisetta, which offered resistance, was reduced to a heap of ashes; men, women, and children were massacred. Only Messina, Catania, Syracuse, and Trapani were able to hold out against the power of the junta.

A deputation of the junta appeared in Naples and demanded a separate parliament, a separate constitution, and a union of the two states under one king; in other words, a personal union. The deputies were at first arrested, then sent back with the answer that Sicily should have a separate parliament in case the majority of the communities declared in its favor. It was hoped that jealousy of Palermo would excite opposition to the junta. At the same time Floristan Pepe, the brother of the commander-

in-chief, was sent to Sicily with 6000 men to subdue the island. After a fight of several days, he compelled the inhabitants of Palermo to capitulate on the promise that the decision as to the separation or union of the two kingdoms should be left to the representatives of Sicily. But Parliament pronounced the treaty void, and recalled Floristan Pepe. His place was filled by General Colletta, who kept the people of Palermo, already disarmed by Pepe, in submission; did away with their junta; introduced the Neapolitan constitution, and issued writs for the elections to the common parliament. Except the officials no one appeared at the polls, and those who were elected would accept no certificate. Sicily remained subdued under the strong military force stationed there; but this very subjugation was wrong in itself, and under the existing circumstances it was a political error. It is true that the Neapolitans had for a long time been accustomed to regard Sicily as a subject land, a mere prefecture, but there was no ground for such belief—both kingdoms had equal rights in relation to one another; and it least of all became the men who stood forth in Naples in behalf of freedom to rule in Sicily as despots. And how, at a time when they must be prepared for the armed intervention of the Holy Alliance, could they, for a question in any case secondary, not only put themselves to the necessity of retaining in Sicily the troops which they could so well use elsewhere, but also render it impossible to summon thence a single man, much less a contingent of enthusiastic fighters for freedom? Was that not to conjure up new dangers? to play into the hands of the foe? to set up for the court, which looked upon this family quarrel with a satisfied mien, a ladder to its second restoration?

That the revolution, if not suppressed, would not stop at Naples, but would traverse the whole peninsula, and knock very audibly at the gates of Milan, was plain. Metternich's programme was quickly made out. His Carlsbad laurels were not yet faded, and he already planned to pluck still fresher leaves in Naples. He announced to the Italian princes that Austria would uphold the existing order in all Italy. In Lombardy and Venetia he forbade participation in the *Carbonaria* under pain of death. He carried on a war of extermination against the rising literature that made the new birth of Italy its aim; suppressed all liberal journals; and imprisoned the talented young Silvio Pellico as a contributor to

the *Conciliatore.* The garrisons in Ferrara and Comacchio were put upon a war footing; strong bodies of troops were collected; and by this means a dam was opposed to the agitation in all upper and middle Italy. All defensive measures had been taken; but he did not yet have the courage to assume the offensive and seek the revolution at its crater, or at least he was not willing to undertake it alone. Hence he summoned a congress of monarchs and ministers to meet at Troppau, in Austrian Silesia, in order to obtain from the potentates of Europe an authorization to intervene. In the latter half of October, 1820, the monarchs of the three eastern powers, the fathers of the Holy Alliance, appeared there, and also the delegates of France and England. At the outset Czar Alexander played the prude, and vented the opinion that the Neapolitans could be influenced in a friendly way to change their constitution—he could see no ground for armed interference. England, in any case disinclined toward meddling with the internal affairs of an independent state, agreed with him; and France was too jealous of the increasing influence of Austria in Italy not to look with great disfavor on the overstepping of the Lombard boundaries by her armies. Metternich was in great embarrassment: Troppau appeared to be no Carlsbad. He could only rely upon Prussia; but her alliance was as valueless in Italy as it was invaluable in Germany. In this dilemma he received intelligence of the insubordination of the guard regiment Semenow in St. Petersburg, and by means of his ambassador at the Russian court was in possession of the news before Alexander himself. This outbreak among the soldiers had not the slightest connection with the revolutions in Spain and Italy; but what of that? He hurried at once to Alexander, reported to him the occurrence, and pictured to his imagination the spectre of a military conspiracy spread over all Europe. The Czar, since his residence in Warsaw, full of gloomy forebodings, allowed himself to be surprised by the adroit chancellor, and the three eastern powers, as "the centre of the union of the European states," formed a coalition against the "tyrannical might of rebellion and crime." After the treaty had been already signed, it was laid before the representatives of England and France, who were not greatly edified by what had been done behind their backs. At the same time, a new congress in Laibach was agreed upon, to which the King of Naples was also to be invited.

The excitement caused in Naples by these Troppau resolutions was immense. It was clear that these founders of the Holy Alliance looked upon themselves as the dictatory triumvirate of Europe, and tolerated no constitution which did not bear the stamp of the *grace of God*. Metternich went still farther, and categorically announced in Laibach to the Russo-Grecian diplomat Capodistria, that Austria would rather make war on the King of Naples than tolerate the introduction of a constitution in his kingdom, even if that constitution were according to his wishes. When the royal message concerning these resolutions was read in Naples, Parliament hall and gallery uttered the same cry: "Constitution or death!" and it found a thousand-fold echo in the streets. In Parliament the question was, whether the king should be allowed to go to Laibach, and whether they should consent to a change in the constitution in the direction of conservatism, as France advised. If they did not wish the latter, they should also have refused to let the thoroughly hypocritical king go. They resolved, however, that the constitution should remain unchanged, and that the king should go, in order, as he announced in a message to Parliament, to represent the Spanish constitution at Laibach. They even declined the king's proposition that four members of Parliament should accompany him as witnesses and advisers, and in their address, with more than childlike trustfulness, gave as the reason: "Since the heart of the son of Charles III. is naturally a temple of truth." So the "true" king departed, visited his colleague, the despotic Francis IV., in Modena, and on his arrival in Laibach sent off his attendant, the Duke of Gallo, to Gorice, since in such secret discussions no strangers are needed. The king's first letter from Laibach to his son does not contain a syllable about the object of his journey, but speaks of the pleasure he experiences in the fact that his hunting-hounds are better than those of the Russian Emperor.

In January, 1821, the congress was opened at Laibach, in Carniola. Besides the emperors of Austria and Russia and their diplomats, the ambassadors of Prussia, England, France, and the Italian states were present. Before the commencement of the session the three eastern powers had already agreed that Austria should send an army to Naples for the suppression of the revolution, and that in case of necessity a Russian army should follow. The ambassadors of Sardinia, Rome, Tuscany, and Modena

gave in their adhesion, and no attention was paid to the repeated objections of England and France. King Ferdinand, with his "temple of truth," was very ready when Metternich, by way of supplement, laid the resolutions before him, to break his oath to the constitution, and represent himself as having acted under compulsion. He merely took the precaution to purchase indulgence for such perjury by gifts to *Sant' Annunziata* in Florence. The Duke of Gallo was at once recalled to Laibach, and informed that he must set out for Naples immediately. There he was to announce that the revolutionary tribunals must disband, and submit to the king; that 10,000 Austrians would occupy the country until its complete pacification, and that, in case of prolonged resistance, 100,000 Russians and Austrians would follow them, and remain for three years at the cost of the land. King Ferdinand further said to him, privately, that he agreed completely with all the conclusions of the great powers. Six days after the duke's departure, February 5th, the Austrian general, Frimont, crossed the Po at the head of an army of occupation, and at the end of the month stood at the Neapolitan frontier.

At Naples, on the reception of the news from Laibach, all was fire and flame. Young and old, rich and poor, hurried to arms; and when, at a great fraternization meeting, it was asked which of the generals would be the Miltiades, one of the enthusiasts cried, "All will be Miltiades'!" Parliament did not declare the king a perjured traitor, as Pepe demanded, but a captive—his letter, which he had given to Gallo, written under compulsion. It further placed the Prince of Calabria at the head of the army, as if the son would best conduct the war against his father. There was no lack of enthusiasm, speeches, and processions; but money, weapons, magazines, good soldiers—in short, all that is needful for the conduct of a war—were lacking. Officers had long since been commissioned to purchase in England 100,000 muskets, but the regent had always contrived to delay their journey. Now it became evident what folly had been committed in Sicily. Naples' best battalions were there; and in Naples itself, in spite of all the warlike talk, not more than 25,000 regular troops, with 2000 horses, could be brought together; and these were in part ill-armed and unreliable—no match for the compact mass of 43,000 Austrians. Furthermore, they were under two generals bitterly hostile to one another. Pepe, with 12,000 men,

mostly militia, was to hold the Abruzzia border, and in case of need fall back on the Volturno, where his party foe, Carrascosa, was stationed with the second army corps. On March 7th Pepe attacked the Austrian advance under Count Wallmoden, at Rieti. At first he drove them back from their position of vantage, but was compelled to command a retreat when the enemy brought up re-enforcements from Vicenti, and fell upon his right flank with superior numbers. There was a cry of treason, and the retreat quickly turned into a rout so complete that no further stand was attempted. The militia advancing to join them were carried along, and on the following morning Pepe had scarcely 2000 men left. These melted away like early snow. Thereupon Carrascosa was obliged to fall back across the Volturno. The battalions of the guards refused obedience, the militia disbanded, and Carrascosa's own life was endangered by his followers. He and Pepe reached the capital with a few officers. There Parliament framed an address to the king, who was awaiting results in Florence, expressing their readiness to alter the constitution, and the wish that strangers might not come between king and people, which was, of course, too late. With a protest against the infringement of popular rights, moved by the patriotic Poerio, the last session of Parliament, at which only twenty-six members were present, came to an end on March 19th. On March 21st the Austrians entered Capua, and on the 23d, Naples. Pepe succeeded in escaping on a Spanish vessel, to plunge into new adventures. Carrascosa and several members of Parliament had also fled.

On the 9th of May Ferdinand returned to his capital, and was received with loud rejoicings by the lower classes. The appointment of Prince Canosa, whom he had earlier been compelled to dismiss under foreign pressure on account of his outrageous police administration, led men to expect the most terrible deeds of vengeance. In order to clip the wings of the spirit of freedom, the strictest censorship was introduced; the works of Voltaire, Rousseau, and others were publicly burnt, and a special commission established for the suppression of books. The Jesuits were recalled; all public schools, as well as the universities, were closed, the teachers discharged, and the whole system of instruction changed in the interests of the hierarchy. The sternest measures were adopted against the *Carbonari*. The whole league was outlawed; a few members with bared backs, hung with the ribbons

and other insignia of their order, and set on donkeys, were led through the streets and flogged in the public squares. Many escaped the royal wrath by fleeing to the forests and mountains, to enter upon a robbers' life and come later to the gallows. Murat's officers were for the most part dismissed; prominent generals and members of Parliament, like Colletta, Poerio, and Borelli, were sent to the fortresses of Graz, Prague, and Brünn. The same course was pursued in Sicily. Ten thousand Austrians were sent thither at the end of May, who succeeded, after a few bloody outbreaks of popular indignation, in restoring quiet.

All Europe was astonished at such a result after the boasting of the Neapolitan orators of freedom, and cried shame at the empty-headedness of the leaders and the cowardice of the army. And yet Naples' chances were by no means bad, if it had maintained the defensive and offered a long resistance; for only three days after the fight at Rieti the mutiny in Piedmont broke out, delivering that state into the hands of the national party, and seriously menacing the rear and flank of the Austrians.

After Napoleon's first overthrow, in March, 1814, King Victor Emmanuel had returned to Turin, having tranquilly slept away the time of the French dominion, a full eight years, in the island of Sardinia, among the atrocious feudal conditions which were still widely prevalent there. He was a man of great goodness of heart and weakness of head, and so broken by age and infirmities that he would fain toss through this earthly sea under no other sail than vows and pilgrimages. The Vienna congress enlarged his kingdom by the territory of the Genoese republic. He had scarcely reached Turin when he was surrounded by the Piedmontese nobles. They had withdrawn into their castles before the free ideas of the French Revolution, and now represented the foreign rule in the blackest colors, while they could not praise enough the blessings of the good old times. By a royal edict all French laws and institutions, whatever they might be, were at once abolished, and in their stead was sought out, like a wonder-working relic, the constitution of 1770, with its intolerance, its caste distinctions, its wheel and quartering, and by its tangle of antiquated laws an incomparable chaos was introduced. Suits which had been decided before the French courts of final appeal were reopened, and business thus made the prey of a depressing uncertainty. Cloisters which had been turned into fac-

tories were given back to the Capuchins; famine was remedied by processions and crowns of thorns. The Jesuits again gained possession of the schools, and the most talented professors of the University of Turin had to give up their positions. In the grand opera-house the queen, who was her husband's master, permitted only the nobility to attend the representations, and to them places were assigned according to the length of their pedigrees. In Turin, as in Hesse-Cassel, the soldiers of 1800 were called back, as though the commanders could regulate the very calendar. They even wanted to tear down the splendid bridge which Napoleon had built over the Po at Turin, and no passes were given for the road over Mont Cenis, in order, forsooth, that this Napoleonic work might fall into decay. The department officials, in their Francophobia, threw the furniture of their predecessors out of the windows, and the royal gardener was too good a legitimist not to root out and destroy all French plants in the botanical gardens.

A deep gulf was formed between government and people by a restoration which proceeded in such a way against men and things. The neighborhood of France and Switzerland had kept alive a freer spirit in this land. The first men of young Italy, like Victor Alfieri and the unfortunate Pellico, were born Piedmontese. The people of this race showed more industry, energy, and spirit—in general, a firmer, erecter bearing than the other Italians, and had ambition enough to wish to take the first place in Italy. The young men, even members of the nobility, were eager for a free Italy, were in correspondence with the opposition in France and with the Spanish cortes, and thirsted for a war with Austria. Secret engagements were entered into with the malcontents at Milan, and a plan of action arranged. The Austrians were to be ejected from Milan, Lombardy united with Sardinia, a strong north Italian kingdom formed, and in this way the foundation laid for a united Italy. The revolutions in Spain and Naples raised hopes to the highest pitch. Could there have been a more promising time for carrying out the national plans than those February days of 1821, when the Austrians moved toward Naples? What more was needed than an energetic assault upon their uncovered flank and Milan was free, and the kingdom of north Italy a fact? Charles Albert, the twenty-two-year-old prince of Savoy-Carignan, a collateral branch of the reigning family, was looked upon as the natural leader both of

the enthusiastic young men and the reformers. He had been educated as a commoner, was possessed of good parts, railed at the absurdity of the reaction, associated much with the reformers, had a large following among the soldiers, and hated Austria as well as the best. Owing to the childlessness of the king and his brother Charles Felix, Duke of Genévois, he was the heir presumptive. He could never forgive the Vienna Cabinet for having wished to deprive him of this right and confer it upon the king's daughter, the Duchess of Modena. The eyes, not of Piedmont alone, but of all Italy, were upon him; and no one had another plan than, when the time came to strike, to set the prince at the head of the movement, to call Victor Emmanuel to the throne of upper Italy, and to compel him to a war with Austria. There were only a few who held a different opinion of the Prince of Carignan, and believed that they already discerned, side by side with liberal ideas, a tendency to dissimulation, fickleness, and mysticism.

At the moment of action the heads of the conspiracy found that they could not depend upon him. He communicated their preparations to the king, and urged upon him military precautions. The leaders despaired of the possibility of striking, since the prince's defection would necessarily exert too disheartening an influence upon the soldiers, and gave orders to undertake nothing for the present. But the ball had already been set in motion, and could not now be checked. In Alessandria, where the *Carbonari* were numerous, Lieutenant-colonel Ansaldi and Captain Count Palma had gained possession of the citadel in the night of March 10th, 1821. On the following morning they formed a provisional junta, proclaimed the Spanish constitution, and called the nation to arms in the name of the "kingdom of Italy." But neither in their own regiment, the Savoyard, nor among the loyal-minded troops elsewhere, did they meet with an enthusiastic reception. Full of anxiety, the king sought to appease the soldiers by amnesties and increase of wages. On the 11th of March Captain Ferrero, with a company of soldiers, stationed himself before the gates of Turin, by the church of Saint Salvario, in the hope of drawing over people and army to the revolution. The troops sent out against him neither attacked him nor joined him, and the people streamed out from curiosity, wishing to know how the matter would develop before they chose sides. Only a

few students attached themselves to Ferrero, and with these he retired to Alessandria. In the night St. Marsan, the Sardinian representative, returned from Laibach. Having ascertained that the intentions of the allied monarchs were serious, he had promised emphatically for the king that he would not consent to any change in the government. Reassured by his report, the king promulgated, on March 12th, two edicts, in which he refused to accept the constitution, as it would bring the Austrians into the country, and commanded a corps of troops to assemble at Asti. But the people had awakened from their indifference overnight, and now tore the placards from the walls, and demanded the Spanish constitution. The officers refused to shed the blood of their fellow-citizens, and by mid-day the Italian tricolor was waving from the citadel of Turin. Victor Emmanuel then abdicated in favor of his brother, Charles Felix, and went to Nice. Until the new king, a proud, arbitrary man, who was at that time with his friend and adviser, Duke Francis of Modena, returned to Turin, Charles Albert was to assume the regency.

A very pressing question was presented to him for solution. Would he set himself at the head of the revolution, in order, as the *Carbonari* delusively assured him, to win the crown of Italy? He was too well acquainted with the limited resources of the land not to know that this meant nothing else than the presence of the Austrians in Turin within a few days. And then how would it be with his right of succession? Would the Holy Alliance hesitate to exclude a *Carbonaro* forever from the throne? These were very practical considerations, which the prince could not fail to take into account. The means he adopted to extricate himself from his difficult position was to surround himself with a veil of mystery, and seek to postpone his decision. But the people were pressing, the soldiers were becoming unmanageable, and definite threats were uttered in the Carignan palace. Then he called an assembly of thirty notables, accepted the constitution on their written demand, set up a provisional junta, and formed a new ministry. At the same time, however, he declared that he would not consider this constitution binding without the consent of the king, and forbade the soldiers to wear the Italian colors. This bred such bitterness among the revolutionary party that they spoke of seizing him as a hostage, or even murdering him. At the same time, the Austrian ambassador was obliged to leave, while

Milanese deputies deceived the Turiners with hopes of an uprising of their countrymen.

Then Chevalier Costa, whom the prince had sent to Modena with a letter to the king, returned with the announcement that the severest measures were to be resorted to. The prince was commanded to join General la Torre at Novara, with the troops who were still faithful. While apparently making preparations to resist, he fled secretly to Novara, protested against the compulsion that had been put upon him, laid down the regency, and called on all the troops to return to the royal standard. By his flight the revolutionary party got all the power into its hands. Santarosa, who had just been named minister of war by the prince, assumed a sort of dictatorship. He hoped in vain for a revolution in Milan and France. On the news of the defeats in Naples, his generals deserted him. At length, with 3000 men, he marched against Novara, in the expectation that la Torre's troops would go over to him. The latter had already been joined by the Austrian general, Bubna, and on April 8th, before Novara, a few cannon-shots and a charge from the Austrians scattered the little revolutionary band in wild flight—which, as far as panic, fright, and fleetness of foot are concerned, did not yield to the catastrophe of Rieti. La Torre entered Turin on the 10th of April. On the 11th he entered Alessandria, and the determined Ansaldi, not supported by the soldiers, had to yield. The insurgents crossed the French frontier, or, like Santarosa, sailed for Spain to fight for a similar cause on a different battle-field. Twelve thousand Austrians occupied the country, and had to be maintained at its expense. Under their protection Charles Felix returned to Turin, and brought the whole government machine back into the old grooves. Many persons were condemned by special tribunals and military commissions, although only two officers were actually put to death. The reaction was not so bloody as in Naples, inasmuch as the excesses of the revolution had not been so great. The Prince of Carignan had lost credit with both parties by his undecided conduct, and had to hear once more Austria's designs against his succession. From Novara he had repaired to Modena, and there Charles Felix had refused to receive his visit. He sought and found an advocate in France: under the Duke of Angoulême he made the campaign against Spain, where, in the ranks of his foes, he met many of his old Piedmontese friends.

No one could have been prouder than Metternich after these successes. At the close of the Laibach congress he is reported to have said to the Russian Emperor, with a triumphant air, much as though the matter in hand were a boar-baiting: "There, see what a revolution is when it is taken in time!" He forthwith had a conspiracy ferreted out in Milan, and cast many esteemed men into prison. Two years later about forty of these prisoners were conveyed to the prisons of Spielberg and Laibach, after having publicly stood in the pillory in Milan. This latter disgrace forever alienated from Austria the hearts of the Lombard nobility, many members of which were among the unfortunates. Several of the prisoners died in prison; others came out with sickly bodies; some fell a prey to insanity; only one, Felice Foresti, came again to the light of day with strength of mind and body unbroken. The work of Silvio Pellico on his Spielberger imprisonment made remarkable developments regarding a system which bowed even such a spirit as his, and threw him into the arms of mysticism.

In Italy, also, the Holy Alliance had conquered; the Austrian influence had shown itself so strong that now the whole peninsula looked not unlike a Hapsburg province. There were two principal causes which had led to such a disgraceful result—the lack of systematic co-operation, and the slight participation on the part of the people, proceeding from the fact that they still stood on too low a plane of culture. Only the few cultivated men had originated the whole movement; the mass followed the one whom they saw develop the greatest strength.

Anachronistic conditions throve luxuriously through the whole of the third decade. The outlook was best in Tuscany, where Leopold II. mounted the throne in 1824, and carried out a work of great material benefit in the draining of the *Maremme;* albeit in intellectual matters he felt himself much restricted by the Austrian dogmas. In Sardinia everything was administered quite to Metternich's satisfaction; the government was given over to the most absolutist nobles and priests, while Charles Felix dragged out his existence in idleness and pleasure-seeking. If any one spoke to him of business, he gave as an answer, "I am not a king to let myself be bothered." It was still worse in Naples. January 4th, 1825, the hypocritical Prince of Calabria ascended the throne as Francis I., and his government was such that Chateaubriand

said it was sunk to the lowest stage of contemptibility. Everything went to ruin amid luxurious banquets and shameless balls, sale of offices and persecution of secret societies. The throne was not supported by its own army, but by 6000 men of the Swiss guard, whose enlistment and maintenance was a costly matter. The Romish court under Leo XII. (1823–1829) was travelling backward in close competition with Naples. The exclusion of laymen from all civil dignities, the unconditioned supremacy of the priests in the government, in the administration of justice, in the schools—this whole "theocratico-Turkish system" was more vexatious than ever, and bred in the people, honey-combed by the *Carbonari*, nothing but hatred and contempt. As early as this no less a man than General Bernetti said that, in case he lived to old age, he held it possible that he might witness the downfall of the temporal power of the Pope.

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§ 3.

SPAIN AND ITS AMERICAN COLONIES.—PORTUGAL AND BRAZIL.—THE CONGRESS OF VERONA AND FRENCH INTERVENTION.

Spanish affairs resembled in essentials those of Germany. The Spaniards had fought an heroic fight against Napoleon's ambition, and had conquered at last by the help of the Russian campaign of 1812. After shaking off the foreign yoke, they did not wish to resume the old native one. Their strength and self-confidence had grown in the fight; they felt themselves entitled to take part in the administration of the country by a constitution and a parliament, and to stamp upon this administration no one-sided monarchical character, but a popular one. In this they showed the same disposition as the German warriors, when they marched home across the Rhine. But in what circles in Spain did those aspirations rule? The mass of the people were indifferent; they had fought against the foreign rule; after this was driven out, they willingly returned into the old conditions. Only a small party of high-minded, educated men followed the new flag, just as was the case in Italy. They were not, however, compelled to begin by fighting for a constitution, for they already

had one. In the midst of the war against the French the Central Junta had convened the Cortes at Cadiz; and in the year 1812 the new constitution, the same one which met with so much favor in Naples and Piedmont, had been proclaimed and put in force. It certainly had an outspoken democratic character, and any sort of a bargain with the king, who returned from his French captivity in 1814, was precluded by the provision that no changes were to be made in it for eight years.

Ferdinand VII. was a thoroughly unprincipled man; devoid of all higher interests; an adept in dissimulation; distrustful of every one who showed any power, even of his favorites; cowardly to servility when others had the upper hand; cruel in the extreme when he could play the master. He belonged to the worst class of Bourbons. He trod Spanish soil once more in March, 1814, but went first to Valencia instead of to Madrid, where he would have had to come at once to an understanding with the Cortes. Not merely his own following, like the gloomy Don Carlos, his brother, and the reactionary Elio, captain-general of Valencia, but even sixty-nine members of the Cortes, counselled him, in a memorial drawn up by Rosales, a lawyer (later Marquis of Mataflorida), to a *coup d'état.* Accordingly, in a manifesto of May 4th, 1814, he declared the constitution of 1812 repealed and the Cortes dissolved, and promised instead a cortes regularly assembled after the old manner, security of person and property, and freedom of the Press. In spite of these promises, the members of the regency, four ministers, several members of the Cortes, and other distinguished men, about seventy in all, were arrested by General Eguia, who had entered Madrid on the night of May 10th, and were later sentenced to an imprisonment of several years or to banishment. The *Atalaya*, a clerical sheet, shamelessly demanded "the gallows without right or sentence" for the liberals. And what opinion was the king justified in forming of the disposition of the people when, three days later, they thronged around his carriage in Aranjuez, and even drew it into the capital? From whom the rejoicings that greeted him there proceeded was shrewdly indicated by one of his companions, to whom the king said: "Do you see how the people cheer me? how the handkerchiefs wave from every window?" "Yes," was the answer; "but few cambric ones."

The king did not really purpose to establish even the old cortes,

which would have surpassed in servility the chambers of nobles and prelates in north Germany. He was completely in the hands of the most extreme men among the clergy and of a few courtiers, some of whom were of the lowest extraction and most limited education. These, in conjunction with some ladies, constituted the *Camarilla*, that "government of *valets-de-chambre*," under which Spain was condemned to sigh both before and after Ferdinand. It was from such an atmosphere that the restoration decrees proceeded which introduced the strictest censorship, and the exemption of nobles and clergy from taxation, reinstated the monastic orders, the Jesuits, and the inquisition with its torture, and took back for the Church, without compensation, its secularized property. Even men like Calvo de Rosas, who had been among the most heroic defenders of Saragossa—generals who had performed wonders of daring in the war for freedom—were cast into prison. Whoever belonged to the Constitutionalists or the *Josefinos* (partisans of King Joseph Bonaparte), was not sure of his life for an instant while the "Serviles" triumphed. This nauseous rule of caprice lasted for six years, in which time agriculture and other industries reached such an ebb, the treasury was so empty, that beggary and robbery throve apace, bare-footed officers begged an alms, and at the port of Ferrol three naval officers died of starvation. At the same time, this senseless hierarchy was making a show of fitting out expeditions to reduce the revolted South American colonies to their old bondage. But the monarchy, which in the sixteenth century ruled the seas, had no longer a fleet, and was obliged to purchase from the Emperor of Russia, from whom Ferdinand expected all sorts of benefits, a couple of rotten ships of the line. In the opinion of the English ambassador, the wretched administration of the finances, under which a debt of about $25,000,000 (two milliard reals) had been incurred in five years, made a revolution almost a necessity. And yet this system of terrorism, under which in 1816 there were already more than 50,000 political prisoners, still continued.

The patriots of 1812 could no longer endure in patience the pain and need of their country, and their rage discharged itself, in the years 1814 to 1819, in nine attempts at revolution, which, as the work of individuals and representing little force, collapsed like riots, and were suppressed with small trouble. The well-known guerilla leader, Mina, raised the standard of insurrection

in Pampeluna in 1814, but was forced to flee to France. In the following year, in monkish Galicia, General Diaz Porlier issued a call to freedom, and expiated his act upon the gallows. In 1816 War-commissioner Richard formed a plan to murder the king, was betrayed, tortured, and hung. General Lacy headed a rising in Catalonia in 1817, and was taken and shot on the island of Majorca. Colonel Vidal originated a conspiracy in Valencia at the end of the year 1818. With twelve accomplices, he fell into the hands of the blood-thirsty Elio, who hung some, shot others, and tortured to death a woman that had but just given birth to a child.

These outbreaks were like the hydra's heads. As often as they were put down with torrents of blood, with dungeons and torture, they sprung up anew through the efforts of the free-masons, who were spread over the whole land. A favorable field seemed to be offered at Cadiz, where for years an expeditionary corps had been assembling destined for Buenos Ayres. The hatred toward these American campaigns, and an epidemic which broke out among the men, afforded great assistance to the conspirators. Count Abisbal, their commander, after wavering for some time between the rôle of a rebel and that of a traitor, at length, in July, 1819, assumed the latter, and arrested his own officers. The government thought it necessary to ship such unreliable troops all the more quickly. The command to embark came. It was to the soldiers as if "they were consigned to death more in order to relieve the court from care than to effect the reconquest of America, which had already become impossible." They would not be led to the slaughter. Among those who were to be shipped first was the battalion Asturias, stationed in the village of Las Cabezasde St. Juan.

At eight o'clock on the morning of New-year's-day, 1820, Raphael Riego, the commander of this battalion, proclaimed the constitution of 1812 in the presence of his soldiers; then, after capturing the new commandant, Count Calderon, and his whole head-quarters by a sudden move, he marched on Cadiz with four battalions. Through the fault of the less energetic Colonel Quiroga, who was to assume the command of the "national army," the attempt to surprise this important city miscarried. The number of the insurgent force rose to 5000. By the precautions of the new commandant, Freire, further attempts to gain possession

of Cadiz were frustrated, and so the impatient Riego determined to revolutionize Andalusia with 1500 men. Pursued by the royal general, José O'Donnell, received with indifference by the people, and gradually deserted by his soldiers, he was forced to flee into the Sierra Morena, where the little company completely disbanded. In Cadiz the case of the insurgents seemed altogether lost. Owing to the shameful treachery of General Freire, who promised the citizens the proclamation of the constitution of 1812, and, when they had joyfully assembled, let his soldiers loose among them to hew them down, the hopes of the constitutionalists had sunk to a low point. But in Madrid almost at that very moment everything was already won.

On the news of Riego's outbreak the insurrection had gone the round of the provinces. General Mina came back from France to Navarre, and was received with loud rejoicings by the soldiers. Nowhere could the royal generals any longer count upon their troops. In Ocanna, three hours from Aranjuez, Count Abisbal called upon his brother's battalion to restore the constitution, and set himself at their head. As soon as the rebellion reached the neighborhood of the capital, the government completely lost its senses. Madrid was in a state of violent commotion. Ferdinand thought a partial surrender would suffice, and on March 6th promised to convene the old cortes—the same promise which he had made May 4th, 1814, and not kept. His throne, perhaps his life, was lost if he did not yield completely. So at last, on March 7th, he signified his intention of confirming the constitution of 1812. On the 9th of March members of the city council and resolute leaders of the people made their way into his palace, and forced him to take the oath. Until the meeting of the Cortes the suspected king was furnished with a provisional junta. This body at once abolished the *Camarillo* and the inquisition, released the political prisoners, established freedom of the Press, caused the army to swear fidelity to the constitution, and so took almost the whole power of the state into its own hands. March 12th a constitution-festival took place. Processions, illuminations, and bull-fights seemed likely to have no end. The country seemed mad with joy. The revolution was victorious. The council of state, the ministry, all higher offices in the army and on the bench, were filled by friends of the constitution, and in part by men who were brought back from exile or out of prison. The

Cortes was opened by the king on July 9th, and he then publicly repeated his oath.

In a land where the highest strata of society were scarcely affected by education, and where the common people were still completely in the leading-strings of the priests, the Cortes had a difficult position. The hardest task was the regulation of the finances, especially since the peasants, as had been the case three centuries earlier in Germany, had adopted the deluded notion that with the new era all tithes and taxes were to be remitted. No minister of finance could manage without inroads upon the church domains; hence several monastic orders, among others the Jesuits, were abolished, and the lands of the suppressed cloisters declared state lands, and offered for sale. This aroused the hostility of the clergy, and especially of the bishops. The Pope espoused the cause of the Jesuits in a personal letter to the king, and the latter refused to sanction the law regarding convents, but was unable to persist in his refusal. Soon afterward he was forced to dismiss his father-confessor, to declare the appointment of the royalist General Carvajal as commandant of Madrid a mistake, and to return from the Escurial to Madrid. On the way he was surrounded by wild crowds; and, as he stood upon the balcony of his palace, they raised upon their hands the son of the Lacy who had been shot, and cried, "Long live the avenger of his father!" The king was in a position like that of Louis XVI. after his passage from Versailles to Paris. Full of rage over his disgrace, he turned his eyes toward foreign help, for what was being done for him in Spain was by no means sufficient to restore his absolute sceptre—neither the appearance of the "Army of Faith," under Merino, a parish priest, and other party leaders; nor the institution of a "regency during the captivity of Ferdinand;" nor yet the revolt of the guards, who attempted, July 7th, 1822, by a bold stroke, to set up again the absolute monarchy, but were defeated. It had been hard enough for the king to place at the head of a new ministry the leader of the *Moderados*, the eloquent but literary, rather than practical, Martinez de la Rosa, whom the *Exaltados* (radicals) named "Rosie, the pastry-cook." But now, after the unsuccessful attempt of his guards, he had to accept an *Exaltados* ministry, receive in his palace the originator of the whole revolution, Riego, now president of the Cortes, and act out a theatrical reconciliation. Thereupon General Elio, in Valencia, was

condemned to be strangled—the only sacrifice of life exacted by the revolution. The new ministers took active measures against the rebellion on the Pyrenean frontiers, which the "Army of Faith" and the "Regency," with Marquis Mataflorida at their head, maintained, and sought to fan into a counter-revolution. The able General Mina was intrusted with the chief command. He marched with the constitutional forces to Lerida, in Catalonia, proceeded against the royalists with draconic severity, captured the fortress of Urgel, where the "Regency" held its court, and chased the "Regency" and its abettors over the French frontiers. So this pale ray of hope also vanished from the king's sight. It remained to be seen what effect the letter would produce which he had written to King Louis XVIII. of France, July 22d, 1822, to solicit his armed support.

Louis and his minister Villèle thought best not to hurry themselves in fulfilling this request. Even if the danger from a conflagration so near at hand was uncomfortably great, and if a war to maintain the interests of legitimacy, and above all in behalf of a Bourbon king, did accord very well with their system, yet, on the other hand, they considered what drains upon the French treasury this war would cause, and how by that means the revolution might be stifled in Spain to break out in France. The fidelity of the soldiers was still doubtful; in consideration of the part played by Spain in the Napoleonic war, the result seemed uncertain; and hence Villèle deemed it best "to let the volcano quietly burn out." The royalists did not agree with him, and averred that nothing could be more desirable for the Bourbons than a war in order to attach the army to them, and to show that victory was possible without Napoleon.

According to the agreement entered into at Laibach, the congress of Verona met in October, 1822. The monarchs of the eastern powers and of Italy, with the exception of the Pope, again appeared in person; France was represented by its foreign minister, Matthew Montmorency, and by Viscount Chateaubriand, the well-known author and legitimist. The political negotiations, the special subject of which was Spain, were conducted side by side with "Babylonish festivities," after the manner of the Vienna congress. The wishes of the eastern powers and of Montmorency harmonized. The former did not wish to let France interfere for herself, but as commissioned by the Holy Alliance; and the latter

wished that France should carry on the war, but only under the firm name of the Holy Alliance, on whose material assistance it might rely in case of need. It was resolved to demand of the Spanish government in an identical note the alteration of the constitution in the direction of conservatism, and the reinstatement of the king in his rights. In case this was rejected, France was to march into Spain. The English delegate, the Duke of Wellington, declared that his government would never consent to an armed intervention. England's foreign minister, Canning, even threatened to recognize the independence of the South American States (the former Spanish colonies); but all his representations were treated as waste paper by the overbearing congress.

Louis, not very well pleased with the warlike longings of his minister, recalled "the unlucky Matthew, who is always making stupid blunders," to Paris, dismissed him, and made Chateaubriand minister of foreign affairs. But he, too, returned with martial ideas—converted principally by the Emperor Alexander—and went into plans and fantasies regarding the historical conduct of his office, as though the matter in hand were the composition of an epic poem. "To accomplish in six months what Napoleon could not do in seven years" was undoubtedly an aim and a success of which none but a poet could boast. The war was determined upon; the sending of French notes to Madrid was only a formality, and in the speech from the throne, January 28th, 1823, Louis announced that "100,000 Frenchmen stand ready to maintain a descendant of Henry IV. upon the Spanish throne."

The Veronese notes of the three eastern powers had, in the mean time, reached Madrid, and raised a mighty storm of indignation in the Cortes and on the streets. Their arrogant language was repaid in similar coin; all interference was resented, and the Russian ambassador, who, with the others, demanded his pass, was informed that of course one could not expect from a "Calmuck" the enlightenment of a civilized European. At the same time, the ministers were fully conscious of their critical position, and turned to England with imploring words, and to France with peaceful ones. Both in vain! In the one case matters had already gone too far, in the other there was no intention of going beyond words or engaging in a war with the whole continent on Spain's behalf. Deserted by all the powers, even by its former defenders, hampered by embarrassed finances, the Cortes resolved to carry on a

guerilla warfare against the invading French, to give up Madrid, and transfer the government to Seville. In spite of all opposition, in spite of carefully nursed gout confirmed by the royal physician, Ferdinand was obliged to depart with the Cortes on March 20th, while a few wild fellows already cried, "Death to the king!"

April 7th, the Duke of Angoulême, who was accompanied by several generals trained in Napoleon's school, crossed the border stream Bidasoa with 95,000 men, 21,000 of whom were mounted. He did not spare his gold in that beggarly country, winning officers and soldiers by bribery, and the population by generous payment for supplies. He despatched General Molitor against Ballesteros. The latter had been detailed to protect Aragon, but could not prevent Molitor from entering Saragossa—whose resistance to Napoleon's soldiers has become world-renowned—on April 26th, amid the rejoicings of the population. General Moncey's part was to drive the resolute Mina out of Catalonia. The duke himself advanced against Madrid, and the first French entered the capital May 23d. Count Abisbal, who had been intrusted with the defence of Madrid, won by bribery, sought to bring over citizens and soldiers to the French, but had to flee before the common execration. A regency with the Duke of Infantado at its head was to rule the country on absolute principles until the king was freed; at which the populace manifested its pleasure by plundering the houses of the constitutionalists. The French at once set out in forced marches for Andalusia, to attack Seville, driving the few Spanish troops before them. They reached Seville June 21st. There the Cortes had begun its sessions April 23d, and spent the time until June 13th in useless discussions. On the approach of the French they retired to Cadiz, carrying the unwilling king with them. The enemy speedily followed, and appeared before Cadiz on the 23d. In the northern provinces generals Morillo and Ballesteros had already yielded. Outside of Catalonia and Cadiz everything was in the hands of the French. On the arrival of the Duke of Angoulême an assault was made, and Cadiz attacked by land and water. The contest was very unequal. The garrison numbered about 12,000 men, whose courage and fidelity were somewhat doubtful; the defences were in miserable condition, and the fleet numbered only one ship of the line, and a few gun-boats. On August 21st the peninsula of Trocadero, commanding the entrance to the inner harbor, was taken by the besiegers.

On this occasion the quondam *Carbonaro*-prince, Charles Albert, of Corignan, casting his whole past overboard, rendered valuable assistance to the French. When, on September 20th, Fort St. Petri and the Island of Leon were captured, citizens and soldiers urged surrender. Negotiations were opened, but the duke persistently refused to treat with any but a free king. In order to overcome the last resistance, 4,000,000 francs were applied toward bribing prominent persons. The Cortes at once declared itself disbanded, and the king free. To give the king opportunity for a new breach of faith, he was caused to sign a declaration in which, "of free-will and under guarantee of the royal word," he promised general amnesty, a liberal constitution, and recognition of the public debt. October 1st, the king repaired to the French camp at Puerto St. Maria. Generals Baldes and Alava had accompanied him in a small boat as far as the shore, but, in spite of all his entreaties not to refuse their true service in that stormy time, did not land with him. Vexed at being thus foiled of his vengeance, he cried after them from the shore: "Villains, you are lucky in escaping me!"

After the surrender of Cadiz the other fortified places were also compelled to capitulate. Barcelona, in Catalonia, was one of the last. There Mina fought for the honor of Spain with good success. For two months, with but few troops, he held in check 29,000 French and royalists by a harassing guerilla warfare, and then, severely wounded, threw himself into Barcelona. There he was enclosed by land and sea. He held out for four months, and on November 1st concluded a treaty with General Moncey, whereby the honor, freedom, and property of the troops and citizens under his command were secured. After the surrender he betook himself to England, whither several generals and members of the Cortes had already fled from Cadiz and other places.

The Spanish revolution had stood its fire test in scarcely more glorious fashion than that of Naples. It had afforded the Duke of Angoulême occasion to esteem himself one of the greatest of generals, and led M. de Chateaubriand to consider himself a statesman of transcendent ability. Canning, in order to explode this swindle, brought to the minds of men the fact that all acquainted with the facts knew Spain to be a "western Turkey." What now followed marked the result of the revolution as a terrible one. Nobles, priests, and people united in bringing to prison and

the scaffold thousands of *Negras* (constitutionalists). In Madrid, Saragossa, and Seville, notwithstanding the terms of capitulation, they were plundered and imprisoned under the very eyes of the French. Riego, who had given the signal of revolution, was one of the earliest victims. He had left Cadiz in August, with a couple of thousand men, in order to break the communications of the French with Madrid, and force them to retreat by threatening their rear. After a good deal of marching and countermarching, his forces were scattered by the enemy, and he himself captured in a farm-house and handed over to the Spanish authorities. He was conveyed to Madrid with dreadful maltreatment; there he was loaded with chains, and cast into a disgusting dungeon; and November 7th, already half dead, he was dragged to execution.

The first decree which Ferdinand signed declared all the measures of the constitutional government null (abolition of the cloisters and the inquisition, expulsion of the Jesuits, sale of the church lands, etc.), and confirmed all the foolish measures of the reactionary junta. This was too much even for the Duke of Angoulême. He indicated to the king his dissatisfaction, and hastened back over the Pyrenees to celebrate (December 2d) a pompous entrance into Paris. But the occupation of Spain by the French troops lasted five years longer. It was expensive glory. This military promenade had cost France 200,000,000 francs— and what had been won by it? Louis's counsels were utterly unheeded; and Chateaubriand, who had hoped to give the Spaniards a suitable constitution, already wished to lend himself no longer, as an accessory of "stupidity and fanaticism," to a king whom he named "an odious prince," one "who only swore to the constitution to betray it, who is capable of burning up his kingdom in a cigar," whose government was "bloody, avaricious, fanatical, an effete despotism, a complete anarchy of administration." This "absolute-absolute" king, as the Madrid populace named him, made his persecuting father-confessor, Victor Sanz, prime-minister as well as confessor, caused 112 men to be executed as conspirators within three weeks, and threatened with his bloody decrees all who were not subservient to his despotism. And yet he could not satisfy the "Apostolics," who saw Spain's salvation in the uncontrolled supremacy of the Church, monasticism, and the inquisition. He was condemned to see the society of "The Destroying

Angel" disseminating a pamphlet on "the necessity of raising the Infant Don Carlos to the throne." In 1827 Catalonia resounded with the cry: "Long live Don Carlos! Long live the monks and the holy inquisition!" and the Apostolical insurrection was only suppressed by bloody severity. Don Carlos, the king's eldest brother, was the hope of this Apostolical junta, whose influence was felt in the whole land. This ignoramus was sure of the throne in the event of the king's dying childless. The latter's third wife died in 1829, and, lover of woman that he was, he married in the same year the youthful Maria Christina, daughter of Francis, King of Naples. Out of love to her, he repealed the law of succession introduced by the Bourbon Philip V. in 1713, in accordance with which females could only inherit the throne in case of the total extinction of the male line. By a decree of March, 1830, called the Pragmatic Sanction, he established the old Castilian law, by which the daughters and granddaughters of a king take precedence of his brothers and nephews. This soon had a practical bearing; for on the 10th of October, 1830, Maria Christina presented her husband with a daughter, Isabella, who was presently declared successor to the throne and Princess of Asturias, and January 30th, 1832, with a second daughter, Louisa. Don Carlos's party, the Apostolics and absolutists, was considerably disconcerted; what they had thought they held in their hands was now only to be obtained by a revolution. But they were determined upon even this. King Ferdinand VII. died September 29th, 1833. His three-year-old daughter Isabella was at once proclaimed queen, and, according to the king's testament, her mother assumed the regency. Whether she would or not, she had to rely upon the liberals, the opposing party denying the legality of the abolition of the Salic law, and holding firmly to Carlos, the king of their fancy. He had already, before his brother's death, protested against the Pragmatic Sanction, and withdrawn to the court of his congenial nephew, Don Miguel of Portugal. Spain's future was clearly marked out. A new civil war stood before the door; here Carlos, there Christina, was the battle-cry. Under the party names of Carlists and Christinos, two political principles were once more arrayed against one another to wage a war to the knife.

It remains to narrate in a few words another important event that falls in the reign of Ferdinand—the divorce of the American

colonies from the mother country, Spain. These provinces were Mexico and Central America; and in South America, Venezuela, New Granada, Ecuador, Peru, Chili, and the states of La Plata (Buenos Ayres, Uruguay, and Paraguay); in all, a territory of about 4,000,000 square miles, with a population of 17,000,000 souls. Bound to Spain for three centuries, their treatment at the last was almost the same as under Philip II. and his Alva. Jesuits and the inquisition were here all-powerful in church and school; trade, which with the magnificent products of these rich lands might have reached an amazing development, was crippled by the prohibition to import any but Spanish wares, or to deliver their own produce to any but Spaniards. Offices in Church and State could be held only by Spaniards born in the mother country, to the exclusion of those born in the colonies, the Creoles, not to speak of the natives and half-breeds, who formed the greater part of the population. The viceroys and captain-generals, who were sent out from Spain with their whole swarm of superior and inferior officials, indulged in such deeds of violence and extortion as one reads of in the times of the Romish proconsuls. Napoleon's summons to recognize the government of his brother Joseph met with as little response in the colonies as in Spain. Juntas were formed everywhere, which governed in Ferdinand's name. In this way the provinces learned the possibility and expediency of self-government. To bring them again under the old yoke was an impossibility. Spain must either grant the colonies equal rights with the mother country, similar representation in the Cortes, and freedom of trade, or, in her financial and naval impotence, must be ready at any moment to have them torn from her. Neither the liberal Cortes of 1812 nor the restored Ferdinand acquiesced in these claims of the colonies, and so the second alternative happened.

In Mexico, as early as 1810, the priest Hidalgo and others had gathered bands of insurgents against the Spaniards. The independence of the country was proclaimed in 1821 by Iturbide, a descendant of the old imperial house of Mexico; and in 1822, since Ferdinand would not accept the throne of the Mexican empire, its complete separation from Spain was pronounced, and Iturbide assumed the throne under the title of Emperor Augustine I. A republican rising overthrew him, and Santa Anna proclaimed the republic at Vera Cruz in 1823. Iturbide had to flee

to Europe, and on his return in 1824 he was shot. Guatemala also acquired its independence in 1821, and founded the federal republic of Central America. The liberation of north-western South America, where outbreaks had occurred as early as 1810, is chiefly connected with the name of a rich Venezuelan Creole, Bolivar, who had acquired an education by a long residence in Europe. After varying fortunes of war, Venezuela and New Granada were united in 1819; to them Ecuador joined herself in 1822, and these three constituted the Republic of Colombia. In Buenos Ayres the Spanish viceroy was deposed in 1810, and in 1819 the Argentine Republic (United States of La Plata) was founded. The neighboring states of Paraguay (for a long time a pattern Jesuit state) and Uruguay became independent republics; the latter, however, not until 1829, after an intervening period of Brazilian rule. The revolution in Chili, which had begun in 1810, was assisted from Buenos Ayres by the sending of General San Martin. In 1818 Chili became independent, and adopted a republican constitution. The struggle in Peru was the longest. There, in spite of the help of the Argentine general, San Martin, and the Chilian admiral, Cochrane (an Englishman), the land was not finally freed before the energetic interposition of Bolivar, and the battle of Ayacucho, in 1824. Then the republic was proclaimed, and the emancipation of all South America had been effected.

What had failed in Spain had been accomplished in the colonies; and what the Holy Alliance had successfully attempted in Spain was, to their regret, impossible on the other side of the ocean. The three eastern powers, who believed themselves intrusted with the suppression of rebellion in the whole world, wished, after the restoration of Spanish absolutism, to bring back South America also into the old track. This was scarcely practicable without the co-operation of England, as the greatest maritime power of Europe. But England's trade derived great advantage from the independence of these states; hence it was determined not to see its protest treated as waste-paper this time, and announced that it would oppose with its whole power any interference with the Spanish colonies. France would have liked to establish Bourbon kingdoms there—as in our days she sought to make Mexico a vassal empire—a plan which foundered on the jealousy of the other powers. "In order to maintain the mo-

narchical principle, and to avoid a great scandal," the Holy Alliance made England the most advantageous propositions with regard to its trade interests, in case it would itself undertake the intervention. But Canning, as minister of foreign affairs, had his own way, and on January 1st, 1825, the English ministry recognized the independence of the Spanish colonies in South America.

The Holy Alliance was richly indemnified for this failure in another country. In Portugal, as well as in Spain, the aspirations after freedom had to stand the test of a bloody war with absolutism. The royal family had fled to Brazil in 1807 upon the occupation of the land by Marshal Junot at Napoleon's command. Upon the overthrow of the latter, although a regency had been set up, all the power was in the hands of the English general, Beresford, who had greatly distinguished himself in the Pyrenean war. As commander-in-chief of the Portuguese army, he made himself much hated. The military budget consumed two-thirds of the revenue, and one-third of the officers were English. This, added to his proud, arbitrary ways, irritated the national feelings too much. Since the eighteenth century England had been accustomed to regard Portugal as her trade domain, and to enrich herself from the people—intellectually and industrially degenerated through the unlimited sovereignty of the Jesuits and the wealth which the East Indies and Brazil had poured into the country—as though Portugal were an English province. The hatefulness of this foreign rule was still further increased by the military dictatorship of Beresford. To these causes of discontent must be added the relations of the Portuguese to their sovereign. After the death of the insane Queen Maria in 1816, the prince regent, her son, ascended the throne of Portugal and Brazil as John VI. While people and army wished the royal family to return once more to Portugal and rule the colony of Brazil from Lisbon, the court had quite an opposite inclination. The king invited the leading members of the nobility and the richest merchants to emigrate to Brazil, and wished to draw money and troops from the mother country for the subjugation of Uruguay. All of these circumstances brought about in 1817 a military conspiracy, which cost the gallant General Freire and eleven of his comrades their lives. Hence the hatred against Beresford grew still more intense, and when the conflagration of the Spanish revolution cast its sparks into neighboring countries, he determined

on a journey to Brazil, in order to consult personally with the king respecting the measures to be adopted. Four months after his departure, August 24th, 1820, the city of Oporto rose, and formed a provisional supreme junta, which was to rule in the king's name until the Cortes was convened. The agitation spread over the whole country, which, like Spain, was full of freemasons. Lisbon joined in the movement. The regency was deposed, and the two juntas of Lisbon and Oporto united and convoked the Cortes, in order, on the basis of the Spanish constitution, to frame a constitution adapted to Portuguese circumstances. In the mean time Lord Beresford had returned from Brazil, but, not daring to enter the harbor of Lisbon, had returned to England.

King John, a well-disposed man, readily adapted himself to this turn of affairs, and promised to return to Europe in case the resolutions of the Cortes harmonized with his interests. But the waves of the Portuguese reaction made themselves felt even in Brazil. In Rio Janeiro a junta was formed; the Portuguese constitution, although not yet completed, was sworn to, and the king, urged thereto by the army and by his ambitious son, Don Pedro, had to leave the latter behind in Brazil as viceroy, while he embarked with the rest of his family for Lisbon. He reached that city July 3d, 1821, but was not allowed to disembark until he had signed the preliminary draught of the decidedly democratic constitution. He swore to the constitution October 1st, 1822, when it was completed, compelled his second son, Don Miguel, to do the same, and made a like demand upon Don Pedro. From his wife, Queen Carlotta, he met with the most determined opposition. She was a sister of the King of Spain, dissolute and eager for power, and she left nothing untried in order to undermine the new constitutional system. This had, furthermore, bitter opponents in the clergy, and no hold upon the ignorant populace. Her house was the meeting-place of the "Cringers," as the reactionists were then called. She had an obedient tool in her congenial son, Don Miguel, whom she initiated into all her plans. Upon her refusal to take the oath, she was banished from the country, but, as she represented herself to be sick, she was placed temporarily under surveillance in the pleasure palace of Ramalhao. She did not, however, abandon her plans, and the French intervention in Spain gave her a wished-for opportunity of carrying them out. The counter-revolution which was attempted by Count

Amarante did not succeed; but in May, 1823, Don Miguel brought the greater part of the Lisbon garrison over to his side, compelled the Cortes under protest to disband and flee to England, and caused his father to hold an entrance into Lisbon, amid popular cries, "Down with the constitution! Long live the absolute king!" The constitution was abolished, Queen Carlotta brought back, and Don Miguel appointed commander-in-chief of the army. But since John did not subscribe to the absolute system of his spouse, and surrounded himself with persons who belonged in no way to her coterie, like Count Palmella, Count Subserra, and the Marquis of Loulé, the last-named was murdered in one of the royal antechambers; and when this hint was not attended to, a plan was formed to compel John to abdicate by means of a palace revolution, and to put Don Miguel in his place. April 30th, 1824, the latter set himself at the head of the troops, took possession of the palace, made his father prisoner, and, as a preliminary measure, forced absolutist ministers upon him. The English ambassador and his colleagues, as well as a few of the officers, protested against this *coup d'état*. John fled to an English ship, and communicated to his people the whole state of the case. The *coup* had miscarried. The unsuccessful Don Miguel had to beg his father's forgiveness, and was banished to Vienna. Carlotta again rescued herself by an attack of sickness, and was placed under state surveillance.

Soon afterward the relations between Portugal and Brazil were regulated. The English trade interests and the wishes of the Brazilians demanded the severance of Brazil from Portugal. A treaty, concluded under English good offices, was ratified November 15th, 1825, in accordance with which King John declared Brazil independent, and recognized his son Don Pedro as emperor of that country, retaining for himself, also, the title during his lifetime. In a secret article it was ordained that the two crowns should never be united upon one head.

The death of John, which took place on the 10th of March, 1826, gave rise to new disturbances. He had settled nothing with regard to the succession, but had named his daughter, the Infanta Isabella Maria, regent. She held with the constitutional party, and with it recognized Don Pedro as King of Portugal, while the absolutist party sought to place Don Miguel on the throne. According to the above-mentioned secret article, Don Pedro could

not accept the throne. However, he proclaimed his seven-year-old daughter, Maria da Gloria, Queen of Portugal, gave the country a liberal constitution, and made his brother, Don Miguel, his lieutenant. Don Miguel was to rule in accordance with the constitution, and was designated as the future husband of Maria II. The new constitution was proclaimed and put in operation in Lisbon by the regent Isabella, and sworn to in Vienna by Don Miguel. At the same time Don Miguel's betrothal with his niece took place. The old champions of the reaction—the Amarantes and Abrantes—immediately took up arms. They received all possible support from the Apostolic junta in Spain, and made several inroads into Portugal, but were driven back by generals Saldanha and Villaflor, in part with English assistance. Canning, to whom the hard-pressed Portuguese government had turned, influenced the English cabinet to send ten ships of war and twelve regiments, under General Clinton, to Portugal, and to frighten Spain off from further hostilities by a threatening communication.

Don Pedro had to pay dearly for the incomprehensible short-sightedness which he had shown regarding his brother. This "Lisbon *Gutedel*," as he was called in Vienna, was an ignorant, hypocritical man, but enjoyed the protection of Metternich, who confirmed him in his intention to overthrow the constitution, all oaths to the contrary notwithstanding, and make himself absolute King of Portugal. Not alone to the people, but even to kings, did Metternich deny the right of framing a constitution. He found the Portuguese prince full of "noble sentiments," and affirmed that "the instruction received in Vienna had had the best possible effect." Before his departure Don Miguel made a pilgrimage to Mariazell, in order to strengthen himself for the bloody work before him, and boastfully named himself "the archangel Michael, who shall bring the liberals to judgment with his trumpet." At his landing in Lisbon, February 22d, 1828, he was greeted as king by the excited populace. February 24th he took the oath of fidelity to their majesties, Don Pedro and Donna Maria, before the Cortes, yet in such wise that no one heard anything. His mother again acquired complete control over him. It was said that she forced him to each crime—when he needed any spur thereto—by threatening to reveal the secret that he was not the king's son, but the son of one of her favorites. All the constitutionalists were deprived of their offices, and a ministry of

nastic orders and cloisters were abolished, and their estates appropriated by the State; confiscated property was restored, and deprived officials reinstated. He died in the same year (1834), after declaring his daughter Donna Maria of age in the event of his death. The fifteen-year-old queen married Prince August, of Leuchtenberg, in January, 1835, and, as he died in March of the same year, she took Prince Ferdinand of Coburg as her husband in April, 1836; and his son to-day holds the throne of Portugal.

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§ 4.

GREAT BRITAIN.

No land offered the Holy Alliance such an unfavorable rest for its lever as England. Here was no dynasty to rescue, for it sat comfortably upon its throne—no constitution to repeal; for that would have been impossible, even for a political Hercules, after the land had grown up for centuries with parliament and constitution—no revolution to crush; for although occasional outbreaks occurred, yet the spirit of law was too strong among all classes, the means of advancing, spite of nobility and clergy, still farther along the way of reform toward the freedom before them, and giving this aristocratic republic with a crown in its escutcheon constantly more of a democratic character, too simple and numerous for the people to wish to tread the doubtful path of revolution. England had come out of a twenty years' war, unshaken, comparatively almost without loss. As formerly, so now the banner of the great Orange, the banner of 1688, still waved its motto: *The Protestant religion and the liberties of England.* Parliament still ruled; the Press was free; and the hegemony at sea, after the annihilation of all the larger fleets, had been carried to a point never reached before. The injury which Napoleon's embargo had done them they had made good by the seizure of the French colonies. The repossession of Hanover, with the addition of Heligoland, assured them the control of the North Sea; Gibraltar, Malta, and the Ionic islands were their citadels in the Mediterranean.

But the national debt had reached in 1815 the monstrous

sum of £814,000,000, and the annual expenditures amounted to £114,000,000. The consequence of such high figures was an unusually high taxation. This was so distributed by the legislators that the middle and lower classes had relatively the most to pay. Their burden was in any case heavy enough, since the price of the most necessary of all things, bread, had been largely increased by the hard-heartedness and avarice of the great landholders, the nobility. They had carried through a law by which the importation of corn and breadstuffs was either forbidden, or loaded with very heavy duties. Hence the disagreement between rich and poor assumed continually increasing dimensions, and clearly displayed itself both in agriculture and manufacturing. Almost all real estate was in the hands of a few families, who farmed out their *latifundiæ* in smaller parcels, and left the man without means no other choice than to become a day-laborer or a factory hand. And yet, in spite of the increase of great factories, which gradually wholly drove out the smaller establishments, labor was not so much in demand, and not so well paid, since everywhere, even in agriculture, the ever-encroaching machine had made many hands superfluous. This was a very serious shadow-side—that the free Englishman who owned no pedigree and no property had a position scarcely better than that of the Plebeians at the beginning of the Roman republic.

This comparison wins still greater force when the most important mechanism in the state machine, Parliament itself, is taken into account. Of the two houses, the upper one was exclusively a province of the highest aristocracy, and in the lower house, also, the aristocracy had a preponderating influence. This was partly owing to the thoroughly untenable system in accordance with which, thanks to historical right, old rotten boroughs that had scarcely a dozen voters possessed the right to send up a member of the lower house, while manufacturing cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants had no representation: partly, it was due to the high property qualification for the suffrage, which placed it beyond the reach of most men; partly, the shameless corruption by which the nobles generally made the poor voters of these little boroughs theirs was responsible. Complaints of the corn-law, or the high taxes, always found in their way the aristocracy which ruled England and made its laws. So long as no change was effected here, there could be no talk of improving permanently the

position of the people. The opposition formed, it is true, a respectable phalanx in every Parliament, but its fundamental principles were none other than those of the majority and the ministers, and the struggle turned principally upon the application of the admitted maxim: "Make way, and let me there." This was of slight service to the people. The cry for parliamentary reform, universal suffrage, secret ballot, abolition of sinecures, became constantly more pressing. Either the cry must be heeded, or a revolution would be kindled which would sweep away the privileges of the nobles, as in 1789 in France. Fortunately the English aristocracy was not blind. It was itself so leavened by free ideas, so enthusiastic for the greatness of the country, that a pilot was always found to guide the threatened ship of state, with the help of high aristocratic hands, into safe waters.

Lord Liverpool had stood at the head of the ministry since 1812. He was the bearer of an honored name, although not a man of remarkable parts. The life of the cabinet was Lord Castlereagh, minister of foreign affairs, England's Metternich, who wished as far as possible to introduce the reactionary system of the Continent into England also. He was haughty and imperious, so little loved by the people that his burial was celebrated as a feast. With the prince-regent, who for a long time exercised the royal rights in place of his melancholy father, George III., he always found a ready hearing for his unpopular counsels, and the prince found in him a very serviceable tool. As the prince-regent had caught the military mania, there was maintained in time of peace, a thing hitherto quite unheard of in England, a standing army of more than 100,000 men, which could, moreover, do good service against popular outbreaks. Neither in this nor in any other department was economy practised in the expenditure of public money, and the taxes were maintained at the former oppressive level. In the years 1815 and 1816 came stagnation of business, want of work, and an excessive rise of prices. All this brought about an agitation that affected even the very lowest classes. Meetings were held everywhere; people assembled in crowds around the popular leaders Hunt and Cobbet, and listened to orations on misgovernment and parliamentary reform. There was no lack of riots, murders, and interference of the military. The exasperation became so great that mud and stones were thrown at the carriage of the prince-regent as he returned from the open-

ing of Parliament, January 28th, 1817, and there were cries of "Down with the prince-regent! Down with the ministers!" Instead of restoring quiet by recognizing and remedying the existing evils, the ministry drew the reins still tighter. The *habeas-corpus* act, that magna charta of civil freedom, was suspended for a year, so that any person might be arrested and detained in jail without further proceedings; the right of meeting was limited; the Press laws were made severer, so that, as Cobbet said, the rope was laid not about the neck, but about the hands of each Opposition writer. But the agitation did not diminish. August 16th, 1819, a meeting of about 80,000 persons took place in Manchester, although such meetings were forbidden by the government. The various bands paraded banners and mottoes. Here were the words, "No corn-laws! Liberty and brotherly feeling!" there, "Equal representation or death!" There was even a troop of female reformers with a silk flag. But Hunt had hardly been received with thundering applause, and begun to speak, when hussars broke up the meeting, striking blindly about them with the flats of their swords, and causing a general *sauve qui peut.* Several were left dead on the spot, and a few hundred were wounded. Hunt was carried off a prisoner, but had to be released on bail. The "massacre of Peterloo" caused universal indignation, even in aristocratic circles. And yet the ministry dared to go still farther. It brought forward and carried through the six "gag bills," by which a blow was struck at the right of meeting and at the freedom of the Press similar to the blow struck at the German Press and universities by the Carlsbad resolutions. No wonder that, when everything was at greatest tension, the most excited should not refrain from extreme measures. An old revolutionist, Arthur Thistlewood, organized a conspiracy. Like a modern Catiline, he conceived the plan of murdering the ministers at a cabinet dinner, February 23d, 1820, setting fire to the barracks, and establishing a provisional government. The plot was betrayed, the ringleader and four comrades hung, and others transported.

In the midst of this excitement occurred the change of sovereigns and the divorce suit of the new king. The weak-minded George III. died January 29th, 1820, and George IV. had scarcely seated himself on the throne when he demanded of his ministers that they should effect his divorce from his wife. As Prince of

Wales, when his aim was to be the "first gentleman in Europe," he had spent his time as a finished rake in drinking, gaming, and among disreputable women. When twenty-three years of age, he had contracted a marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert, a Roman Catholic, several years older than he, and twice a widow. He was loaded with a debt of £700,000. As the price of payment of his debts, he consented to marry Princess Caroline of Brunswick, in 1795. Soon after she had given birth to the Princess Charlotte, he informed her, in a politely cold letter, that she might leave his house, and never enter it again. From 1796 to 1814 she lived in England, exposed to constant insults and persecution; then, contrary to the advice of her friends, sick of these mortifications, she repaired to the Continent, and travelled through Italy and the East. With a certain Bartolomeo Bergami, who had advanced from the position of her waiting-man to that of her chamberlain, and who was her constant attendant, she stood in relations which must have called forth almost involuntary condemnation. The administration had unnecessarily sent a secret commission after her, surrounded her with spies, and received intelligence through bribed servants of the most extravagant doings. During her absence her daughter Charlotte had married Prince Leopold, of Saxe-Coburg, afterward King of Belgium, and had died in 1817, in giving birth to a still-born child. This she learned from the newspapers. June 6th, 1820, after the death of George III., she returned to London, to the terror of her husband. He caused her to be indicted in the upper house, and a bill to be brought forward divorcing her from the king on the ground of adultery, and depriving her of the title of Queen of England. The suit—in the course of which a number of dirty witnesses were brought from the Continent, and the most eloquent advocates, among others Brougham, pleaded for the queen—developed in its progress a seemingly unending series of scandals about both king and queen such as only the strong nerves of Old England could have endured. Yet, in spite of this—and it was a sign of the great contempt in which the king was held—no name in all England was more fêted in those days than the queen's. The visits and addresses on occasion of Blücher's visit, in the summer of 1814, were scarcely more numerous than those which this repudiated wife now received. The rejoicing was unbounded when, November 2d, after the bill had passed its third reading with a majority of only nine

votes, Lord Liverpool, not daring to bring it before the Commons, withdrew it.

Yet all this disgrace did not affect the besotted George. July 16th, 1821, he caused himself to be crowned with all the pageantry of the Middle Ages. The queen was repulsed from the door of Westminster Abbey, and died, August 7th, in consequence of the unnatural excitement. But even in death she seemed determined to give her cruel husband no rest. On the day of her funeral, when she was to be conveyed to Brunswick, a countless crowd escorted her remains through London. It resulted in a bloody collision with the mounted guards; but the procession, under the conduct of the lord mayor, passed through the middle of the city as the people wished.

The kingdom had scarcely recovered from this blow, at which all Europe maliciously cried "fy!" when it was noised abroad that Lord Castlereagh had cut his throat (August 12th, 1822). It was true. The man who had stood by the king through thick and thin—who had brought, as it were by force, the wretched conditions of the Continent into England—who had seemed anxious to force a revolution there too—had cut the artery of his throat with a penknife in a fit of insanity. This event, which was a turning-point in English politics, excited great rejoicings among the people, and they could not be persuaded that insanity, and not the furies of an awakened conscience, had put the penknife into his hand. George Canning received the post of foreign minister, displeased though the king was by his attitude during the suit against the queen, and little as the majority of the cabinet were pleased with their new colleague. But, by virtue of his character and his talents, especially his eloquence, he had outgrown any other capacity. Moreover, internal and external affairs were just at that time too complicated for men not to wish, or even be compelled to choose, the most suitable man for the most difficult post. His programme was: England's greatness and freedom; renunciation of the Holy Alliance, which, where it had acted—in Naples and in Spain—had, under the banner of legitimacy, brought about semi-barbarism. England, which under Castlereagh had sunk to a prefecture of the Holy Alliance, was again to take an independent position—to constitute the first power in Europe; and, supported by the liberal element everywhere, to oppose the Quixotism of the knights of the Holy Alliance with the enormous

resources of its land and sea power and its wealth. Canning was the pronounced enemy of European interventions, and laid down the principle that each nation may manage its own affairs according to its own tastes. Furthermore, he was Englishman enough not to place the mercantile interests of his country quite in the background. The recognition of the South American states, the despatch of an auxiliary force to Portugal in 1826, and his support of the Greek cause, are sufficient proofs of the hostility of his policy to that of the Holy Alliance.

In internal affairs also, although they did not properly belong to his province, a new spirit was noticeable. The oppressive corn-laws were modified at his proposition. With reference to slavery in the British colonies, it was determined that the negroes should be prepared by intellectual and moral means for their eventual emancipation, and that the slave-trade was to be treated as piracy, and punished with death. In another question which, after parliamentary reform, was the most burning question of the decade, and which, if happily solved, involved the solution of the first, he met with the most violent opposition from the nobility and clergy, and was obliged to leave his successors to carry it through. That was Roman Catholic emancipation—the civil equalization of Ireland—in which question free England was in conflict with her own external and internal policy. But it was not granted Canning to devote many years to these weighty questions. He became prime-minister after Liverpool's retirement, in April, 1827, and formed a ministry with liberal views. The treaty of July 6th gave a decisive turn to the Greek cause, but the consequences of that treaty, the sea-fight of Navarino, on October 20th, he did not live to see. He died August 8th, 1827, mourned by a hemisphere.

After a short period of transition followed the ultra-Tory ministry of Wellington, which lamented the victory at Navarino, and allowed the Portuguese tyrant Don Miguel to try its patience to the uttermost. And yet it was this very "Iron Duke" who had to enter upon the solution of the Roman Catholic question, and render at least partial justice to the Irish. For centuries Ireland had held the place of step-child, and been compelled to suffer all the evil consequences of the early wars of conquest. There, to a greater extent even than in England, all the land was in the hands of a few families, and the Irish population were their tenants or

day-laborers. The rich lands and privileges of the Roman Catholic church had passed by English decree into possession of the Anglican church; and so, while supporting his own church, the Irishman had also to pay tithes for the maintenance of one to which he did not belong. These and similar abuses, which attached themselves to the difference of race, confession, and education, could not be remedied as long as the law excluding all Roman Catholics from Parliament existed. Here was another field for the operation of secret societies. These were met on the Protestant side by the Orangemen. Incendiarism and assassination were frequent, and there was no question that it was very unwise on the part of England to keep this wound in its political body always open. Finally, in 1828, the Test Act passed under Charles II., which made the assumption of each political office dependent upon the reception of the communion after the Anglican ritual, was repealed. The agitation reached a crisis when the Irish lawyer, Daniel O'Connell, who ruled the whole island by his eloquence, set himself at the front, covered the country with a web of Roman Catholic associations, and brought the matter to a practical issue by being returned to Parliament, July 5th, 1828, from Clare, where a seat was vacant. The exultation over this victory among the Irish corresponded to the consternation among the English. Wellington perceived that he must choose between a civil war and yielding, and was statesman enough to prefer the latter. April 13th, 1829, the civil emancipation bill, which had been introduced by him, and accepted by both houses, was signed by the king in spite of all opposition. O'Connell, the mighty tribune of the people hitherto, notwithstanding his election, repulsed from the doors of Parliament, could now in person bring the complaints of "green Erin" to the ears of her oppressors. He appeared in Parliament with a radical proposition for universal suffrage and secret ballot, and already spoke of giving Ireland its own Parliament to frame its own legislation, and of bringing the smaller island into a position with reference to England similar to that which Sicily wished to occupy toward Naples.

But first, in England and in Ireland, all opposition must unite in the one cry for parliamentary reform. By the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, the previous system had been broken with, so far as the religious question was concerned. The second breach must be opened from the social stand-point. Neither king,

ministry, nor Parliament was favorably disposed; but events were in preparation which would, overnight as it were, bring quite different figures to the surface.

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§ 5.

GREECE.—TURKEY.—RUSSIA.

Among all the uprisings of the third decade, that of the Greeks claimed in the highest degree the attention and sympathies of Europe. The reminiscences of antiquity joined themselves to the heroic deeds of the present to render the Grecian war for freedom the most popular of living dramas. Even if one does not see in the Greeks the pure descendants of the heroes of Marathon and Salamis, even if one must admit that Slavonic immigration and conquest have effected great changes—nevertheless, the Slavonic element has become master here as little as in northeastern Germany, and the Hellenic character is attested by unmistakable signs. Especially is this true of the islands, where many Homeric customs still hold their own. The splendid patterns of antiquity, and the political agitation consequent upon the Napoleonic wars, aroused anew, after previous attempts had failed, the hope of shaking off the Turkish yoke and winning independence. The young men who had studied in France and Germany, the bold seafarers who, with their rich merchant fleets, felt themselves kings of the Grecian waters, could no longer endure to remain Turkish slaves. It was merely a rule of caprice which the Turks exercised: there was no talk of right; no property, no life was safe before the whim of a pasha.

Like the *Burschenschaft*, the *Carbonari*, and the freemasons in Germany, Italy, and Spain, respectively, there existed in Greece at the time of the Vienna congress the *Hetæria*. In its lists were enrolled the most illustrious names at home and abroad; and it had, as its visible aim, the promotion of scientific culture. The rebellion of the murderous Ali Pasha of Janina, who sought to make himself independent prince of Epirus—perhaps of Greece—and who liked to hear himself called the new Pyrrhus, was very favorable for an outbreak. The Porte was compelled to send

strong armies against this powerful vassal in the years 1820 to 1822. It was not until February 2d, 1822, that the Serasquier Churshid Pasha succeeded in removing by treachery the "Lion of Epirus."

In the spring of 1821, while the best Turkish troops were occupied before Janina, the flames of revolt broke out simultaneously in north and south. At the head of the *Hetæria* stood Alexander Ypsilanti, a member of an old Phanariote family, a Russian general, and adjutant to the Emperor Alexander. Toward the Czar, who, following the traditions of his house, looked with longing eyes upon the shores of the Bosphorus and "the key to his kingdom," the hopes of many Greeks were directed. They expected much, also, from their countryman, Count Kapodistrias, Alexander's minister and favorite. March 6th, 1821, Ypsilanti, with a few trusty followers, crossed the Pruth and entered Jassy, the capital of Moldavia. He announced that Greece had risen, and that Russia would lend her aid, and sought to unite under his banner all the Christian elements in the northern provinces of Turkey, *i. e.*, Roumania, Servia, and Bulgaria. Failing in this, and coldly received by the people everywhere, he marched into Wallachia, entered Bucharest, and on the 19th of June stood face to face with the Turks, who had hastened into Roumania from all sides. The treason of the Wallachian Vladimiresko—for which he was cut to pieces—and a letter from the Czar from Laibach, where he was in Metternich's atmosphere, censuring Ypsilanti's undertaking, and directing that his name be struck off from the army list, still further discouraged the insurgents. A battle was fought at the village of Dragatshan. Notwithstanding their numerical inferiority, the Turks were victors. The so-called sacred band was cut down, and the rest of the insurgents scattered. Ypsilanti, who was more highly gifted with ambition and imagination than political wisdom and military skill, fled to Transylvania. After keeping him a prisoner in Mungaez and Theresienstadt for six and a half years, the Austrian government released him, at the request of Russia, in 1827, and he died in Vienna the following year. Georgios, an Olympian, led a part of the insurgents into Moldavia, and threw himself into the convent of Sekka. With 350 men he defended for three days, against 1500 Turks, the approach, which led through a defile, and when he was at length taken in the rear, blew up the bell-tower, in which he

and eleven comrades had taken refuge, with the Turks who had forced an entrance. The remnant of the little force capitulated, but were nevertheless massacred. A proverb says, "One Turk wastes a province in a night;" and it may be imagined what havoc the Janizaries now made in the Danubian principalities.

Upon the news of these occurrences and of the rebellion in Morea, Sultan Mahmoud II. and his Turks evinced their Tartar origin. A number of Phanariotes (members of a Grecian aristocracy of birth or office in the service of the Porte) had already been murdered, and passing Christians wantonly shot at, when, at the Easter festival, the aged Greek patriarch Gregorios was seized in the act of leaving his church, and hung at the door of his palace. Three archbishops and several priests shared the same fate. The sultan openly exulted at the sight of the patriarch's corpse, and caused it to be taken down by Jews, dragged through the streets, and cast into the sea. This was the signal for murdering and plundering in Constantinople and other cities; and in defiance of all the representations of the ambassadors, the murdering of bishops was renewed in the month of May. This so seriously complicated the relations with Russia, which regards herself as the protector of Greek Catholics, that the Russian ambassador Stroganow demanded his pass. By these massacres the interposition of Russia, even if not immediate, was rendered almost certain. All Europe abhorred the Turks, and sympathized with the Greeks as the natural consequence of such atrocities, which furthermore rendered reconciliation between Greeks and Turks no longer possible.

In Morea the revolution was well under way. April 4th, 1821, Archbishop Germanos planted a cross before the church in Patras, and made the Greeks swear to fight for their religion and their country. The Mainotes, who boasted descent from the ancient Spartans, under Petros Moromichalis (commonly called Petrobei) and Theodore Kolokotronis, took Kalamata, the capital of Messenia, and established a sort of provisional government there. From this centre the insurrection spread over all Morea, over northern Greece as far as Thermopylæ, and over the islands of the archipelago. Among the latter, Hydra and Spezzia, opposite Argolis and Psara, north of Chios, were especially prominent. These three islands equipped 176 ships. The widow Bobolina, of Spezzia, who had lost her husband in the Constantinople massacre, and

one of her sons in the defence of Argos, furnished two ships, and commanded them herself like a modern Artemisia. During the first year of the war the Turkish fleet could nowhere make head against the Greek. The Turks were also unable to force their way into northern Greece, being beaten back in the east by the cunning Odysseus, and in the west by the brave Suliotes under Markos Bozzaris. In Morea the contest was almost wholly concentrated about Tripolizza, the residence of the vizier. This was a city of 30,000 inhabitants, 10,000 of whom were armed men; while the band of beleaguering Greeks, eager for booty, numbered about 7000, nominally led by Petrobei, but really by Kolokotronis. The city was taken by storm October 5th. The plundering, murdering, and burning lasted three days, and a dreadful revenge was taken for the scenes in Constantinople, Crete, and Cyprus. The Turks had but six strongholds left in Morea; the Greek colors even waved over Akrocorinth.

The year 1822 began with the first national assembly of the Greeks in Piada, near Epidaurus. A constitution was proposed, and a government of five men established, with Alexander Maurokordatos as president. Superior to all his countrymen by his knowledge of occidental affairs, by his European culture, and by his integrity, he seemed called to play the part of an Oxenstiern; but he found in such men as Kolokotronis the foes of all subordination, and of every well-ordered political system. This athletic Kolokotronis was a typical klepht, and as such hated the semi-Franks, with their frock-coats and their spectacles. In the previous summer he had opposed the plans of Demetrius Ypsilanti, who came to Morea with the assumption that his very name entitled him to the position of president and commander-in-chief. Disunion was already the most dangerous enemy of the Greeks.

The most brilliant deed of this year (1822) was the revenge for Chios. This flourishing island, rich in southern fruits, silk, and mastic, inhabited by 100,000 Greeks and 6000 Turks, had been dragged into the revolt by Samos against its will, and with slight participation on the part of the inhabitants. On April 10th Kamudan Pasha appeared at the island with forty-six ships and 7000 troops. The capital was burnt down, and the inhabitants killed or enslaved. After having proclaimed an amnesty, the Turks fell upon the country people, thus lulled into a false security, and murdered anew with unheard-of atrocity. Even the

sick in the hospitals were hewn down. Those who could not take refuge in the houses of the consuls or on board ship were lost. Only 5000 were rescued; 23,000 were murdered; 47,000 were brought into the slave markets of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Tunis.

This blow threatened the other islands. The Greek fleet quickly gathered at Psara. It consisted of fifty-six ships and eight fire-ships, and was commanded by the Hydriote Miaulis, who had made his first voyage as a seven-year-old boy in his father's ship. On the night between the 18th and 19th of June, Constantine Kanaris of Psara, and George Pipinos of Hydra, with thirty-two comrades—after they had first received the sacrament, preparing in case of need to blow themselves up—embarked at midnight on two fire-ships, and sailed through the midst of the Turkish fleet toward the brilliantly-lighted vessels of the admiral and vice-admiral. The month of fasting had just closed, and Kapudan Pasha was celebrating the opening of the Beiram by a grand feast. There were more than 2000 men on his ship. Kanaris attached his fire-ship to the forepart of the admiral's vessel, which was soon wrapped in flames. Pipinos attached his to the vice-admiral's ship, but was less fortunate, since it broke loose again, and sailed about burning among the startled Turkish fleet. With the cry of "Victory to the Cross!" the Greeks rowed off in their yawls, while the cannons of the admiral's vessel boomed behind them, and then the vessel itself flew into the air with a terrible explosion. Kapudan Pasha, struck by a falling mast, was carried ashore to die on the very spot where, a couple of months before, he had ordered the innocent Chian hostages to be massacred. The Turkish fleet hastened back to the Dardanelles. The garrison of Chios, panting for vengeance, fell upon the hitherto unmolested mastic villages, and murdered or enslaved the inhabitants. By the month of August the population had dwindled from 100,000 to 1800. Kanaris and his fellow-heroes escaped safely to Psara, were there joyfully received, and at once repaired to church to return thanks for victory and escape.

In this year the Porte had also made great exertions on land. After annihilating the Pasha of Janina, it was free to turn all its forces against the Greeks. "The result of the struggle is no longer doubtful," wrote the sharp-sighted diplomats in Constantinople to their courts. The main army was to force its way

through East Hellas over the isthmus into Morea, while a corps of Albanians was to subdue West Hellas. Dramali (Mahmoud Pasha of Drama) marched with 30,000 men through Thermopylæ into Bœotia and Attica, entered Morea, and placed garrisons in Nauplia and Argos, but had to fall back on Corinth through lack of supplies. Kolokotronis, who had been appointed commander-in-chief, waylaid him at the pass of Dervenaki, and inflicted a loss of several thousand men. Nauplia had to surrender again to Kolokotronis; while the Turkish fleet, which had once more ventured forth, without, however, accomplishing anything, lost near Tenedos, on its return, the vice-admiral's ship, which, together with 1600 men, the untiring Kanaris, with his fire-ship, blew into the air. In West Hellas the Greeks, strengthened by the Philhellenes under the Würtemberg general Normann, had suffered a defeat at Peta, in the neighborhood of Arta, through the treason of Gogos. This disaster was compensated by the repulse of the Turkish assault on Mesolonghi on Christmas-day, when the assailants were beaten back with the loss of all their artillery. They consoled themselves with the fatalistic proposition: "God has withdrawn valor from the Moslems and granted it to the Giaours." Another year had passed, and still the great Turkish empire was not able, unassisted, to subdue little Greece. The Greeks, on their part, were seeking to put themselves under the protection of England or some other foreign power. To this end they sent Count Metaxas and the Frenchman Jourdain to the congress of Verona. They expected intercession at the least from Emperor Alexander, whose army and people were eager for war with Turkey. But he allowed himself to be completely blinded by Metternich, who in diplomatic fashion set the Greek revolution in the same category with the Spanish and Neapolitan, and approved of commanding the Greek plenipotentiaries to remain in Ancona. The answer finally accorded them was: "The sovereigns are determined to discountenance the principle of rebellion, however and whenever it show itself." Where Metternich was chief cook, the Greeks, who were the same as any other rebels in his eyes, could expect no dinner. Quite different was it in England, where Castlereagh's penknife had just brought George Canning into the foreign ministry. As a sentimental young politician, Canning had composed tender elegies on the bondage of Greece; as a matured man, he could play the part of a Tyrtæus, and could cast Eng-

land's weight into the scales in Greece as in South America. It was a harbinger of future action when, in March, 1823, he recognized the blockade declared by the Greeks, thus treating them as belligerents.

Both Turks and Greeks had already pretty well exhausted themselves; there could be no talk of decisive blows until the allies on both sides entered the lists. Further, there was a schism among the Greeks, who had already formed two mutually hostile governments. Of these, the one was supported by klephts, like Kolokotronis; the other was the constitutional civil government, and had the fleet on its side. The latter, at whose head stood President Konturiotis in Nauplia, finally conquered. Kolokotronis and twelve refractory chiefs were obliged to yield, and were shut up in a cloister at Hydra. In West Hellas, also, the unruly captains had to submit to the provincial congress under the lead of Maurokordatos. The wily Odysseus, who had gone over to the sultan on the promise of being named governor of East Hellas, had to surrender to Guras, and was strangled at Athens. The party of order had never been stronger than at the end of the year 1824; and in view of the threatening tempest they needed all the strength they could command.

The military events of the two years 1823 and 1824 were not important. In West Hellas, Omer Brione, Pasha of Scutari, pressed forward against Mesolonghi. On the night of August 20th, 1823, the gallant Markos Bozzaris, with 350 Suliotes, surprised the pasha's vanguard, consisting of 5000 men, at Karpenisi, brought death and confusion into their ranks, and completely scattered them. But the deed, which by its bravery reminds us of Leonidas, had no results, and cost Bozzaris his life. In July, 1824, a companion piece to the butchery of Chios was enacted in Psara. The Turkish fleet under Chosrew Pasha landed there; the city was taken and plundered, and after a fearful massacre set fire to. About 100 ships were carried off; only nineteen escaped laden with fugitives. The garrison of the fort, 600 strong, defended themselves two days and two nights. Reduced to 200, they blew themselves up on the third day, along with 2000 Turks who had forced an entrance. The island was laid waste; 17,000 inhabitants killed or taken captive. Thereupon Miaulis, with his fast-sailing vessels, hastened to Psara, surprised there twenty-seven Turkish ships, and put them, with the garrison of the city, to

flight. Samos, on which it had been intended to make a similar landing, was saved by Miaulis.

About this time a more active sympathy began to be displayed in the West. The massacres of Constantinople and Chios had made bad blood. Men shuddered at the thought of leaving so heroic a folk to be butchered by Asiatic hordes—whose continued rule in Europe is a disgrace—while the West, like the spectators at a theatre, looked on, and the monarchs watched for a signal from their *claqueur*, Metternich. It was felt, too, that no better return could be made for the culture received from Hellas than to support with gold and troops these late *Epigonæ* in their war for freedom. In Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and France, Greek unions were formed. Troops were shipped from Marseilles, and among them, in 1822, was the above-mentioned Count Normann, who died at Mesolonghi in November, 1823. In England a loan of £800,000 sterling was effected, £40,000 of which reached Greece in March, 1824. The gifted Lord Byron, who had already made a journey to Greece in 1809, and had drawn thence many characters for his poems, arrived at Mesolonghi in January, 1824, in order to assist the Greeks with money, counsel, and action, but died April 15th, closing his restless life by an atoning act. His body found a place beside those of Count Normann and Markos Bozzaris.

All these little aids could give no decisive results. Quite another lever must be applied to set afloat once more the cause which seemed at that very moment hopelessly grounded. The Porte had at last turned to its most powerful vassal, Mehemed Ali, of Egypt. This cunning and able Thracian, a thorough mixture of barbarism and European polish, had accumulated a snug treasure by systematically plundering the wealthy Nile valley, and had organized his army in the European manner, in which French instructors had been very useful to him, especially Colonel Sève (Soliman Bey). Indulging hopes of becoming a great power, thinking even of Constantinople, he was very ready to be summoned to Crete and Morea. Crete suffered first. The Turks had already made fearful havoc there in 1821, until the brave Sphakiotes, descending from their mountains, had beaten them soundly. Toward the end of 1823 an Egyptian fleet appeared, and Egyptian troops traversed the whole island, burning and murdering as they went. In the stalactitic grotto of Hermes 500 women and

children were suffocated by the application of fire. The Sphakiote chiefs were summoned to surrender, and then cast into prison. After Crete's subjugation, the whole Grecian marine was to be destroyed, and the three islands chastised. Psara had already received its castigation at the hands of Chosrew Pasha. In July, 1824, Mehemed Ali's main force was embarked at Alexandria—about 17,000 men, with 54 ships of war and 400 transports—under the lead of his step-son, Ibrahim Pasha, a hard, cruel man, whose military education had been acquired in a campaign in Arabia. He drew back before no measures, even the most extreme. The plan was to murder all the inhabitants of Morea, or transport them to Egypt, and to repeople the country with Arabians.

The Egyptian and Turkish fleets united on the coast of Asia Minor, but were constantly harassed by Miaulis, and every undertaking of importance prevented. Ibrahim was compelled, with the loss of six larger and fifty smaller ships, to sail to Crete and winter there. In the spring of 1825 he landed with 2000 men in the western part of Morea, and took the island of Sphacteria and the fortress of Navarino, which gave him the possession of a suitable harbor. In this strait the Greeks proclaimed a general amnesty. Kolokotronis and his companions were set free, and the former once more appointed commander-in-chief. On his return to Nauplia, he told the people that he had cast his grudge into the sea, and they must do the same. Marching diagonally through Morea, Ibrahim forced his way to Tripolizza, took the city, and marched against Nauplia, but was prevented from attacking it by the appearance of Commodore Hamilton, in command of an English station-squadron. Kolokotronis was repulsed in an attack upon Tripolizza; and henceforward the Greeks, more accustomed to guerilla warfare than to pitched battles with regular troops, dared not contend with Ibrahim in the open field. The latter made devastating forays through all Morea, and was not to be driven out.

He had scarcely received 10,000 fresh troops when he set out from Navarino, with army and fleet, for Mesolonghi, before which he appeared January 9th, 1826. Reshid Pasha had lain before the place since the previous summer. It had a garrison of 3000 men, but was ill equipped with provisions and material of war. However, all the assaults of the Turks were repulsed, and admi-

rals Miaulis and Sachturis had three times succeeded in breaking through the hostile fleet, and supplying the besieged with food and powder. Reshid Pasha had to give up the siege in October, but remained in his outermost intrenchments, mindful of the sultan's threat: "Mesolonghi or thy head!" On his arrival before the fortress, Ibrahim made merry over "that hedge," which he would take in fourteen days. Miaulis provided the city once more with food and ammunition for two months. The summons to surrender was refused, and Ibrahim's first assault repulsed, to the great joy of Reshid, who had comfortably played the part of spectator, and whose assistance must now be solicited. In April Miaulis attempted once more, with an ill-equipped fleet, to come to the assistance of the city, but found all approaches closed, and could accomplish nothing in face of the superior numbers of the enemy. And yet, according to Ibrahim's own confession, Mesolonghi might have been saved if it had had supplies for three weeks more, for his army, unaccustomed to the harshness of the climate, had already greatly dwindled.

What neither his assaults nor his French engineers could accomplish, hunger effected. The distress reached a climax. Men nourished themselves with sea-weed, and mice and rats were a luxury. The city was a heap of ruins, and bitter cold prevailed. Then the Greeks determined to cut their way through the enemy. April 22d, 1826, at two o'clock in the morning, 3000 armed men, with 5000 women and children, and others incapable of bearing arms, in their midst, broke out of Mesolonghi. They crossed the trenches on boards, to find themselves beset on all sides, for their plan had been betrayed. Bewildered by the terrified cry of "Back!" some returned to the city; the rest hastened on to Mount Zygos, where Albanian hordes awaited them instead of the help expected. These hewed down hundreds, armed and unarmed: only 1300 escaped to Salona. The fate of those who returned was still worse. The enemy forced their way into the city with them, killed the men, and seized the women and children to sell as slaves. Scattered through the city to plunder, many Turks met their death in the ruins of the houses which the Greeks themselves blew up.

Ibrahim, who had already lost half of his troops, returned to Morea to continue his ravages, in the course of which he was beaten back several times by the Mainotes, into whose mountain-

ous territory he sought to penetrate. He passed the following winter at Modon. In the mean time, Reshid Pasha was in Athens besieging the Acropolis. Notwithstanding the brave defence of the commandant Guras and his heroic wife; of the gallant Karaiskakis; of the Englishmen Cochrane and Church, and the Frenchman Fabvier, who had hastened to its succor, the famous citadel had to capitulate June 5th, 1827. Central Greece was lost. Ibrahim Pasha was on the very point of delivering two dreadful blows. He was about to ravage Messenia with fire and sword, and reduce Maina; and at the same time, by means of the united Turkish and Egyptian fleets, he purposed annihilating Hydra, the stronghold of the Grecian navy, and taking Nauplia from the water-side. Army and fleet were considerably strengthened: these few successes more, and all Greece, from Thermopylæ to Cape Matapan, lay in servile chains at the feet of the sultan and his pasha.

Was no obstacle to be opposed to the accomplishment of these plans? Certainly not, if all went according to the wishes of Metternich, whose warnings were stronger with regard to nothing than "measures of compulsion, except against rebels." But there were other men of importance in Europe who held the opposite opinion. The fall of Mesolonghi caused a quick but lasting blaze of philhellenism. The Greek unions in Germany and Switzerland showed a greater activity than ever, and much money was sent out to redeem the captured Greeks from slavery. In the first-named country, King Louis, of Bavaria, was foremost in this matter; in the latter, Eynard, a Genevese banker. In France men like Chateaubriand and Lafitte led the van; the royal family took part in the movement; the legitimists saw in Greece no hearth of revolution but a Christian *Vendée*, the champion of Christian legitimacy in the midst of Mohammedan usurpation. In the Chambers the ministers were obliged to hear many strong expressions regarding their course in permitting French officers to serve under an Ibrahim. The Greeks themselves, who had again fallen into the old dissensions, now returned to better ways. At the instance of the English admiral Lord Cochrane, who had won laurels in the struggle for freedom of the South American colonies, and the English general Church, the national assembly at Trœzen, April 11th, 1827, concluded to name the Korfiote Kapodistrias president of Greece for seven years.

But the decisive measures proceeded from England and Russia. The young Miaulis had journeyed to London in 1825, and communicated to Canning the wish of the Greeks to place themselves under English protection. Canning dared not undertake this English patronage, and recommended an appeal to the general mediation of the collective powers; but he soon found an opportunity to take more active measures. December 1st, 1825, the Emperor Alexander died at Taganrog, and Nicholas, his successor, was not the man to take his advice from Vienna. Canning sent the Duke of Wellington to congratulate him on his accession. April 4th, 1826, an agreement was signed, by which both powers pledged themselves to mediate a peace between Turkey and Greece on the plan of placing Greece in a relation to Turkey similar to that of the Danubian principalities. But when the English and Russian ambassadors, supported by the French, demanded from the Porte a cessation of hostilities, the latter responded that the sultan was as much master in his own dominions as any other sovereign in his, and deprecated any interference. Thereupon the treaty of London between England, France, and Russia was concluded July 6th, 1827, and the three powers agreed to prevent all further hostilities, and compel an armistice if necessary. The Porte persisted in its refusal. The allies sent their fleets into Grecian waters. The English fleet was commanded by Sir Edward Codrington; the Russian, by Count Heyden; the French, by de Rigny.

In the harbor of Navarino lay 126 Turkish and Egyptian ships, ready at any moment to depart in order to inflict upon Hydra the fate of Chios. On September 25th, 1827, Codrington and de Rigny had an interview with Ibrahim, and demanded the cessation of all hostilities. He promised to carry out their demands, and retain his ships in the harbor until he had received from Constantinople or Alexandria an answer to his inquiries. But when he heard that the Greeks, who had also acquiesced in the demands of the powers, were nevertheless committing hostilities—that the English captain Hastings, who had brought the Greeks their first war steamer and entered their service, had destroyed at Salona, September 30th, seven Turkish, and carried off three Austrian ships, regaining thereby control of the Gulf of Corinth, and re-establishing the connection between Morea and West Hellas—he caused several villages in Messenia to be burnt, 60,000 fig-trees and 25,000 olive-trees to be cut down; thus ruining for many

years the prosperity of the country, and at the same time despatched two divisions of his fleet to the Corinthian gulf. Codrington, who lay before Zante, barred their passage into the gulf, and drove them back with cannon-balls. He then joined his two colleagues, and as they had also received news of the ravaging of Messenia, the allied fleets sailed southward to the harbor of Navarino. There they found the Turkish fleet ready for battle, drawn up in the form of a horse-shoe. Ibrahim had gone to Pyrgos four days before, apparently to evade the demands of the admirals. His fleet consisted of 130 ships, 89 of which were ships of war, with 2438 guns. To these the allies could only oppose 27 ships, with 1276 guns. Codrington held the chief command over the allied fleet. His ship, *Asia*, anchored within pistol-shot of that of the Turkish admiral. The command was not to fire unless the Turks did. Several shots had already been fired, several men had already been killed on the English ships; but still Codrington held back. Then the crew of the Turkish admiral's vessel fired a volley, and the battle began. Right and left the Englishman sunk his opponents, and the others did not fall behind him. Coolness and discipline were on their side; confusion, stupidity, and cowardice on the other. All were tangled together in one knot, as it were, out of which more than 3000 cannon thundered till the contracted, hill-girt basin echoed again. The battle lasted four hours, from two P.M. till six; and in that time from 5000 to 6000 of the enemy were killed, and almost their whole fleet destroyed. Only twenty-nine ships were left which were in any way sea-worthy. The harbor was covered with fragments. The explosions of disabled ships blown up by the Turks lasted through the whole night. On his return to Navarino that evening, Ibrahim saw before him nothing but destruction. The admirals caused him to be informed that in case of the slightest hostility on his part the forts and the remnant of his fleet would be completely battered to pieces. Thereupon he displayed the white flag, and sent what ships could be made sea-worthy to Alexandria, while the allies retired to repair damages.

There was joy over this victory in all Europe, save in the court at Vienna, and there there was dismay. Canning had not lived to witness this triumph. His successor, Wellington, caused the king, in his speech from the throne, to name the victory an unfortunate event, since the destruction of the Turkish fleet seemed es-

pecially favorable to Russia's designs. The Porte would not even yet enter into any negotiations regarding the pacification of Greece; and between it and the ambassadors of the three powers the strife was so hot that the latter left Constantinople, whereupon a number of Franks were expelled from Turkey. A Russo-Turkish war was imminent. In order to reap the full fruits of the day of Navarino, the French general Maison, with 14,000 men, landed in Morea, according to the resolution of the London conference, compelling Ibrahim Pasha to depart for Egypt, and the garrisons to capitulate. In October, 1828, Morea was free, and there was nothing to prevent the Greeks from establishing an independent government there at once.

President Kapodistrias had been on Greek soil since January 18th, 1828, received by all parties as their deliverer. Such he might have been, if as Russian minister he had not become so accustomed to absolute rule that, on his return to Greece, he judged the there existing conditions falsely. His presidency was a sort of dictatorship. The council of state, which should have served as a check upon him, was composed of his creatures. The independence of provincial and municipal authorities was destroyed, and a government of prefects introduced, under which free municipal elections were impossible. In order to make his will omnipotent, he employed spies, like Metternich, limited the freedom of the Press, and violated the secrecy of the mails. Schools were established, it is true, but care was taken that no free ideas should enter their halls. In Plato's home Plato's Gorgias could not be read, because it spoke too strongly against tyrants. He showed no less hatred against everything that had been great and strong in the Greek revolution than the Spanish Ferdinand had shown against Napoleon's victorious antagonists. Toward the self-reliant Hydriotes, toward the independent Mainotes, toward those proud chieftains who had borne their country's fate upon their swords' points, he acted the part of Russian pasha. This could not have been more plainly shown than by his first reception of the captains of East Hellas, when he addressed them with the words: "I know you; you are all thieves and liars!" And when General Church would have presented to him the heroes of Mesolonghi, he said, "It is not necessary; I know these gentlemen already. You have brawled for nine years with the Turks, and stolen sheep and goats; those are your heroic deeds." Such a

speech from a man who had no other merit than that up to that time he had been the obedient servant of the Emperor of Russia, and had idled about in St. Petersburg and Geneva while his countrymen were blowing Turkish flag-ships into the air, was a little too much.

March 22d, 1829, the three powers determined that Greece should form an hereditary monarchy; that it should extend northward as far as the gulfs of Arta and Volo; but that it should be tributary to Turkey. This was so modified, February 3d, 1830, that Greece was to be entirely independent, and free from the payment of tribute; its northern boundaries were to be somewhat contracted; and Prince Leopold, of Saxe-Coburg, was to be its sovereign. But the prince, who foresaw that with such restricted frontiers his government must begin by reclaiming, through force of arms, the remaining Grecian provinces from the Porte, declined the proffered crown; especially since at that time, owing to the ill-health of the King of England, he had the more brilliant prospect of becoming regent for his minor niece Victoria. This refusal was, of course, most acceptable to Kapodistrias. But his days were numbered. Among those families against which he waged a sort of war of extermination belonged the Mainote family of Maumichalis. Its most prominent member, the aged Pietrobei, had been cast into prison. His brother Constantine and his son Georgios supplicated his release, but only received the command not to leave Nauplia, and not to walk abroad except under the escort of soldiers. The entreaties of Pietrobei's ninety-year old mother, who had seen forty-two members of her family fall for Greece's freedom, also failed to effect his release. Then Constantine and Georgios resolved to act. On the morning of October 9th, 1831, Kapodistrias went to church with one attendant. Constantine and Georgios walked in the same direction. The former fired a pistol at the president's head; the latter thrust a dagger into his body. Constantine was wounded by a pistol-shot from Kapodistrias's attendant, and killed outright by a mob; Georgios was shot before his father's window, October 22d. The senate at once named Count Augustine Kapodistrias, brother of the murdered man, president of Greece. He brought things to such a pass by his mode of governing, that Morea and Central Greece took up arms for a civil war, and he was at length obliged to abdicate, April 9th, 1832. In the following month the London

conference named Prince Otho, of Bavaria, son of the crowned philhellenist Louis, King of Greece, and restored the boundaries of Arta and Volo. But even in this determination of the frontiers diplomacy again showed small wisdom. If any one province deserved to be freed from the Turkish yoke, and made part of the new kingdom, it was Crete, which from the beginning had endured all the hardships of war. England's jealousy of Russia's influence in Greece, and her anxiety lest the Russian navy should gain too secure a footing in the Mediterranean, led to this determination—which the Sphakiotes of 1866 had cause so bitterly to curse.

King Otho landed in Nauplia January 30th, 1833. As he was not yet of age, a regency of three men was intrusted with the government—Count von Armansperg, Councillor von Maurer, and General Heydeck. Three thousand five hundred Bavarian soldiers were to maintain order until a national army could be created. The regency developed a great activity, but was divided in itself, and hence the more exposed to the conflicting influences of foreign ambassadors. Conspiracies for the overthrow of the regency were plotted, in which the aged Kolokotronis took part. He was condemned to twenty years' imprisonment, but released after one year, on Otho's assumption of the administration. The capital was transferred, December 25th, 1833, from Nauplia to the classical Athens. Though then nothing but a heap of rubbish, Athens soon contained a university, and shortly became one of the most important posts in the East. King Otho, who had undertaken the government for himself July 1st, 1835, and married Princess Amalie, of Oldenburg, in the following year, named first Armansperg and then von Rudhardt prime-minister. After the latter had been discharged in 1837, in consequence of his disagreement with the English ambassador Lyons, who accused him of friendship to Russia, only Greeks were taken into the ministry; but the harmony was not thereby increased. A military insurrection, headed by Kalergis of Crete, a member of the Russian party, and an associate of the now deceased Kolokotronis, compelled the king, who, moreover, in no way resisted, to grant Greece, September 15th, 1843, a representative constitution. But even this could not remove the dissatisfaction of the people. The Greeks, who had dreamed of a Byzantine empire, and of Constantinople, felt themselves unnaturally confined, and every storm which raged on the Bosphorus rolled waves of hope and restlessness down to Greece.

No one knew better how to excite these storms than Russia. Its natural inclinations and its traditions led it toward the Balkan peninsula, the possession of which would have accorded it an enormous increase of power. So much the more jealously did England watch over the pulse-beats of the "sick man." Emperor Alexander had once indulged fond fancies of settling, in league with Napoleon, the Eastern question in the Russian interests. After Napoleon's fall, he became, as we have already seen, founder of the Holy Alliance, and opponent of revolutions in southern Europe. In the internal affairs of his country he showed the liberal side of his character. He abolished serfdom in the Baltic provinces, and in 1818 gave the kingdom of Poland a constitution and a separate administration, spite of the opposition of the old Russians. But it was with the Poles as with the Greeks—their boundaries were far too narrow in comparison with those of the good old time. Secret societies were formed, which sought to carry the self-government of the kingdom to the point of absolute independence from Russia. More dangerous still were the associations of freemasons in Russia itself. Many members of the first families having become acquainted with freer institutions through travel, or through long residence in Germany and France during the wars, formed a conspiracy to murder Alexander, and overthrow the existing system of government. With their plans fell in the great dissatisfaction of the people—especially the army and the clergy—who could not forgive Alexander for having pursued, through the influence of the Austrian government, an anti-national policy toward their fellow-believers, the Greeks. The news of this conspiracy, and the distressing consciousness of the depth of his fall from the height of 1814 and 1815, made him ever closer and more distrustful. In order to refresh himself, bodily and mentally, he undertook a journey to the south, but died of bilious fever, resulting from a cold, December 1st, 1825, in Taganrog, on the Sea of Azov.

Of the three brothers of the childless emperor, the eldest, Constantine, at that time viceroy of Poland, had already resigned his right to the throne. Hence the succession fell to his second brother, Nicholas. December 26th, 1825, was the day set for the high officials and the military to take the oath. As Constantine's resignation of his rights had hitherto been kept secret, the conspirators took advantage of this secrecy to represent him as the

rightful heir, and Nicholas as the usurper. Their plans included assassination of the emperor, and indeed of the whole imperial family, and the proclamation of a constitution; and a few even dreamed of a republic of Russia. To the soldiers their cry was: "Long live Constantine and the constitution!" and when the soldiers asked if the constitution were Constantine's wife, the conspirators left them in that belief. The rebellious regiments assembled in Isaac's Square, received the Czar with disorderly cries, and shot Count Miloradovitch, the governor. They could not be brought to reason until Nicholas caused them to be fired on with grape-shot, and ordered his cuirassiers to cut them down. This was the end of the insurrection in St. Petersburg. It lacked a leader, and in the south, also, where the head-quarters of the conspirators were Kiev, General Diebitch readily put it down. Numerous executions and banishments were the immediate consequences of this mad undertaking.

In almost all respects Nicholas was the exact opposite of his brother. He lacked the gentleness, impulsiveness, and breadth, but also the weakness and indecision of Alexander, and showed himself from the beginning a practical and energetic character. To rule absolutely, to hold down every other will, to bar the land against European culture, to increase and perfect the army, to break loose from Metternich's guardianship, to make Russia's influence paramount in all foreign questions—that was his programme. The Grecian rebellion afforded him a wished-for opportunity of giving Europe a specimen. The war with Persia had scarcely been brought to a successful conclusion, through the capture of the fortress of Erivan by General Paskevitch in 1827, when a Turkish campaign stood before the door. Distant Greece lay far less upon the Czar's heart than the neighboring Danubian principalities; hence, without a word about Greece, he concluded the treaty of Akerman with the Porte, September 25th, 1826, in accordance with which the hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia were to be chosen for seven years, and then again be eligible; to depend no longer on the Turkish authorities, and not to be removed without the consent of the St. Petersburg cabinet. By this means the centre of gravity of those countries was transferred to St. Petersburg. Soon after the Russians complained of breach of faith; the London treaty of July 6th, 1827, the battle of Navarino, the expulsion of the Christians, the molestation of Russian

shipping, and much more of the same sort, followed; and so, April 6th, 1828, war was declared.

Russia wished to hasten on the war, since just at that time, after the suppression of the Janizaries, the new Turkish military organization was still in process of development. Those Turkish pretorians, no longer what they had been in former centuries, had become a cowardly, insubordinate horde, better at plundering than at fighting. When the sultan, envious of the Egyptian successes in Morea, announced his intention of establishing a disciplined infantry with the help of chosen Janizaries, they flew to arms (June 15th, 1827), and began to plunder and murder. As Nicholas had done with the St. Petersburg conspirators, the sultan caused them to be fired upon with grape-shot by reliable troops. He burnt their barracks, executed hundreds of them, sent many more to Asia, and ordered the suppression of the Janizaries, who revenged themselves by incendiarism. The people were summoned to arms, and diligently drilled in their use with the help of European officers. In other branches of the administration, also, the sultan planned sweeping reforms. All this increased the importance of the Turkish grandees. One pasha bluntly asked the French interpreter Desgranges how long the revolution in France had lasted; and on his replying, "Twenty-five or thirty years," said, boastfully, "Write to Paris that we have accomplished one in twenty-three minutes!"

May 7th, 1828, the Russians crossed the Pruth, and entered Moldavia and Wallachia. In spite of long preparations, they appeared with only 70,000 men, and so the guards had to follow after. The commander-in-chief was Count Wittgenstein, who had not shown himself a military genius in the year 1813 at Grossgörschen. Unfortunately, too, Nicholas was with the army, with a crowd of diplomats and military plenipotentiaries. As though to give the Turks time to assemble, Wittgenstein did not cross the Danube for four weeks. The first operations, directed against the small Danubian fortresses, were successful. In six weeks six fortresses were taken—Isakdje, Matchin, Hirsova, Bazardjik, Tultcha, and Kustendji. But no progress was made with the siege of Silistria or of Shumla. Here the Russians suffered considerable loss. The only important result of the campaign was the taking of Varna (October 10th), which, invested by land and sea, surrendered, with 7000 men, through the treason of the

commandant Yussuf Pasha. A Russian garrison remained here; the siege of Silistria and Shumla was abandoned; and the greater part of the army crossed the Danube and took up their winter-quarters there. The successes in Asia were more considerable. Paskevitch, who bore the title of Count Erivan from the Persian campaign, entered Turkish Armenia and took the strongholds of Kars, Achalkalaki, and Achalzik, while his generals captured the fortresses of Anapa and Poti, on the Black Sea. In the following year, after defeating two Turkish armies, he entered Erzeroum.

The more insignificant the successes of 1828, so much the more necessary it became for Russia, in spite of all Metternich's counter-plans, to undertake, in the year 1829, a second campaign against Turkey. This time Nicholas remained in St. Petersburg, and the energetic Count Diebitsch, a Silesian, hitherto chief-of-staff, assumed the chief command. He defeated Reshid Pasha, the Grand Vizier, at Kulevdcha, on June 11th; and Silistria yielded to him on June 29th, after a seven weeks' defence. Leaving a corps of observation before Shumla, he commenced his march over the Balkans—whence the sobriquet of Sabalkanski. Nine days later he reached the level country, and on August 20th he entered Adrianople, the garrison capitulating. His soldiers already reached Chorla and Rodosto, and threatened Constantinople in their forays, while Admiral Greigh was taking the small seaports south of Varna. The hour of the Turkish empire seemed to have struck. Diplomacy was in breathless suspense. Each moment the occupation of Constantinople was expected. But Diebitsch, who had only 20,000 men left, and was threatened in the rear by Reshid Pasha, while the Pasha of Skodra was advancing on his right flank with 40,000 men, found himself in a far worse dilemma than the sultan. In order to conceal his real situation, he held the same language as if he were at the head of 100,000 men, and so succeeded in browbeating the Porte. England's jealousy had reached such a pitch that Admiral Gordon received orders to enter the Sea of Marmora with the British fleet as soon as the Russians appeared before Constantinople. In order to avert this extreme action, the diplomats, especially General Müffling, whom the Prussian government had sent to mediate, influenced the Porte to yield. Negotiations were entered into, and September 14th the treaty of Adrianople was concluded. Russia restored all her conquests in Europe, as well as Kars; in Asia she retained Anapa,

Poti, Achalzik, and Achalkalaki, thereby becoming mistress of the eastern shore of the Black Sea; she acquired for the Danubian principalities almost complete independence, and life-rule of the hospodars; for herself she gained great freedom of trade by land and sea, and free passage through the Bosphorus and Dardanelles (in which other countries were also to participate); and with regard to Greece, the London treaty was agreed to.

Turkey was not utterly annihilated: it still remained an independent state; but if it had ever spread about itself a nimbus of power, it ceased to do so from that time on. On the other hand, Russia's power and influence rose vastly; and in the next two decades not Turkey alone, but also Germany, was to feel this power.

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§ 6.

FRANCE AND THE RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS.

CHATEAUBRIAND says of his countrymen, "There is plenty of *esprit* in France, but reason and sound common-sense are wanting; a couple of phrases intoxicate us." It is certainly harder to rule such a nation than a nation of sober, sensible men. Yet the way in which the Bourbons could achieve stability for their throne was clearly marked out. The constitution, which, at the instance of foreign powers, Louis XVIII. had granted on his first return, June 4th, 1814—the *charte constitutionelle*—contained so many liberal provisions that the government only needed to maintain it, and develop it further in accordance with the ideas of the century, in order to have on its side the larger and better educated part of the French people. These belonged for the most part to the constitutionals, who were again divided into Independents and Doctrinaires. Among the former were reckoned men like Lafitte, Manuel, Beranger, Lafayette, Benjamin-Constant; among the latter, who affirmed the doctrine of constitutional government, and the necessity of a strong administration, Guizot and Villemain. Two other parties, the Republicans and Bonapartists, had no large following after the dearly-bought experiences of the previous years. It was clear that the government could only be really strong when it rested on the Constitutional party, drawing

the Doctrinaires to it, not repulsing the Independents, and making opportune concessions. But whoever believed that in France the years 1789 to 1815 could be simply jumped over and ignored, fell into a grave error, and in this error were the fourth party, the Ultras, who were to be found principally among the nobility and clergy. Reinvestiture in their prerogatives as specially privileged classes; restitution of the property of nobles and Church, which had been confiscated and sold; absolute dominion at court, in the army, and in all higher grades of the civil service; control of education, and reduction of the people to hopeless bigotry—such were the demands of these gentlemen. With this the *charte* was not compatible. They regarded it, however, as a disgrace to the kingdom that such a thing as the *charte* existed. The whole fifteen years that the government of the restoration lasted was nothing but a battle between Constitutionals and Ultras. If the government adhered to the former, it would have strong support among the people, and need feel no fears; but if to the latter, it was to be feared that the people might overthrow it by a new revolution. It had its choice.

King Louis, who, during the lifetime of his brother, the murdered Louis XVI., had borne the title Count of Provence, was possessed of good-nature, but of little wisdom and energy. The Ultras did not please him, since he knew enough to perceive that they might cost him his throne. The Constitutionals did not suit his Bourbon poverty of intellect, and so he sought as well as possible to steer between the two. Owing to his childlessness, his brother was the heir-apparent. This was the fifty-eight-year-old Charles, Count of Artois, who, wholly devoted to the chase, theatre, and amours—neither himself possessed of knowledge, nor fond of it in others—after a dissipated life sought the cloak of the Church, and formed truly heavenly conceptions of the majesty of an earthly king. He would allow the constitution to last so long and extend so far as iron necessity demanded; for the rest, he affirmed that he would rather saw wood for a living than be king after the English fashion. He was the right man for the Ultras, who formed under his sceptre an actual side-government, the "Pavillon Marsan," as it was called, after the place of meeting, or the "Coblenz," transported to Paris. His influence was the greater since he was commander of the national guard, and also stood at the head of the Congregation (a confederation of strict

Roman Catholics). His sons were the Duke of Angoulême and the Duke of Berry, both mentally insignificant—the former best known on account of his wife; the latter, of his early death. Angoulême was married to the unfortunate daughter of Marie Antoinette, who had lost parents, family, everything by the revolution, and now cherished revenge in her feminine heart. In his daughter-in-law Count Artois had a resolute confederate. This marriage was also childless. Berry was gayer and better-natured than his elder brother, but full of Bourbon pride, and so wanting in tact toward the Napoleonic officers as to be actually insolent. Since 1816 he had been married to the Neapolitan princess, Maria Carolina, and on this marriage rested the hopes of the dynasty.

On his return, in order to meet the wishes of the people, Louis had taken those two great traitors, Talleyrand and Fouché, into his cabinet. A few months later they were discharged, and September 24th, 1815, the Duke of Richelieu was placed at the head of a new ministry. He was a good royalist, but no Ultra, and found himself facing a Chamber which far outbade him and his administration in servility. In consequence of the burden pressing upon all France, and of the wretched system of suffrage, there met, October 7th, a strongly aristocratic Chamber, called *la chambre introuvable*, since Louis himself had said that under existing circumstances it had seemed to him impossible to find such a chamber. By it the safety-laws—perhaps better the revenge-laws—were adopted, which abolished personal freedom, punished seditious cries and acts, and instituted provosts' courts, a species of military tribunals. The arrests were so numerous that 7000 were soon counted. No official was any longer sure of his post. The rage against all memorials of the revolution and of Bonaparte was like that in Piedmont. One prefect went so far as to burn a life-size picture of Napoleon and a live eagle, and cast the ashes of the "man-eater Bonaparte" into the water. Hand-in-hand with this went the struggle of the Roman Catholic clergy against the ideas of the 19th century. The system of spiritual gloom recalls the times of the Gregorys and Innocents. Missionaries were sent through the land, and the effort was made, by gorgeous pageants, by missionary hymns sung to well-known revolutionary tunes, by sentimental or stirring preachers, to win the people, especially the women. The army was in the highest degree irritated by ill-judged persecution and neglect of the Bona-

partists. Colonel Labedoyère and Marshal Ney were shot, and Count Lavalette only saved from a like fate by the devotion of his wife, a niece of the Empress Josephine. In the year 1816 two more generals were shot, and numerous refugees condemned to death. Was it to be wondered at if, scarcely a year after Louis's return, conspiracies came to light, and the revolutionary game again began in Grenoble, Lyons, and Paris? The Ultras cried all the louder for new victims, and all members of the Bonaparte family, and the so-called regicides, who, as members of the Assembly, had voted for the execution of Louis XVI., were banished. But when the Ultras in the Chambers sought to go still farther, and so betrayed the fact that they were less concerned about strengthening the throne than the privileges of the nobles and clergy, Louis dissolved this Chamber, September 5th, 1816.

A new election law was laid before the new Chamber, which, in order to counteract the efforts of the Ultras, granted suffrage and eligibility to manufacturers and capitalists, *i. e.*, the real middle class. The law was carried through notwithstanding the opposition of the aristocracy, and as every year one-fifth of the representatives retired, and their places were supplied by new elections, it resulted in bringing each year more Constitutionals into the Chamber. In the autumn of 1818, of the fifty-five new members no less than twenty-three were Constitutionals, and those twenty-three were among the leaders of the Independents. Richelieu was at the time in attendance at the congress of Aix la Chapelle, at which he persuaded the foreign monarchs to withdraw their troops from France at once, instead of after two years. Stocked with good advice by Emperor Alexander, Metternich, and Wellington, he returned to Paris resolved to unite more with the Ultras, and to change the election law. But a part of his colleagues and a majority in the Chambers manifested a decided opposition, and so Richelieu laid down his office. The new ministry entered office December 28th, 1818. Its president was General Dessolles, its real head from the outset Decazes, minister of the interior, a man much loved by Louis on account of his amiable manners. Its beginnings were very liberal. The creation of sixty-five new peers strengthened the more liberal elements in the upper Chamber; freedom of the Press was granted, reactionary prefects dismissed, and several exiles, even "regicides," recalled. The elections of 1819 looked in the same direction; of the fifty-

five new members thirty-five entered the Chambers as Independents. Among those elected was Gregory, Bishop of Blois, who formerly, as member of the Assembly, sanctioned in writing the execution of Louis, and was said to have declared that "Kings are in the moral what monstrosities are in the physical world." His election was too much for Louis XVIII. He required of Dessolles a change of policy, and since Dessolles and two other ministers resisted, Decazes was placed at the head of a new ministry, November 16th, 1819. Gregory's election was annulled, and Decazes announced a change in the election law.

February 13th, 1820, the Duke of Berry was assassinated by a saddler's prentice, named Louvel, a fanatical opponent of Bourbon rule, as he came out of the opera-house to escort his wife to the carriage. This deed was employed by the Ultras to overthrow the liberal-seeming ministry. They even declared Decazes to be an accessory of Louvel, and the Count of Artois insisted upon his dismissal. The king had to yield, and on February 20th Richelieu again assumed the premiership. He at once laid three bills before the Chamber concerning the reintroduction of Press censorship in the case of journals, the limitation of personal freedom, and certain electoral provisions, intended to bring the elections entirely into the hands of the aristocracy; and notwithstanding the violent opposition of the Independents, and the bloody street riots, he carried them through. Fortune seemed to smile on the Bourbons. The Duchess of Berry gave birth to a son, the Duke of Bordeaux, "Europe's child," over whom as much humbug was enacted as over other similar wonder-children. The continuance of the dynasty, and its maintenance upon the throne of France, appeared to be assured. But there were many who were as unwilling to believe in the legitimacy of this heir as the English of 1688 in the legitimacy of the son of James II. Some even spoke of the "death-knell of legitimacy."

It was the time of the military revolts in Italy and Spain. A reflex wave could not fail to strike France. New conspiracies appeared. The death of Napoleon, which took place May 15th, 1821, aroused afresh the spirits of the Ultras. They rejoiced in the belief that their time was now come. Thanks to the new election laws, they strengthened their ranks at each election. Richelieu was no longer good enough for them; the Chambers overthrew him by a vote of lack of confidence, and brought the

Count of Artois's friends to the helm. December 13th, 1821, M. de Villèle, a royalist of the purest water, formed a new ministry. He was distinguished for parliamentary dexterity, and for his acquaintance with questions of finance and trade, but equally distinguished for his reactionary tendencies. Yet at the outset he hesitated about yielding to the wishes of the congress of Verona, and sending an army to Spain. But no choice was left him. The demand of 100,000,000 francs for this expedition called forth the liveliest discussion in the Chamber. The liberals feared the suppression of the Spanish revolution, and its consequences for France; the Ultras hoped to suppress that revolution, and looked forward to a hierarchico-aristocratic government for France as the consequence of such action. Deputy Manuel, who seemed to make a casual allusion to the execution of Louis XVI., was expelled by a majority of the Chamber, and dragged from the hall by gensdarmes. Thereupon sixty-two members of the left withdrew. The intervention proceeded. The Duke of Angoulême returned a victor, and the Ultras made use of his success in a boastful and injudicious manner. The Chambers were dissolved, and, as the result of shameless interference in the elections, there assembled, March 23d, 1824, a worthy counterpart to *la chambre introuvable* of 1815—hence named "the re-found." Out of 430 members, the liberal opposition numbered only seventeen. In order to hold this Chamber together as long as possible, and to remain for seven years untroubled by any electoral agitation, Villèle procured the repeal of the article of the constitution ordaining the yearly renewal of one-fifth of the representatives, and substituted therefor one providing that all the members should be elected for seven years, and the whole Chamber renewed at the end of that period. The new portfolio of public worship and instruction was confided to Bishop Frayssinous, who put the entire school system into the hands of the clergy, and removed all liberal teachers. And what was still to come when the Count of Artois himself, the head of the Ultras, should sit upon the throne? Owing to Louis's failing health, he already practically had the reins in his hands. September 16th, 1824, the king died, having in his last days, full of gloomy forebodings, said warningly to his brother, "Do not forget that you have to preserve the throne for your son and grandson!"

According to custom, King Charles opened his reign by acts of

mercy. He granted amnesty to political offenders, and abolished the censorship of the Press. But the aristocratical and ecclesiastical party—the Congregation—would not let him escape from their hands even if he had wished to. In the Chamber of 1825 they passed three laws—for the establishment of more convents for women, which was merely a pretext for the re-establishment of the cloisters in general; for the indemnification of the *emigrés*, by which the public debt was increased one milliard francs; and for the punishment of sacrilege, by which not only theft, but also desecration of the host and the holy vessels, was punished with death. And they might consider themselves fortunate, the minister of justice said, to escape a law against blasphemy. Charles's true nature was becoming constantly more evident. He retired 167 generals of the empire, revived the ridiculous old court titles, and caused himself to be crowned at Rheims, May 29th, 1825, with mediæval splendor. In the great processions of the jubilee year, 1826, in a violet prelate's robe, at the head of his court, he sung the miserere through the streets of Paris. The sinister Abbé Tharin, who had declared the Jesuits the heaven-sent props of monarchy, was made tutor of the Duke of Bordeaux. The king allowed his grand almoner, the Prince of Croi, in a pastoral letter, to pronounce all civil marriage concubinage, and hence null, and to attach ecclesiastical penalties to neglect of the mass and confession. Against this "Capuchin government," which afforded the popular poet Béranger so much material for satire, the public sentiment grew constantly stronger, for the Frenchman is a Roman Catholic, but not a bigot. The newspapers were excited over the encroachments of the clergy, and the jealousy of the courts for the independence of the Press procured the acquittal of the journalists in all the suits by which Villèle sought to clog them. Even the Chambers were no longer willing to lend themselves as tools to such a ministry. The Chamber of Peers rejected the new Press law, which sought to stifle all education and intelligence, make France a Jesuit machine, and set it back into the times of the inquisition. A few days after this defeat the ministry had to listen to still plainer language. At a review of the national guard which Charles held April 27th, 1827, the cry rung out, "Long live the king!" but along with this the cries, "Long live the constitution! Down with the ministers! Down with the Jesuits!" And on their return to the city one legion

cried out before the palace of the finance department, "Down with Villèle!" He replied by disbanding the national guard, although he left them their weapons. He restored the censorship of the Press—only to abolish it again half a year later—caused seventy-six new peers to be added to the upper house, and dissolved the Chambers. But his clerical system of government had become so unpopular, that, notwithstanding all his efforts at the new elections, out of 428 representatives only 125 were ministerialists. Several quarters in Paris celebrated this popular victory by illuminations; barricades were erected, and the soldiers had to clear the streets by firing. It was evident that if Villèle retained his post there would be a revolution in Paris.

So Charles allowed his minister to fall, and summoned, January 24th, 1828, Viscount de Martignac as president of the ministry. Martignac was a skilful and experienced man of affairs, and a man of honorable character, but without a high order of political sagacity, and lacking conviction—a temporizer, whose programme, as the Ultras sarcastically said, was comprised in the few words, "I love papa, the good God; I love mamma, the Revolution." The speech from the throne dwelt on the sea-fight at Navarino, and France's participation in the liberation of Greece. To reconcile the opposition, Martignac brought before the Chamber liberal election and Press laws, and effected the departure of a great part of the Jesuits through a decree by which the eight Jesuit schools were to be placed under the direction of the University, while none of the instructors employed by the University could belong to an unauthorized religious society. Greatly against his will, Charles consented to these innovations of the ministry which had been forced upon him, and worked with his confidential advisers against them. The popular manifestations with which he was greeted on a journey through Alsace and Lorraine strengthened his belief that the real people were for him alone, and cared nothing for the constitution, and that the Chamber and the Press misguided the Parisians. As the Chamber showed itself not quite satisfied with Martignac, and meddled with the number and pay of the royal adjutants, he dismissed the ministry and named a new cabinet, August 8th, 1829, from the ultra-royalists. At the head of this stood the Prince de Polignac, whose poverty of intellect kept even pace with his obstinacy of will. The war department was conducted by Count Bourmont, the traitor of Waterloo.

The appointment of this ministry, which made the royal words, "No more concessions!" its programme, appeared to the liberals an open declaration of war, the unfurling of the banner of the counter-revolution. Even royalists found fault with this blunder on the king's part, and saw in it the beginning of the end. The Press ventured on the most violent attacks, and numerous were the acquittals of journalists before the courts. Secret societies were formed everywhere—some of them with republican principles—and maintained connections with the revolutionists in the other Latin countries. There was already talk of refusing to pay taxes, and associations were started for the indemnification of those condemned for such refusal. The society, "*Aide toi et le ciel t'aidera*," already in existence, took on new activity. The outspoken tactics of all the elements of opposition were: "To make all government impossible, in order to overthrow the existing one." The old friend of the people, Lafayette, was received like a monarch at Grenoble and Lyons on a tour through southern France; crowns and escorts of honor, serenades and illuminations were forced upon him; while the dauphin, the Duke of Angoulême, who travelled through Normandy at the same time, did not receive the slightest token of honor from the people, not even one cheer, and most of the ladies of Cherbourg refused to take part in the grand ball in his honor. The language of the new opposition sheet, the *National*, issued by the historians Thiers and Mignet, was plain and incisive. When they spoke of the Stuarts and the English revolution of 1688—how there was no social storm, but only a change of dynasty; how there the people had refused to regard as their sovereign a king who did not respect their rights, and set his own will higher than Parliament and the constitution; how they refused him allegiance, yet allowed him to escape unmolested to France, while they intrusted themselves to a man who gave greater securities for the strict observance of the constitution, the great Orange, William III.—who was there to whom the allusion to the incorrigible Bourbons did not sound like a prophecy? who was there to whom there did not, at the same time, occur the name of him to whom in France the rôle of Orange should be assigned?

The Chambers were reopened March 2d, 1830. In his speech from the throne, Charles let it be plainly understood that his royal prerogative was superior to the constitution, and that he was

prepared to meet revolutionary machinations with force. That at the end of his speech his hat fell to the ground, and that it was the Duke of Orleans who picked it up, was regarded as an omen. The address prepared by the Chamber, in answer to the speech from the throne, dwelt on the sanctity of the constitution as opposed to the prerogative of the crown, and contained a definite vote of lack of confidence in the ministry. It was adopted by 221 votes to 181. The king's reply to the deputation which presented the address was that he regretted its contents, and that his resolutions were not to be altered. He was not to be moved to a change of the hated ministry. He would be found like a rock, he announced to his friends, if the attempt were made to prescribe his ministers; he would fight, if need be; he would rather walk as he pleased than ride as others pleased. The Chamber was at once prorogued. Soon after, May 16th, it was dissolved. The electoral colleges were summoned for the end of June and beginning of July, and August 3d was set for the opening of the new Chamber.

The government spared no means to control the elections, and return a majority of the delegates. And could there be a more effective means to turn excited spirits into other channels, and surround the government with intoxicating popularity, than to undertake a military expedition, and come before the nation so susceptible to military glory with new trophies? The opportunity was not lacking. In April, 1827, the Dey of Algiers, in a dispute regarding some money matters, had struck the French consul several blows in the face with his fly-fan, and this was still unavenged. War was now declared, a powerful fleet fitted out, and 42,000 men embarked. Bourmont, the minister of war, took the chief command—a man so hated that the people wished him defeat instead of victory. June 14th, the troops landed in the neighborhood of Algiers. The Arabs, 40,000 to 50,000 strong, mostly mounted, attacked, June 19th, before the French cavalry were disembarked, but were routed; and their camp with the supplies of food and ammunition fell into the enemy's hands. Thereupon the French moved upon Algiers, occupied the heights commanding the city, and bombarded it, July 4th, from the land side as well as from the water. The Dey had to yield, and embarked for Naples with his treasures. On the 5th of July the French entered Algiers, where they found 48,000,000 francs in money, besides a quantity of valuable wares and military supplies.

But if the ministers thought that they could intoxicate the nation by this brilliant action, they were enabled by the result of the elections to perceive how greatly they had been deceived. That this expedition was to be nothing but a channel to lead off political excitement, was too apparent for it to make any impression. The call issued by the society *Aide toi*, to re-elect the 221 signers of the address, met with a favorable reception. Among the members elected, the supporters of the ministry numbered only 145, the opposition 272, among whom were 202 of the signers. For the second time the country had spoken. But was it heard? The king supported his position by article 14 of the constitution, which empowered him "to issue the decrees and ordinances necessary to the carrying out of the laws, and for the safety of the state." If he interpreted this to mean that he was thereby justified in unconstitutional enactments, he was in a position similar to that of James II. of England, in 1688, who claimed the right to dispense himself and others from the operation of any law, to which it was replied that in that case it was impossible to understand to what end Parliament and legislation served.

Charles had determined upon a bold measure. Five ordinances were to establish quiet as at the word of military command. The Chamber, which had not yet met, was dissolved, and new elections ordered for September. The previous electoral system was abolished, the suffrage made a privilege of the richest landholders only, and the number of delegates reduced from 430 to 262. All newspapers and books of less than twenty sheets required a royal permit before they could appear, and this permit might be retracted at pleasure.

These were changes of the constitution which could be effected only by the Chambers, in concert with the king, consequently as royal ordinances illegal and invalid. Circumspection was, at all events, advisable. In the cabinet meeting, Polignac, who also administered the war department in Bourmont's absence, was asked what military precautions had been taken. His answer was that he could assemble 18,000 men in Paris in a few hours. In fact, he could dispose of scarcely more than 11,000, and these had already somewhat fraternized with the population, as they had been stationed in Paris six weeks. The command of this force was given to Marshal Marmont, who had a grudge against the court because the expedition against Algiers had not been com-

mitted to him, and against whom the people had a grudge because he had gone over to the Bourbons in 1814. No one was initiated into the secret of the ordinances excepting the king, the dauphin, the ministers, and the papal nuncio, Lambruschini. This latter urged the king to extreme measures, hoping in that way to establish the clerical system firmly in France, and from France to support the same in Spain and Portugal. Even Marmont did not know the secret, and hence could make no preparations. The prefect of police, who was willing to stake his head that, whatever happened, Paris should not rise, was equally in the dark.

June 25th, the ordinances were signed at St. Cloud. Once more the blissfully confident Polignac averred that opposition on the part of the people was impossible—that the most effective measures of precaution had been taken. The king was in a thoughtful mood, and said to his ministers, as they were leaving, "These are serious measures; you can count on me as I count on you. Henceforward it is a matter of life and death with us." At eleven o'clock at night the editor of the *Moniteur* was summoned to the ministry of justice, and the ordinances handed to him to be printed. "Well," asked Montbel, the minister of public instruction, as the editor hastily read them over, "what do you say to that?" "God preserve France and the king!" was the reply; "I have seen all the struggles of the revolution, and I leave with serious apprehensions of new commotions." He hurried to the printing-office to impart through the columns of the *Moniteur* the important document to the Parisians at their breakfast on the morning of June 26th. Even if they were no more startled by it than M. Sauvo, the editor, it was still very questionable whether Prince Polignac, with his Marmont and his 11,000 soldiers, could hold in check such a city as Paris. The Rubicon was crossed; but not every one who crosses it is a Cæsar.

SECOND PERIOD. 1830–1848.

THE JULY REVOLUTION, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES FOR EUROPE.

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§ 7.

FRANCE, AND THE "GREAT WEEK."

THE Constitutional party set their hopes on Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans. This prince, born in 1773, was the son of that notorious *Egalité* who during the revolution had ended his checkered career under the guillotine. His grandmother was the noble Elizabeth Charlotte, a native of the Palatinate, who had the misfortune to be the wife of the effeminate Duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV. Louis Philippe was a Bourbon, like King Charles; but the opposition of several members of this Orleans branch to the royal house had caused it to be regarded as a separate family. From his youth up he had displayed a great deal of popular spirit and common-sense, and he was also gifted with an excellent memory. With youthful enthusiasm, he cast himself into the movement of 1789; was present at the storming of the Bastile, and entered the Jacobite club. In the battle of Jemappes he served with distinction as a republican officer; but, with General Dumouriez, he left the army after the execution of the king. He first repaired to the Austrian camp; thence he went to Switzerland, where, October, 1793, he took a position as teacher in a boarding-school at Reichenau, near Chur, under the name of Chabaud Latour, while his sister Adèle found an asylum in the convent of Bremgarten. After a residence of one year, he left Reichenau, spurred by Dumouriez into becoming pretender. He wandered through Scandinavia, and lived for three years in America; then returned to England, and sought a reconciliation with the older Bourbon line, which, however, always regarded him with sus-

picion. His efforts to fight against Napoleon on some battle-field were, fortunately for him, unsuccessful; and during the July revolution his friends constantly laid emphasis on the fact that he had never borne arms against France. In the year 1809 he married a Neapolitan princess, Marie Amalie. On his return to France, he was admired for his sagacity and knowledge, in contrast with which the inability of the Bourbons appeared the more marked. He lived with his family in a very retired manner. His private life was exemplary—a model of simplicity and good behavior. He sent his sons to the *Collège de France* to consort with lads of common origin, which added greatly to his popularity. He was careful in the management of his money matters, and knew how to increase his fortune; but he made a good use of his money, supporting artists and artisans by his orders, and helping many unfortunates.

Such virtues, to which must be added his natural eloquence and his free and open bearing toward men of all sorts, could not but make him a man of the people, especially of the educated class which constitutes the *Bourgeoisie*. Seemingly created by his nature and career to be a citizen king, he had long since, as early as 1814, determined to accept the throne in case it were offered him. But he wished to avoid the reproach of having thrust out his kinsmen. He held himself justified in accepting the vacant but not the occupied throne of France. Bitterly hated in royalist circles, he was so much the more popular with the opposition. The discontented came and went in the Palais Royal and the country palace of Neuilly, and prominent among them were Dupin the lawyer and Lafitte the banker, two of his staunchest and most trusted supporters.

No wonder that he was in bad repute with the Bourbon court, which attributed to him an improper eagerness to step into its shoes! Louis XVIII. and the Duchess of Angoulême did not conceal their aversion for him, and the former even refused him the title "royal highness." Louis's feelings were pretty clearly shown on occasion of the Duchess of Berry begging him to give her a cabriolet like that of the Duke of Orleans. He counselled her against an equipage so frail and dangerous, and, when she demurred that it was also dangerous for the duke, he replied that it was a matter of indifference to him whether the duke broke his neck or not. After the assassination of the Duke of Berry, mat-

ters became still worse, since after Angoulême the Duke of Orleans was the next heir; and when the Duke of Bordeaux came into the world, and there appeared in the English papers a protest—not genuine, of course—from the Duke of Orleans against the legitimacy of the child that had snatched his hopes of the throne out of his mouth, as it were, it almost resulted in a second exile. Even King Charles, who knew how to conceal his distrust better than his brother had done, had to exert great self-control in order, without evident unwillingness, to accompany his guests, the King and Queen of Naples, to a ball at the Duke of Orleans's. It was in 1830, during the political excitement, shortly before the fateful elections. M. de Salvandy made up to the duke, and whispered to him, "It is a truly Neapolitan fête: we are dancing on a volcano." The duke entered into his meaning, and rejoined, "It seemed so to him, too. The blame did not lie with him; he had tried in vain to open the king's eyes; he did not know where they would all be in six months; where he would be, he knew. He would not separate his fate from that of his country; that was his unalterable purpose." Not six, but scarcely two months later, the duke was in a position where he had to express himself unequivocally regarding his purposes.

Monday, July 26th, the *ordinances* appeared in the *Moniteur*. The educated classes were filled with anger and astonishment; the masses did not yet rightly comprehend the case. Here and there meetings of electors and journalists assembled. There was talk of protests; the more zealous demanded deeds. In the office of Thiers's paper, the *National*, the excitement was intense. While a few of the larger papers complied with the new requirements and procured permission to continue, the opposition papers paid no heed to the decree. The journalists gathered at Thiers's, and drew up a protest containing forty-three signatures. This was printed that evening. In the garden of the Palais Royal the *ordinances* were read aloud by young people. In the evening the printers paraded the streets in closed ranks, crying, "Down with the ministers!" Polignac was just driving to his palace; he was greeted with a volley of stones, and his office-windows were broken. The king returned from hunting late in the evening. Marmont informed him that government paper had fallen on the appearance of that morning's *Moniteur*. "It will rise again," replied the king.

The situation on the following day was far more serious. The prefect of police caused the presses of the *National* and the *Temps*, the two papers which had printed the protest, to be destroyed. They were set up again with little labor. The protest was eagerly read in all stores and cafés. On the streets were to be seen suspicious crowds. The discharged printers, numerous factory laborers, students, and shopmen moved in a mass to the Palais Royal, threw stones at the gensdarmes, and erected barricades. In the evening Marmont caused the troops to advance on them. Several persons were killed or wounded, and the rage of the people thereby increased. All the street lamps were broken, and communication between the barracks and military posts thus rendered impossible. Instead of summoning from Vincennes artillery and whatever other troops were to be had, the apathetic Marmont made no preparations for the following day, although all the signs pointed to a fight. The people had already plundered those stores where weapons were to be had, and the marshal had already had an opportunity to observe how little the troops were disposed to fire on them. Only the Guards and the Swiss could be relied on.

Wednesday, July 28th, at an early hour, the streets were full of life. Everywhere there were armed men; among these there were even soldiers of the national guard, in uniform. The pavements were torn up, barricades erected, the houses filled with missiles; arms were taken from the military magazines, powder and shot procured in the shops; the royal lilies and arms were torn down, the signs of the court purveyors taken in. "Down with the Bourbons!" was the cry of the day—no longer merely, "Down with the ministers!" The city hall was taken by one quick rush, and from it and from the tower of Notre Dame waved the symbol of revolution—the tricolor. At length the order came to declare the city in a state of siege. But what were the means to carry it out? The prefect of police and his officers were in hiding or had fled, and Marmont, with his few, and for the most part discouraged, troops, was to begin a battle with the great city, in which everything that had arms and hands, even women and boys, was resolved upon desperate resistance. It was more than a mere "chamber-pot war," as the soldiers expressed it. Marmont kept his men together in the neighborhood of the Tuileries, sending out four detachments to the most important streets and squares. Every-

where they found barricades, which, if carried, closed again behind them, while rioters lay in wait for them on the roofs and at every window. General Talon did succeed, it is true, in recapturing the city hall after an obstinate fight and a hail-storm of grape-shot; but here he was himself besieged, and had reason to be glad that, under cover of the night, he reached the Tuileries with a whole skin. The remaining divisions accomplished nothing; and since no arrangements had been made to provision the troops, and they were left in the burning July heat the whole day without refreshments, they were in a doleful humor. On the other hand, the defenders of the barricades, who were partly led by students of the Polytechnic School, were supplied with provisions from all sides. There was nothing left, therefore, but to withdraw all the troops from the city in the evening, and resume the former position. To be sure, they had not more than 400 men disabled, but the spirit and readiness to fight were completely gone. Even officers of the Guard refused to fight any longer against the people, and took their discharge. Marmont already gave up all as lost. He wished to make of Paris no second Saragossa. There was left him nothing but the rôle of the conquered.

In the afternoon several delegates to the Chamber met at Périer's house. Lafayette and Lafitte were also present. It was resolved to send a committee of five to Marmont, and request the cessation of hostilities. His friend Arago had been with him shortly before, and had advised him to lay down the command at once. But Marmont could not reconcile this with his military honor, for to give in his resignation at that moment were treason. He could only comply with the request of the five delegates in case the people also ceased hostilities. However, he declared himself in agreement with them as to their grievances against the government, and sent an adjutant to St. Cloud with a letter advising the king to repeal the *ordinances* and dismiss the ministry, according to the wishes of the people. Charles, however, saw in the movement no revolution, but a plot contrived by the Duke of Orleans, which Marmont would soon dispose of. But the difficulties were increasing enormously. In the night, as soon as the troops were withdrawn, barricades twenty feet apart were erected in all the streets, and the city thus turned into a fortress impenetrable for artillery and cavalry.

Thursday, July 29th, Marmont had scarcely 7000 men left.

He attempted negotiations, and issued a proclamation promising to put a stop to hostilities if the people would do the same. But there was no one there to print it, no one to circulate it. Then came the news that two regiments had gone over to the people. The end quickly followed. The Louvre was stormed; the Tuileries were broken into, and many valuable articles carried off or destroyed. The scenes of 1792 were re-enacted. A wild crowd of men and women roamed through the archbishop's palace searching for Jesuits; books and vestments were hurled out of the windows, and everything was destroyed down to the foundation-walls. In the fury of the fight many isolated outposts were pitilessly massacred. Toward evening all fighting ceased. The people were victorious at every point. Marmont had to give the command to retreat to St. Cloud. The loss on both sides was 951 killed, and 5078 wounded.

Now was the time for the delegates, who had assembled at Lafitte's, to give a positive direction to the hitherto negative movement, and guide back into its bed the raging stream. A "municipal committee" was formed, consisting of Lafitte, Périer, Lobau, Audry de Puyraveau, Mauguin, and Odilon Barrot. Lafayette, the aged republican, became once more commander of the national guard. Both departments—civil and military—took up their head-quarters in the city hall, and despatched the most pressing business.

When Marmont and his adjutants, covered with sweat and dust, arrived at St. Cloud, and unveiled the picture of Paris as it was, the king at length resolved to repeal the ordinances, dismiss the ministry, summon the hated opposition Chamber for August 3d, restore the national guard, and name a new ministry under the Duke of Mortemart. Three commissioners hastened to Paris with this news—which might have saved the dynasty on July 27th—but they were not received by the committee, under the pretence that they had no written authorization. By the populace they were greeted with the cry, "Too late! no Bourbons more!" The Duke of Mortemart received the same answer when, on the following morning, he came to Paris, and sought to make interest for his new ministry.

The time had now come when the question of a definitive form of government must be decided. The question was, quite simply, republic or monarchy? The men who had won the vic-

tory—the laboring classes, the students, the young men in general, and the old *Carbonari*—would hear nothing more of a kingdom, and spoke of the *sovereign people*, which should manage its government for itself. The "Society of friends of the people," consisting wholly of pronounced republicans, issued a proclamation to that effect. Those who wished to see the monarchy retained under a different head had to act all the more quickly. To the latter belonged the majority of delegates to the Chamber, the middle classes, and the national guard, none of whom had rendered much assistance toward the victory, but who could not think of the republic freed from its terrors. One man held the decision in his hands. If Lafayette, who enjoyed unlimited confidence, spoke the word "republic," it would be taken up by thousands in an instant, and become an irrevocable fact. He did not speak it on Friday, July 30th, and Lafitte and his friends made every effort to win him for the man of their party.

On the 28th of July Lafitte, who, as member of the opposition, a man of character, and a rich banker, was in good repute, began to hint at the Duke of Orleans. On the 29th he had sent him word at Neuilly that he must come to Paris with all speed, otherwise the republic, or the Duke of Reichstadt, would be proclaimed on the next day. He could choose between a crown and a passport. But the duke was very much on his guard; he wished to await complete victory, in order that he might have nothing whatever to fear from St. Cloud. So, in order to avoid being forcibly carried off by his friends, he retired to a neighboring house. On Friday Thiers, who had already done effective work for him by a proclamation, came to Neuilly, but did not see him. The duchess was very reticent, but his sister Adèle was resolved to influence him to accept. On his return to Paris, Thiers attended a meeting of fifty delegates in the Bourbon palace. Lafitte presided, and it was decided to name the Duke of Orleans lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and invite him to come to Paris. Twelve members went to the Palais Royal, and, as they did not find him there, sent a message to Neuilly.

Prince Talleyrand advised him to accept, and he at length left his concealment, and arrived at the Palais Royal at midnight, a tricolored ribbon about his hat. He caused the Duke of Mortemart to be summoned, and said to him, "Report to the king that I have been brought hither by force, but that I would rather let

myself be hewn to pieces than set the crown on my head!" Soon afterward, however, the twelve delegates came to him, and explained that he did not seem to comprehend the truth—that there could be no more thought of Charles X. Thereupon he committed to them a proclamation concluding with the words, "The constitution shall henceforth be a reality." The fifty members of the Chamber received this with joy; and, when they heard that Louis Philippe would come in person to the city hall, repaired at once to the Palais Royal. There Lafitte read him a memorial designating the new liberties; and then, at three o'clock on the afternoon of July 31st, the whole procession set out—a drummer at the head, the duke and an adjutant following on horseback, and after them officers of the national guard and members of the Chamber arm-in-arm. They passed through a countless crowd—part of which looked with threatening glances on the new candidate for the throne—to the city hall, where Lafayette placed a tricolored flag in his hands, and led him to the window. The duke waved the flag to the people, and then embraced Lafayette. Monarchy and republic seem to have fallen into one another's arms. So the crowd interpreted it, and with boundless satisfaction cried, "Long live the Duke of Orleans! Long live Lafayette!"

The "Society of the friends of the people," not very well pleased with this result of the "great week," laid before Lafayette, on the following day, the "programme of the city hall," and commissioned him to make the duke guarantee the popular rights therein set forth by his signature. With this document in his pocket, Lafayette made his return visit to Louis Philippe in the Palais Royal. In the course of conversation he said to him, "You know that I am a republican, and consider the American constitution the most perfect." "I am of the same opinion," replied the duke; "no one could have been two years in America and not share that view. But do you think that that constitution could be adopted in France in its present condition—with the present state of popular opinion?" "No," said Lafayette; "what France needs is a popular monarchy surrounded by republican—thoroughly republican—institutions." "There I quite agree with you," rejoined Louis Philippe. Enchanted with this political harmony, the old general considered it unnecessary to present the programme, and went security to the republicans for the duke, the

patriot of 1789. Louis Philippe now named his ministry. The republican Dupont de l'Eure had the department of justice; the Doctrinaire Guizot the department of the interior, and Gérard the war department; while the duke's most trusty friends, Lafitte, Dupin, Périer, and Broglie, were ministers without portfolios.

In the mean time the court had left St. Cloud. The king deprived Marmont of the chief command, and bestowed it upon the incapable Dauphin. The desertion of the troops increased, and Versailles declared for the revolution. A report arose that 1500 armed men were on their way to surprise the palace in the night (July 30th), and all at once fled to Trianon. After a brief rest, on the receipt of Lafayette's answer that all reconciliation was impossible, the flight was continued to Rambouillet. There the Duchess of Angoulême, who had been taking the baths at Vichy, joined them. The ministers now made off, and sought to reach the frontier; three of them succeeded in doing so; Polignac and two others were overtaken and brought to Vincennes. The despondency of the court increased. From Rambouillet Charles sent the duke his commission as lieutenant-general of France, but received the answer that he held that office by the choice of the people, and not by royal favor. On the 2d of August Charles sent him word that he and the dauphin resigned the crown in favor of his ten-year-old grandson, the Duke of Bordeaux, and commissioned him to proclaim the accession of Henry V. Louis Philippe imparted the news of the abdication to the Chamber, August 3d, without adding in whose favor it was made. He spoke no word of a Henry V., and even allowed the old protestation against his legitimacy to be again published. He was already steering under full sail toward the crown of France, and could scarcely wait until the late king was safely over the water. Hence he sent four commissioners to Charles to persuade him to leave Rambouillet for the sake of his own safety. Charles would not receive the commissioners, whereupon it was rumored in Paris that he was about to advance upon the capital with his guard, summon the legitimists to his standard, and cause fresh bloodshed. The streets at once resounded with the cry, "To Rambouillet!" Six thousand men of the national guard, under General Pajol, were called out by the government; a crowd of working-men, the heroes of July 28th, joined them; wagons and omnibuses were pressed into service; and so 20,000 men—"a most sin-

gular and interesting army," as Lafayette testifies—set forth, and encamped at evening three hours from Rambouillet. The commissioners had hurried on ahead. They were finally admitted, and spoke to the king of 60,000 Parisians under way. He still had 8000 men left, and General Vincent was ready, with a few cannon shots and one determined assault, to drive the whole motley horde back to Paris. But Charles, still hoping for his grandson, now consented to depart, and left for Cherbourg, August 4th, in company with the commissioners. On the whole journey he was received by the populace with evident signs of dislike. In Argentan he learned of the elevation of Louis Philippe to the throne of France, and remarked, "This is his 100 days; they will not last so long as his brother's; he has no Napoleon to deal with." Rocking himself in such delusions, he reached Cherbourg, August 16th, after parting with his guard. There he shipped with his family on an American ship, and landed the following day in England, where he was not received by the government as king, but as a private individual. He resided for a short time at Lullworth Castle; then he went to Edinburgh; and in 1832 he removed to Austria. He died at Gorice, November 6th, 1836. His son, the Duke of Angoulême, died at the same place, June 3d, 1844. The wife of the latter, the unfortunate Maria Theresa, died at Frohsdorf, the residence of the Duke of Bordeaux, October 19th, 1851.

Charles X. had not greatly hastened his journey, principally because he reckoned on a legitimist uprising in the south or west of France. But no trace of such a thing appeared anywhere. The departments, which had chosen the 272 members of the opposition, were in complete agreement with their latest acts. The change was accomplished everywhere in a very simple manner, the troops going over to the side of the citizens. Lyons alone had not waited for Paris to decide the matter. On the news of the *ordinances*, July 29th, barricades had been erected there, and a provisional government established. Owing to the neutrality of the troops, this insurrection was bloodless. Even in Algiers the tricolored flag was raised by army and fleet, and Bourmont, who had been made marshal, was forced to take to flight. What had been prophesied to the Bourbons was fulfilled. Their restoration had proved a political blunder.

On the 3d of August the Chamber was opened by the Duke

of Orleans, and the abdication of the king and dauphin announced, but nothing said about the Duke of Bordeaux. The question whether the constitution was to be changed, and how, gave rise to an animated contest between radicals and liberals. The confidence in Louis Philippe was so great, that they were content with a few improvements. The throne was declared vacant, and Louis Philippe proclaimed king of the French. August 7th, in solemn procession, the representatives repaired to the Palais Royal, and communicated their resolutions to the duke. At night came a deputation from the Chamber of Peers, and brought their agreement to the resolutions of the lower house. August 8th, Louis Philippe appeared in the Palais Bourbon, took the oath to the constitution, and was thereupon proclaimed king. The revolution was, for another while, concluded. A "new era" began.

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§ 8.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE JULY REVOLUTION IN BELGIUM, ENGLAND, GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, ITALY, AND POLAND.

THE first waves from the French revolution broke over Belgium. For a decade abundant inflammable material had been heaped up there, and an explosion had long been predicted. The allies of 1814 had this blunder on their consciences as well as the restoration of the Bourbons. In order to have a stronger bulwark against the encroachments of France in the north, the Vienna congress ordained that Belgium should be united with Holland, as an "increase of territory," under the house of Orange. At the same time the hegemony of Holland was recognized, and Belgium was regarded and treated as a kind of subject province. And yet in these United Netherlands two-thirds of the population belonged to Belgium, and but one-third to Holland. For more than two centuries each of the two countries had gone its own way. Since the separation of Holland from the Spain of Philip II., in 1579—with the exception of a few years under the Napoleonic rule—they had been separated from one another. Belgium had been first under Spanish, later under Austrian rule. Holland, as a young republic, had developed into a maritime

power of the first rank, ruling an enormous colonial dominion. In the humanities and painting, the latter had rivalled Germany and Italy.

To this difference of their past were added still deeper lying differences of religion and language. Belgium was Roman Catholic; and French was there the official language and the language of society, although two-thirds of the population—the inhabitants of the northern part of the country—spoke Flemish, a dialect akin to Dutch. In Holland, on the other hand, Calvinism had early become firmly established, and the language was Teutonic. Out of hatred toward France, and everything French, King William constantly sought to limit the use of the French language more and more, and this made itself unpleasantly felt throughout the southern provinces, in the courts of justice, and in the army. The Belgian clergy, in any case dissatisfied under a Protestant government, felt their existence threatened when the king proposed to place the whole system of instruction, that domain of the hierarchy, under the control of the government. The course of instruction in the Belgian schools, gymnasiums, and universities was very much raised; and in 1825 a philosophical college was established at Louvain, which every one must attend who wished to enter an episcopal seminary. This institution, fairly abreast of the age, was to act as a dam against the excesses of ultramontanism. Ultramontanism accepted the challenge. Yet, great as ultramontane influence over the people was, the government had nothing to fear so long as it had the liberal elements on its side. But these it repelled by abolishing trial by jury, disciplining officers of justice for belonging to the opposition, limiting the freedom of the Press, and definitely refusing to propose a law regarding the responsibility of ministers. Since neither clericals nor liberals could obtain anything alone, there arose the unnatural alliance of these two great parties. The former helped the latter in their agitation for freedom of the Press; the latter the former in their effort after freedom of instruction, by which the clergy hoped to get the whole education of the people again into their hands.

It should have been possible to settle these disagreements in the States-general, the parliament. But here, too, the Belgians were at a disadvantage. Notwithstanding their decided majority of population, they had no more delegates than the Dutch; each

state having fifty-five. While the Dutch members stood together like a solid phalanx, the Belgians, many of whom the government had succeeded in drawing over to its side, not being in the same degree united, could accomplish nothing.

Furthermore, although the gain-loving king supported enthusiastically all industrial enterprises, yet their material interests separated the two states. Belgium had to share Holland's enormous debt, and, in order to extinguish this, must allow itself to be loaded with unwonted taxes—among others, duties on bread and meat. It was this tax which excited the lower classes most, and so in the year 1829 almost all the delegates to the States-general were liberals. Even then the king allowed himself to be deceived, as to the true sentiment of the people, by the reception he met with on his journey through the Belgian cities, just as Charles X. was deceived in Alsace. At the reception of the municipal authorities of Liege he declared that he now knew what to think of the pretended grievances—that he recognized in them only the views of a few who had their own private interests to further thereby; that such action was infamous! An order was at once formed in Flanders, the hearth of the clericals, whose members wore a medal with the legend, "*Fidèles jusqu'à l'infamie!*" an allusion to the motto of the Genevese in 1566, "Faithful even to beggary!" The excitement was increased by a message of the king to the States-general (December 11th, 1829), betraying too clearly his absolutism, and by a circular of the minister of justice, van Maanen, and of the minister of the interior, to all their subordinates, requiring them to make a formal statement of their assent to the principles of the royal message. The Dutch exulted over the blow which had been struck at the Belgians; the latter, in their papers, spoke of the manifesto of absolutism against liberty, and set van Maanen, the soul of the ministry, on the same level with Polignac. The separation of Belgium from Holland, to the extent of a separate constitution and administration for the former country, was already spoken of. It was useless for the ministry, at the instance of the Belgian opposition, to make a few concessions in the language controversy, and with regard to the freedom of the Press, and to abolish the philosophical college at Louvain. It had shown its true character too plainly, and had just aroused new hatred by deposing officials and punishing authors. Among the latter was de Potter, who had proposed the

formation of a league to secure its members against all measures of force. He was arrested, and in April, 1830, banished from the country for eight years. He had scarcely reached Aix la Chapelle, on his way to Lausanne, when he heard of the events of the July week in Paris. He at once went to France, and from Paris put himself in communication with his friends in Brussels.

The idea of freeing themselves from an anti-national government, as France had just done, was a natural one. In this they thought that they might safely calculate on the July monarchy and the enthusiasm of the French people. De Potter's most intimate friend, Gendebien, travelled to Paris for the purpose of effecting the union of his country with France, and offering a contingent toward the conquest of the Rhine frontier. But Louis Philippe had no wish to endanger, by a war of conquest, the throne he had just ascended, and rejected the offer. Thereupon Gendebien and his friends sought to bring about a popular movement, in order to compel France to occupy Belgium, in case Prussia supported the Dutch. They went to work so openly that they frankly made it known by posters: "Monday, fireworks; Tuesday, illumination; Wednesday, revolution!"

In the mean time the royal officials were doing nothing to allay the excitement. On the 25th of August, 1830, in the theatre at Brussels, they allowed the opera *La muette de Portici* to be performed, which represents the rising of the Neapolitans under the lead of the fisherman Massaniello. Every allusion to domestic circumstances was applauded vehemently, and outside crowds of the common people cried, "Long live de Potter! Down with van Maanen!" After the opera, the populace attacked the houses of van Maanen and of Libri, the ministerial editor. One was completely gutted, the other burnt down. During the night all the gun-stores were plundered. On the 26th the work of destruction was continued, the tricolored flag of Brabant planted on the city hall, and the royal arms demolished. As these excesses, perpetrated by the lowest classes, increased, the citizens rose, formed a citizen guard, suppressed the anarchy, and arranged for a meeting of the most influential men on the 28th of August. At this meeting it was determined to send a delegation to the king to beg him to change his previous system of government, dismiss his ministers, and convoke the States-general at once. The revolt rapidly spread over the whole country, and was every-

where victorious, only a few fortresses holding out. But the king, like Charles and Polignac, was unwilling to hear of any concessions until Belgium was again subdued, and sent his eldest son, the Prince of Orange, to Brussels to see how matters really were. His second son, Prince Frederic, was despatched to Antwerp to gather troops. At the same time, he summoned the States-general to meet in extraordinary session at the Hague, September 13th. His plan was in this way to gain time, and meanwhile to occupy Brussels. To the deputation from that city he said that he would not let himself be forced at the muzzle of the pistol, as it were, to dismiss van Maanen.

The princes, with the troops, entered Vilvoorden, three hours from Brussels, on the 31st of August, and caused Baron Hoogvorst, the commander of the citizen guard, to come to their headquarters, in order to consult regarding the re-establishment of the royal authority. He invited Orange to come to Brussels without troops, but the latter insisted on the entry of the troops and the restoration of the royal emblems. When Hoogvorst brought this answer to Brussels, great excitement prevailed; there was a general call to arms. Women and children took part in the work. Cartridges were prepared, missiles carried into the houses, and over fifty barricades erected. At the same time, the prince was informed by a second delegation that the acceptance of his conditions was impossible. At length he yielded, and made his entrance into the city alone through the crowded streets (September 1st), his ears greeted by cries of "Liberty! Down with van Maanen!" He appointed a commission to advise means for bringing about a good understanding between the government and the citizens. This commission reported that the only means was the legislative and administrative separation of Belgium from Holland, a special ministry for Belgium, and a personal union of the two countries, like that of Sweden and Norway. The prince promised to lay their wishes before the king and give them his support, and journeyed to the Hague for that purpose. The garrison of Brussels marched out, and joined the troops of Prince Frederic. But the king—emboldened by the delusion that the great powers would not allow their own creation to be overturned, that England surely could not refuse him her aid—would not listen to the representations of his son and a minority of his ministers. He dismissed van Maanen, it is true; but in a proclamation merely

referred the impatient to the conclusions of the States-general, while he emphasized once more the maintenance of the real union and adhesion to legal methods. The attitude of the Dutch people made matters still worse. They behaved more royally than the king himself, and so fanned the strife into a war between the two peoples. The Dutch papers said that rebel blood is not brothers' blood—that the time for negotiations was past: "War to the rebels and murderers!" The States-general were opened September 13th. The speech from the throne spoke very indefinitely about the separation of the two states. The Dutch delegates knew no other means to recommend than the application of armed force.

On the 11th of September, before the opening of the States-general, a committee of safety had been successfully established in Brussels "for the maintenance of the dynasty and of public order;" but, on the receipt of the news from the Hague, quite different forces gained the control. A horde of revolutionists and penniless laborers, from the other Belgian cities and from Paris, had arrived, determined to fight out the long fight in the streets of Brussels. September 20th, they gained possession of the city hall, disarmed the citizen guard, drove out the committee of safety, and restored to the populace the power which had passed over, on August 27th, from them to the citizens. Against this rule of working-men even Belgian representatives begged the king to employ armed force. Prince Frederic received the command to advance from Vilvoorden against Brussels. He issued a proclamation promising amnesty to the insurgents in general, but threatening with severe punishment the "chief instigators of these altogether too criminal transactions." He appeared before Brussels, September 23d, with 10,300 men and twenty-six guns. At first he gained a slight advantage, and forced his way into the city; but there he found such obstacles in the barricade and house-fighting that he withdrew to the Park (outside of the city); and on the 26th, as his troops, hemmed in and assaulted from all sides, were worn out with fatigue, and as, in addition to all this, the ammunition had given out, he had to set out on his return to Vilvoorden. Among those in charge of the arrangements for defence, the gallant Pletinckx, a second lieutenant, and Juan van Halen, a Spaniard, deserve especial credit.

With this battle, after the shedding of so much blood, the ob-

ject of the revolution was determined. A personal union was no longer satisfactory; the house of Orange was no longer possible; only the complete independence of Belgium, only the establishment of a separate state, could satisfy the Belgian people, high and low. To this end the provisional government, in which de Potter, who had returned September 20th, had a seat, directed its efforts. With the news of the victory, the victory itself spread through all Belgium. The Dutch garrisons and officials were driven out; the Belgian troops, freed from their oath by the provisional government, went over to the people. Only the cities of Luxemburg, Venloo, Maestricht, and Antwerp still remained in the hands of the Dutch.

At last the Dutch government yielded. September 28th the States-general declared themselves in favor of a separate administration for Belgium, and on the 4th of October the king gave his consent, and sent the Prince of Orange to Antwerp. He proclaimed the separation of Belgium from Holland, educational liberty and unconditional amnesty, and was even willing to set himself at the head of the movement and recognize the resolutions of the Belgian congress. But, as his father disapproved of these unauthorized measures, and at the same time sought to excite civil war in Belgium, the son also was distrusted, and his proposals rejected. Thereupon he betook himself to London, where the delegates of the great powers were at that very time assembled in conference.

Soon after, 8000 volunteers, under the French general Mellinet, advanced against Antwerp. Two officers, who had distinguished themselves in the Park fights, were assigned him as assistants—Niellon and Kessels. Of these the former had last been the director of a children's theatre, the latter had travelled about exhibiting the skeleton of a walrus. Fortune now favored them on the theatre of war. The Dutch troops were driven out of the city of Antwerp, and General Chassé had to withdraw to the citadel. When the Belgians would have attacked him there, he bombarded the city for several hours, with all his batteries, destroying over 200 houses, and burning goods to the value of several million francs. Venloo also fell into the hands of the Belgians, so that only Maestricht, Luxemburg, and the citadel of Antwerp still remained in possession of the Dutch. The independence of Belgium was already a fact. The London conference proposed the

suspension of hostilities, and the adoption of the boundaries which had existed before the union of the two states, and these propositions were accepted by the provisional government. The National Congress, which met on the 10th of November, adopted a resolution excluding the house of Orange-Nassau forever from the Belgian throne. The political constellations were favorable for Belgium; for of the Eastern powers, generally so eager to intervene, Russia was busy with the suppression of the Polish insurrection, and Austria had to stand guard in Italy. From the Western powers there was absolutely nothing to be feared. In England, after Wellington's fall, a more liberal policy had gained the ascendency; and Louis Philippe was so little in a position to act against Belgium that he even declared he would endure no intervention there.

So the Belgians were masters in their own house. On the question of the form of government to be adopted, the republican de Potter disagreed with the majority, and retired into private life. The congress decided with 174 voices for a constitutional monarchy; only thirteen members were in favor of a republic. February 17th, 1831, the constitution, which was founded on the principle of the sovereignty of the people, and according to which the people were to be represented in a senate and a house of representatives, was unanimously adopted by the congress. More difficult of settlement was the question regarding the boundaries. In this the London conference, which had already, December 20th, 1831, pronounced for the separation of Belgium from Holland, decided to the disadvantage of Belgium. The Grand-duchy of Luxemburg, which William had received in exchange for the hereditary domain of his family, was to remain Dutch. Against this the Belgians protested, on the ground that the inhabitants had risen with them against King William, and wished union with their country, and not with Holland. For the decision of this controversy much depended upon the choice of the new king. At first the crown was offered to the Duke of Nemours, Louis Philippe's second son. When his father, on the reasonable supposition that the great powers would not consent to such an increase of French influence, refused the offer, the Duke of Leuchtenberg, a son of the former viceroy Eugene, seemed to have the best prospects. But this grandson of Napoleon was so unwelcome a neighbor to Louis Philippe that he

made every effort to defeat his election, and ceased to oppose the choice of his own son. February 3d, 1831, the Duke of Nemours was named king by a small majority. But for the second time Louis Philippe refused the Belgian crown. He had attained his main object in preventing the election of the Leuchtenberg prince, and was aware that the London conference had declared his son unacceptable. Hence it was necessary to make a new choice. This could not have resulted more favorably than it did. June 4th, the congress elected Prince Leopold, of Saxe-Coburg, who had distinguished himself in the wars for freedom. In 1816 he had married the daughter of the Prince-regent of England. In the following year he had become a widower, and since that time he had resided in England. By the marriage of his sister with the Duke of Kent, he was the uncle of Victoria, the future Queen of England. In the year 1830 he had refused the Grecian crown, but he now accepted the Belgian, after the congress had assented to the conclusion of the London conference of June 26th (the eighteen articles)—that in the Luxemburg question the *status quo* was to be maintained for the present, and the definite decision relegated to the future. He made his entrance into Brussels July 21st, took the oath to the constitution, and was proclaimed King of the Belgians.

The new king had just entered upon a tour of inspection, when (August 2d) the Dutch troops, over 70,000 strong, entered Belgium, defeated the Belgian army at Hasselt and Louvain, and threatened Brussels. Leopold called on France and England for aid. A French army entered Belgium, and an English fleet took up its position on the Dutch coast. The Dutch had to withdraw, but, by the assistance of the Eastern powers—which, after the suppression of the Polish insurrection, were free to remember once more the principles of the Holy Alliance—a change was effected in the London treaty, October 6th. According to the new protocol (the twenty-four articles), the whole of Luxemburg was not to fall to Belgium, but only the western part, with 165,000 inhabitants, mostly Walloons; while the eastern, or German part, with 170,000, was to be restored to the King of Holland, who had held the fortress of Luxemburg throughout. In compensation for the first-mentioned part, a few Limburg districts were also taken from Belgium, and she was to pay Holland yearly 8,400,000 gulden (about $3,950,000) as her share of the

national debt of the Netherlands. As King William was not content with this, and refused his signature, an Anglo-French fleet blockaded the Dutch coast, and a French army, under Marshal Gérard, passed the Belgian boundaries, November 15th, 1832, in order to take the citadel of Antwerp. The gallant General Chassé was still planted there with his Dutch garrison. After holding out for more than a month, he had to surrender the citadel, December 23d, and the Belgian troops at once marched in. Chassé and the garrison were carried to France as prisoners of war, and not released before the following year, when King William consented to the preliminary treaty of May 21st, 1833. The uncomfortable struggle was not wholly set at rest before the London treaty of April 19th, 1839, in which William at length accepted the twenty-four articles, and conceded the free passage of the Schelde.

Under the government of Leopold I., who married, in 1832, the eldest daughter of Louis Philippe, Princess Louise, of Orleans, Belgium was at liberty, undisturbed, to advance on the road of material and intellectual development. The union of clericals and liberals, having served its purpose, soon gave place to a decided rupture. Both parties sought to secure the majority in the Chambers, and thereby control the formation of the ministry; and King Leopold, the pattern of a constitutional king, under whom, far more than under his father-in-law, the constitution was a reality, allowed them their own way. In the most difficult times, even after the February revolution, and during the supremacy of annexation-craving Napoleonism, he steered his ship of state with the sagacity and circumspection of a statesman. At his death, December 10th, 1865, the whole land manifested unfeigned sorrow.

This could not be said of England when George IV. died, June 26th, 1830. Men were glad to take leave of the old reform-hater, and greeted with pleasure the accession of his brother, the Duke of Clarence, who ruled as William IV. According to custom, under a new king a new Parliament must be chosen. The old one was dissolved July 25th, that unlucky day on which Charles X. signed the *ordinances*, and so the new elections fell exactly in a time when a freer, fresher air was blowing across the Channel. The victory of the French people was greeted with joy by the English. It was regarded as a triumph which would be for the

good of all Europe. Moreover, the national rivalry could not endure to see free England fall behind monarch-ruled France—to see Wellington still Premier, while his protégé in Vincennes, Polignac, had already been deprived of office. Hard as it was for him, first among all the ministers of foreign powers, Wellington had already had to recognize Louis Philippe's government. When he surveyed the result of the general elections, he found more than fifty votes less at the disposal of the ministry than before. The speech which he caused the king to make from the throne, November 2d, was all the more defiant. About reforms it said nothing. Ireland was only so far touched that measures for the maintenance of order were announced, as if that were enough to cause the social evils to remedy themselves. Holland was praised; the Belgian revolution censured as causeless; and the prospect of the recognition of Don Miguel, Portugal's tyrant, held out. Such a speech was too much for even English nerves. In London and other cities the popular indignation displayed itself in riots. The dismissal of the ministers was loudly demanded in public meetings. The temper of the people was not improved by the fact that the king and his ministers took no part in the Lord Mayor's dinner, on account of a proposed attempt on Wellington's life. With military pride Wellington still remained at his post. When, in the House of Lords, the liberal Earl Grey indicated parliamentary reform as the only means of saving England from revolution, Wellington responded, with a kind of scorn, that the present mode of representation was truly model, since it gave the great landholders an overweening influence, and that he would oppose any measures looking to parliamentary reform. Men began to see more plainly whither they were moving. In a debate on the civil list, the ministry were left in a minority, and tendered their resignations; and, on the 16th of November, Earl Grey was intrusted with the formation of a new ministry. This consisted of members of the Whig party, favorers of parliamentary reform. Followers of Canning, like Palmerston, here sat by the side of tried men of the people, like Brougham. Grey at once announced to Parliament his policy—non-intervention without, and parliamentary reform within. It was here, as it always is in great historical questions—what the government at first persecutes and calumniates, it is at last obliged to adopt.

Germany, too, spite of its proverbial patience, could not wholly

escape the effects of the July revolution. But there was again a marked distinction between north and south Germany. In the latter there had existed for more than a decade representation not merely of certain classes, but of the whole people; and the south German constitutions were, according to Prince Metternich's views, only too liberal. In the former, on the other hand, there was, at the most, representation of the upper classes, in addition to which the rights of the nobles were extravagant, and the division of taxation unjust. Hence the excitement was far greater in the north than in the south. Here and there it resulted in slight disturbances, and in collisions between the lower classes and the police; in a few cities it took a more serious form.

In Brunswick, as in France and Belgium, a throne became vacant. The heroic Duke Frederic William, known for his march to the North Sea in 1809, and his death at Quatrebras in 1815, left two sons, Charles and William, who were not yet of age. By his testament their guardianship was intrusted to King George IV., of England, who was at the same time King of Hanover. The Hanoverian minister, Count Münster, established for Brunswick a board of privy councillors, with von Schmidt-Phiseldeck at its head, and made good provision for the administration of justice and of the finances, but allowed representation in the Chamber of the Estates only to the nobles and clergy, and to the cities through their burgomasters. This left the government comparatively unrestrained. Such was the condition of affairs when Duke Charles assumed the government in 1823. He had been educated at different courts, and for that reason not symmetrically educated. In Vienna he had been lectured by his patron Prince Metternich on the irresponsibility of princes, and after having endured the board of privy councillors by his side for three or four years, he abolished it, in 1827, in order from that time on to rule independently. Schmidt-Phiseldeck fled to Hanover, and refused to give up the state papers. This caused a scandalous quarrel between the duke on the one side, and King George and Count Münster on the other. Charles went so far as to hang up a picture of the latter in his garden and shoot at it, and to challenge him to a duel. He even claimed that the guardianship had been abused for the purpose of crippling his intellect, and educating him to ignorance and dependence.

He would not recognize the constitution because it was too

aristocratic, but accorded no more popular one, simply setting his sovereign caprice above everything. Furthermore, his mode of life gave the greatest offence. His officials were in part incapable and immoral creatures, who permitted, with slavish subservience, his interference in the administration of justice and of the finances, and the sale of public lands for the benefit of his private purse. He aroused against him not merely the common people, but the nobility as well. During the July revolution he was in Paris, and, full of consternation at the catastrophe in that city, he hurried home, resolved in a similar event to act quite differently from Charles X. Rumor said that he had poisoned von Oyenhausen, his master of the horse, and purposed giving his place to a Frenchman named Aloard, whom he had brought back with him. A deputation of citizens represented to him the temper of the people, and demanded the redress of grievances, and the summoning of the Estates. Thereupon he doubled the guards, and mounted sixteen cannon before the barracks. Then the people rose, September 7th, 1830; and while the duke, with his troops, stood in the palace square, stormed the palace at an unguarded spot. The discontented officers stood by and let it happen. Charles had to flee, and his palace was burnt behind him. The committee of the Estates convened the Estates of the country, and begged the duke's brother, Prince William, who was in military service in Berlin, to undertake the government. He arrived from Berlin three days later, assumed the government "for the present" as governor-general of the duchy, to which he was appointed by Charles, and caused the Estates to solicit the King of England's mediation. But Charles left London, whither he had fled, went to Frankfort, and issued proclamations promising enviable institutions. He found only unbelievers; and when, in November, with about eighty men enlisted in the Harz, he entered Brunswick territory, he was driven back by an outpost of black *jägers*. He again fled, this time to Paris. Henceforward he wandered about like a knight-errant, everywhere distinguished by his extravagancies. His repeated attempts to re-establish himself in his duchy were vain. He never came to Germany again, and died at Geneva, August 18th, 1873.

It was a peculiar irony of fate that it was a special protégé of Metternich upon whom the lot of dethronement fell, and that his pliant tool, the Diet, was forced to ratify the fact. Little as the

changes in Brunswick and the other north-German states were to the taste of the Diet, it did not dare to step in, bayonet in hand, after the manner of the previous decade, for fear that, in the then condition of the world, this might fan, and not quench, the fire. It even gave the different governments the wise advice to redress actual grievances and redeem previous pledges, in order to avoid all cause of insurrection. The very Diet which, before and afterward in all quarrels about constitutions, judged the princes only right, and even had an encouraging word for their illegal encroachments, now set itself on the side of the subjects, accepted their complaints against Charles of Brunswick, affirmed his absolute incapacity to govern, and ratified the accession of his brother William. He entered upon the government, April 25th, 1831, with the consent of all his paternal relatives. The nobles, who were the originators of this insurrection, satisfied by the change of rulers, wished no further alterations whatever; but the people clamored for an improvement of the constitution, and got it. The new constitution was proclaimed October 12th, 1832, as the fundamental law of the land.

In Electoral Hesse, also, the chief stone of stumbling was the person of the prince. Elector William II. had succeeded his father in the government in 1821. He did away with the restored cues of the soldiers, it is true, but himself caused much dissatisfaction by his coarse conduct; by his open neglect of his wife, a sister of the King of Prussia; by his offensively open intercourse with his mistress, whom he had made Countess Reichenbach; and by the arbitrary levying of taxes, a great part of which flowed into the pockets of the elector and the countess, instead of into the public chest. For the sake of protection against his people, and in order to have the sons of the Reichenbach made Austrian counts, he had, after a short spasm of opposition, cast himself unreservedly into the arms of the Metternich system, and from that time on he allowed himself the greatest indiscretions. The events in Paris and Brussels awakened hopes and plans in Electoral Hesse, which viewed its prince and his government with dislike and contempt. The agitation began with a bread riot on September 16th, and ended by compelling the elector to convene the Estates of the country, and to sign, January 5th, 1831, the new constitutional charter, in drafting which Professor Jordan, of Marburg, had been especially active. But as the citizens of Cas-

sel also insisted upon the departure of Countess Reichenbach, and twice compelled the elector to send her away, residence at the capital or at Wilhelmshöhe became distasteful to him, and he betook himself to Hanau, and soon afterward to Frankfort-on-the-Main. But according to the constitution he could not rule the country from foreign territory; and hence, September 30th, 1831, he appointed his son Frederic William co-regent. The latter, whose character was more in harmony with that of his father than was good either for himself or the country, conducted the business of the government from this time forward.

The neighboring Upper Hesse was also affected by the general fever for revolutions. In September of 1830 a peasant outbreak occurred there, which recalls in many of its traits the years 1524 and 1525. A few thousand peasants came together, sought to dictate laws by means of scythes and pitchforks, spoke of equality and liberty, raved about the abolition of imposts and customs, showed their courage principally in burning custom-houses and baronial documents, and after a few days were dispersed by the troops of Prince Emil, of Hesse.

In the kingdom of Saxony it was not a court scandal which excited revolt and brought about an upheaval, but an effete system of government. In September, 1830, there were street riots in Leipzig and Dresden. In the capital, the city hall and police head-quarters were carried by storm, and a citizen guard established. The dismissal of the ministers, the adoption of a constitution granting representation of the people, change of the municipal system, abolition of Press censorship, and expulsion of the Jesuits, were demanded from the king. The Jesuits exerted a very harmful influence on several members of the Roman Catholic royal house; and the land that was once the cradle of Protestantism was of necessity most deeply stirred when it saw Protestantism's arch-enemies nesting on its hearth. A memorial from 120 village communities estimated that 80,000 peasants were without representation in the parliament, and demanded representation for them. The king had to yield. He appointed his nephew, the universally popular Prince Frederic, co-regent, and, September 4th, 1831, he took the oath to the constitution drawn up by the Estates of the country. The movement for liberty spread over the Saxon duchies, and attained there, also, its immediate aims.

The kingdom of Hanover was drawn into the new movement

from causes similar to those operating in Saxony. Here *Junkerthum* bloomed in fullest luxuriance. February 8th, 1831, an insurrection, in which both students and citizens took part, broke out in Göttingen. A citizen guard was formed, a new constitution demanded, and an "Accusation of the administration of Münster before the tribunal of public opinion" circulated through the country. The governor-general, the Duke of Cambridge, caused Göttingen to be occupied by soldiers, before whom the whole revolution vanished. Moreover, he went thither in person, listened to the grievances, and promised a constitution adapted to the age —one permitting representation of the people. By his persuasion, King William was brought to dismiss Count Münster as the representative of all that was hated. Cambridge was appointed viceroy of Hanover; the Estates—a part of the deputies to which were newly elected—met, and approved of the draft of a constitution prepared by a committee comprising the historian Dahlmann among its members. This new constitution was adopted in 1833, spite of the opposition of the nobility.

So to the south-German constitutions four new ones were added in the north. The efforts of the Diet to press these countries down into the old system of Estates was frustrated, and thereby a victory won for constitutionalism. Even the princes were very far from calling in the Diet and the great powers, whose *dicta* they feared more than they did the demands of the people. The question was how long this would last; whether the events in Poland and Russia would not drive the thermometer down.

Where monarchies followed the liberal lead, republics could not remain behind. The separate cantons and the general government of Switzerland had, in the third decade of this century, relapsed into the same reaction as the other countries of Europe. The disproportion which we have found in north Germany, between the rights of the nobles and those of the people, existed here also. Most of the cantons had an aristocratic government, in which a few privileged families, the patricians, had so decided a preponderance that there was practically no representation of the people. As formerly, among the Hanseatic cities, a distinction was made between *Stadt* and *Amt* (city and subject province), so now in Switzerland the same distinction was made between *Stadt* and *Landschaft* (city and outlying district). The citizens of the lat-

ter could send but few representatives to the Great Council of a canton.

With such privileges in the hands of the patrician families, the administration of the country was as bad as possible. The officials were appointed rather on the score of birth than merit; the finances were not always managed in the public interest; the administration of justice was proverbially bad. As little attention was paid to general laws for the benefit of domestic intercourse and traffic as in Germany; and the Swiss Diet, which met in one of the Directorial Cantons (Berne, Zurich, and Luzerne), did not yield to the German in reactionary sentiment. It was strongly attached to the Metternich system, and sent its people as mercenaries to France and Naples, in order to afford the young patricians appointments as officers.

With such republics the young generation, which was growing up at the universities and elsewhere, was not satisfied. There sprung up everywhere a liberal opposition to the rule of the oligarchies; and, after the uprisings in north Germany, the demand for constitutional reform became still more general. Societies were formed; the liberal Press was never weary of proclaiming the principles of the new era—political equality, abolition of all privileges, equal representation for all the citizens of a canton, freedom of the Press, etc.—and demanding their adoption in Switzerland. Berne—at that time the Directorial Canton, and the one whose government was the most aristocratic—issued, September 22d, 1830, a circular to the various cantonal governments, urging the adoption of measures against the Press, and the maintenance of the old constitutions. This only fanned the excitement into a blaze. In the months of October and November meetings of the notables and people were held in almost all the cantons; the principles of the new constitutions were laid down; and after a few weeks the governments were compelled to accept them.

Before the July revolution, in May, 1830, the oligarchico-ultramontane government had been overthrown in Tessin, and another set up on a democratic basis. In the autumn the Thurgovians were the first to exact a constitutional assembly and a change of the constitution, and the new constitution was adopted by the people in March, 1831. Matters took the same course in Zurich—where the essential point was the relative representation of the *Landschaft* and the too powerful city; in Aargau, in St. Gallen,

in Luzerne, in Soleure, in Freiburg—where the hierarchical aristocracy, supported by the Jesuits and Congregationalists who had been driven out of France, called out the soldiers, but were overthrown with all their appurtenances; in Vaud—where, with French hot-headedness, the members of the Great Council of Lausanne were assailed with the cry, "Down with the tyrants!" and a radical constitution was adopted; in Schaffhausen and in Berne—where for a long time the government entertained the mad plan of maintaining itself by the help of the discharged Swiss guards of Charles X. In Basle, where there were bloody collisions between the soldiers of the *Landschaft* and those of the city, and the troops of the Swiss Diet had to interfere to adjust the quarrel, the Great Council of the city preferred a separation from the *Landschaft* to submitting to its requirements. So in the year 1832 the two half-cantons of the city of Basle and the *Landschaft* of Basle (with its government at Liestal) were formed. A similar desire for separation of city and *Landschaft* manifested itself in Switz and Valais, and was only removed after bitter struggles. In Uri, Unterwalden, Zug, Geneva, Glarus, Appenzell, and the country of the Grisons, on the other hand, the old constitutions remained in force. In Neuchâtel, where the liberal party was unwilling longer to recognize the King of Prussia as their sovereign, but was held down by the energy of the Prussian general von Pfuel, the movement ended in a victory for the existing government.

Different from all the hitherto depicted situations was the state of affairs in Italy. This time it was not Naples and Piedmont, as ten years before, but the States of the Church, which were the theatre of the movement. The government, which consisted of nothing but cardinals, was thoroughly hated, and was compared, and to be compared, only with the Turkish government. In spite of all persecutions, the *Carbonari* had spread over the whole country, and had many adherents among the educated classes. Upon these circles the news of the July revolution fell with convulsing effect. The centre of the new conspiracy was Bologna. One citizen of that place was so delighted with the *Great Week* in Paris that he wanted to have it set "by the side of the six days of the creation." From Bologna the agitation spread to other cities, and even to Rome itself. Pope Pius VIII. died November 30th, 1830. The ensuing interregnum seemed a good

time to strike. Hopes were entertained of France, which had long been jealous of Austria. The French cabinet, it is true, announced, in answer to inquiries, that it would not meddle in Italian affairs, but at the same time, also, that it would permit no interference on the part of any other state. If this non-intervention principle, the very opposite of that which had formerly been adopted and put into practice by the congresses of Troppau, Laibach, and Verona, were strictly adhered to, and Austria restrained from intervention, the *Carbonari* were sure of their ability to dispose of the domestic government, and carry out the national programme. And if Austria should interfere, then France would be forced by her pledge into armed participation, and out of the contest between these two states they hoped to see the white-red-and-green of the national colors issue.

The Napoleon family was deeply involved in this movement. The July revolution had inspired them with new hopes. Napoleon's son, the unfortunate Duke of Reichstadt, was pressed by secret agents and letters to allow himself to be proclaimed Napoleon II. But, though "Europe's prisoner," full of talent and zeal for military studies, like his father, glowed with longing at France's call to set himself at her head, he was condemned, under the watchful eyes of his grandfather and Metternich, to the pain of causing his holiest feelings to appear the opposite of what they were, and, as a Napoleon, had to speak in favor of the Bourbons. The movements of the other Napoleons were less hampered. Jerome's two sons attracted the attention of the *Carbonari*, as well as of the Roman government; and the two sons of the Dutch ex-king and Hortense threw themselves into the arms of the revolution at the instigation of the Modenese Menotti, unconcerned as to whether this would cost their aunt, the ex-empress Marie Louise, her widow's portion or not.

The head of the Modenese conspirators, Menotti, designed striking in Modena, February 4th, 1831, but was apprehended, with fifteen of his accomplices, by the old despot, Duke Francis IV., on the preceding evening. But since almost at the same time the whole duchy broke out in rebellion, Francis had to leave the country, February 5th, and fled first to Mantua and then to Vienna, dragging Menotti along with him. A provisional government was established, and the Modenese army placed under the command of General Zucchi, a man trained in the Napoleonic

school. February 13th, Parma rose, and Marie Louise had to flee to Piacenza. Of most importance were the proceedings in Bologna. The news of the occurrences in Modena aroused immense excitement in that city. The papal commissioner was obliged to give his consent to the organization of a citizen guard and a provisional government. Within three weeks all the States of the Church were in rebellion, with the exception of Rome and a few cities in le Marche. The provisional government of Bologna, under pressure from the *Carbonari*, declared, February 8th, that "the temporal rule which the Romish High-priest has exercised over this province has actually and rightfully ceased forever," and summoned the representatives of the cities and provinces to meet at Bologna. This new parliament assembled in Bologna February 26th, and adopted a provisional constitution for "the united Italian provinces." A president, a council of ministers, and a legislative assembly, were to stand at the head of the state. Diplomats were sent to England and France, and the world enlightened by a manifesto regarding the situation in the States of the Church.

In the mean time, February 2d, a new Pope, Gregory XVI., had been chosen, who, with his resolute secretary of state, Cardinal Bernetti, had no intention of letting himself be so easily shaken out of the saddle. However, his proclamation to his "dearly beloved subjects" found but few listeners; and Cardinal Benvenuti's mission to excite a counter-revolution in the provinces was thwarted through his capture by the rebels. These, poorly armed though they were, advanced under Colonel Sercognani into the neighborhood of Rome, and threatened the city with a sack, but had to retire in spite of the fantastic plans of Hortense's two sons, who accompanied the expedition. The Austrians pressed forward all the more quickly, true to their old principle of hurrying with their extinguishers to any spot in Italy where a crater opened. The threats of the French government gave them little concern. They knew, furthermore, that Louis Philippe was of a quite different mind from his ministers—a double-dealing which so disgusted Lafitte, the minister president, that he gave in his resignation. Louis Philippe was as little inclined to rush into war with another power, and inflame the revolutionary passions of France for Italy as for Belgium. With a protest against the invasion of the Austrians, which the French ambassador was to deliver at the Romish court, the matter was at an end.

The Austrian general Frimont, who had conducted the intervention in Naples in 1821, was intrusted with the chief command on this occasion also. February 25th, the rebels were defeated at Firenzuola, and the whole of Parma was occupied. The Modenese, under Zucchi, were defeated at Novi, by General Geppert, after a gallant resistance; and March 9th, Duke Francis, thirsting for vengeance, re-entered his capital. Zucchi fell back on Bologna, where, trusting to France, but slight preparations for resistance had been made. In order to give no offence to Louis Philippe, the two Napoleonic princes had been removed from the army, and permission refused them to serve even as volunteers. On the way to Ancona, the elder, Napoleon Louis, fell ill in Forli, and was carried off by the measles, March 17th, before his mother could reach him. The younger, Louis Napoleon, destined to sit on the imperial throne of France, was rescued from the greedy hands of the Austrians, after various adventures and disguises, by the energy and cunning of his mother.

Italy's was already a lost cause. A third Austrian division, under General Bentheim, crossed the Po, March 6th, and occupied Ferrara and Comachio. Zucchi, appointed to the chief command of the Bolognese army, fell back with the provisional government to Ancona. The Austrians entered Bologna March 21st, were victors in the bloody battle of Rimini on the 25th, and occupied Ancona, under General Geppert, on the 29th. Zucchi and the leaders of the revolution had already embarked for Corfu, but were overtaken by the boats sent in pursuit and brought back to Venice.

On the representations of Louis Philippe, who had to act with circumspection in presence of the opposition and the Press, the Papal government, after the suppression of the revolt, behaved with more moderation than men had expected. An amnesty, from which only the leaders of the rebellion were excluded, was published, and a few improvements introduced into the administration. The Duke of Modena, the only prince in Europe who had not recognized Louis Philippe, proved less accessible. He executed Menotti and the lawyer Borelli, condemned others to the galleys or cast them into prison, and confiscated their estates. The Austrians evacuated the States of the Church in July, 1831; but January 28th of the following year, when Cardinal Albani, with his armed mob, gained possession of the so-called legations, and committed a shameful massacre in the city of Forli (21st

January), they re-entered Bologna, received by the inhabitants as deliverers. This second invasion was very awkward for the French cabinet. In order to establish a counterpoise, troops were hastily embarked in Toulon, and Ancona was occupied, without Papal consent, on the 23d of February. However, the native authorities were respected, and the occupation almost wholly confined to the citadel.

So this second Italian revolution had failed for the same reason as the first. Without help from abroad, limited to a small part of Italy, it was no match for the Austrian arms. If, in 1831, the *Carbonari* in Naples vainly expected a revolution in the States of the Church, while those in Piedmont awaited in vain the rising of Milan, so now the revolutionists of central Italy saw themselves thrown on their own resources. Neither Naples nor Piedmont was willing to bleed a second time. Moreover, both states had at that time new rulers, who sought in their first months to make themselves popular by liberal measures. In Naples, King Ferdinand I. had died in 1825. His son, Francis I., who had played the revolutionist in 1820, and then as king proved as bad as his father, died in November, 1830. Ferdinand II., his twenty-year-old son, seemed for a short time to be steering for the hegemony of Italy, with the help of the liberal party; but he soon allowed himself to be brought about by Metternich. In Piedmont the inflexible Charles Felix had held down with a strong hand all attempts at rebellion. He died in April, 1831, and his successor was Charles Albert, that Prince of Carignan who, in 1821, had so completely compromised himself with both sides. But, as he appeared to have broken utterly with the absolute system of his predecessor, and to have initiated a more liberal policy, he became again the object of hopes.

The revolution in Italy had rendered it impossible for Austria to bestow her patriarchal attention on the changes in Germany and Switzerland. The insurrection in Poland prevented the Emperor Nicholas, of Russia, from giving vent in a military way to his rage at the revolutions in France and Belgium. He had received the kingdom of Poland from his brother Alexander as a constitutional monarchy, having its own army, the management of its own finances, a separate administration—in general, a moderately independent existence. And yet the Poles, who could not forget the greatness of former centuries, felt that they

were merely an impotent appendage of the Russian colossus, and that they and their constitution lived only by the Czar's favor. Their relations to Nicholas were disturbed at his very accession. Many Poles, who sought to take advantage of that opportunity for the reunion of Lithuania with Poland, were involved in the military conspiracy in St. Petersburg in the year 1825. The tribunal which had to pronounce sentence acquitted them. Although Nicholas confirmed the sentence, he could not refrain from expressing his displeasure. The prosperity of the land increased greatly under Prince Lubecki's excellent administration of the finances, and sensible Poles preferred the furtherance of material and intellectual development to that of political and national. The enthusiasts, on the other hand, thought that they could make a revolution with a handful of students and lieutenants. They looked toward France, which had always been closely connected with the Poles, especially by the late brotherhood of arms during the Napoleonic wars, and held everything which the Emperor Alexander had given them as nothing in comparison with that which they, in their wild fancies, hoped to be able to obtain. Politicians of sentiment, as they are to this day, they considered it possible, in spite of the three great neighboring states, not only to rend Poland completely from Russia, but also to reunite into one great kingdom of Poland all the provinces which had been torn from her since the first partition between Russia, Austria, and Prussia in 1772.

As commonly happens in such cases, a great blunder was made in filling the most important post. Alexander had confided the military command in Poland to his eldest brother, Constantine. This prince, who, on account of his utter incapacity, had been obliged to abandon the imperial throne to his younger brother Nicholas, was good enough, forsooth, for Poland. But it was in Poland that a man of tact was, in reality, most needed. Constantine was guilty of the most stupid breaches of the constitution. He interfered in the administration of justice; for insignificant offences against "red tape" he treated officers as dishonorable subjects; like his friend Metternich, he maintained at home and abroad a horde of spies to deceive him and plunder the land; and he saw in Polish patriotism the most heinous of crimes. No wonder that, when men spoke of hatred toward Russia, Constantine was the name first named. And yet, married to a young

Pole who bore the title Princess of Lowicz, he affected a special affection for that kingdom.

A few men wished to raise the standard of rebellion in the year 1828, when Russia was occupied with the Turkish war. In the following year, during the presence of the Czar in Warsaw, the most impatient even talked of assassinating him and the princes that were with him. Both plans were given up because it was believed that they would find too little sympathy among the people, and because the parties were not united. It was determined to await an uprising in France. That came, and the old conspirators, Lieutenants Zaliwski and Wysoki, at once called a council of a few of their friends. As they were not yet prepared, it was decided to wait until the following February. The old generals were applied to to take the chief command, but none of them would accept it. The other generals and colonels also refused to work with the conspirators, although they might not work against them. The latter did not let themselves be dismayed, however, but named a committee of direction, and sent agents to Lithuania, Podolia, and Volhynia. The undertaking seemed likely to be wrecked at the very start on the old disunion of the Poles. Each of the different parties believed itself the sole possessor of the right means to win the independence of Poland. The aristocratic party, at whose head stood Prince Adam Czartoryski, wished to avoid a premature collision with Russia, to strengthen the country by reforms of every description, and to increase its power of attraction on the sundered provinces. The democrats, foremost among whom was Joachim Lelewel, quondam professor in the university at Wilna, disregarding the actual conditions of politics, demanded immediate action—separation from Russia, re-establishment of the old Polish kingdom, and equality of all classes in their political rights. Between these two there were many shades of opinion. On one point all were united—the greatest possible freedom from Russia. In respect of the means to be used, and the social ends to be attained, views differed widely.

At the end of October appeared a manifesto of the Czar, which was looked upon as the herald of a declaration of war and the formation of a coalition against France and Belgium. The command was issued to place the Polish army on a war footing. The Poles feared that their army would be led across the frontier, and

put to foreign uses. It was necessary to act all the more quickly. At the same time, it was easy to see that the secret of the conspiracy was no longer preserved. There were acts as imprudent as in the August days in Brussels. On the Belvedere, the pleasure residence of the Grand-duke Constantine, was found posted this placard; "To rent after New-year's." Yet the grand-duke acted as though there were not the slightest danger in sight. The evening of November 29th, 1830, had been fixed upon as the time for action, as on that day all the sentinels on duty would be Poles. The officers of all Polish regiments were assembled, the plan imparted to them, and their participation required in the name of the nation.

The 29th of November came. Six o'clock in the evening was the hour agreed upon. The conflagration of a brewery at one end of the city was to be the signal. The flames were not visible everywhere, and hence arose some confusion at the outset. Some had undertaken the assassination of the grand-duke; others, the surprising and disarming of the Russian cavalry and infantry; others, the capture of the arsenal. With the cry, "Death to the tyrants!" about twenty men fell upon the Belvedere, and killed the vice-president and a general who looked like the grand-duke, but did not find the grand-duke himself, for at the first alarm he had fled, with the Prussian ambassador Schmidt, to a neighboring hut. The disarming of the Russian regiments also failed; for they had drawn up in battle array before their barracks, and the 160 ensigns, with whom Wysoki came marching up, were repulsed. An attack on their part would have made an end of the whole matter, but no one gave the command. Several of their generals and colonels had been shot on their way to the barracks; for Zaliwski had succeeded in the capture of the arsenal, and 15,000 muskets had been distributed among the people. On the following morning the Russian troops found themselves hemmed in on all sides, and Constantine, in the belief that it was merely a popular tumult which he might quietly leave to wear itself out, vacated the city. He halted for two days at Wierbzna, about four miles from Warsaw, and it was not until the 3d of December, when the Polish troops that had marched out with him returned to Warsaw, that he and his Russians marched to the frontier. The whole country rose behind him. Both fortresses yielded, with their enormous military stores. In eight days all was over, and the

country was free from Russian garrisons. Poland had had its "great week." The jubilation was indescribable. After such successes nothing was considered impossible. But the military power of Russia was a different adversary from Charles X. and his courtiers, and not quite the same as Holland.

Prince Lubecki, the most influential member of the Council of Administration, the highest tribunal for the internal affairs of Poland, thought that by taking a few popular aristocrats into that body he could guide the rebellion into a quiet channel. But the revolutionists, who under Lelewel's lead had formed a patriotic club in the city hall, were ill satisfied with this. Lubecki had to disband the Council of Administration, and establish a provisional government, with Prince Adam Czartoryski at its head. Lelewel was also a member of this government, but the ruling element was overwhelmingly aristocratic. December 5th, it appointed the sixty-year-old General Joseph Chlopicki commander-in-chief, and then dictator. This man, who had served under Kosciuszko, and had made several campaigns under Napoleon, possessed the most popular name of all the generals; but neither his strategical knowledge nor his political sagacity were such as to fit him for a post of this description. He did not hope to succeed by fighting, but by negotiations. With the well-known character of the Czar Nicholas, negotiations were useless, and deprived the Poles of the possibility of rapidly carrying the rebellion over into the old Polish provinces. To restrain the democratic elements seemed to him of more importance than to prepare for an implacable war. Hence it was that, in a sitting of the provisional government, he proclaimed himself dictator, dismissed Lelewel, retained the other members as ministers, sent back the volunteers who were hurrying up from Lithuania, Galicia, and Posen, and despatched Prince Lubecki and Count Jezierski to St. Petersburg as ambassadors to assure the Czar of Poland's fidelity, and to urge upon him three wishes—adherence to the constitution, exclusion of Russian garrisons, and (as far as possible) union of Lithuania with Poland.

The Polish Diet assembled December 18th, sanctioned the revolution of November 29th as the expression of the popular will, confirmed Chlopicki as dictator, and adjourned at his wish until January 19th. The dictator named a ministry, into which he was compelled to admit Lelewel, and a national council with Czartoryski as president. He found himself exposed to the attacks of

the "clubists," who reproached him with inability, and even with treason. They sought to undermine his position, and to alienate the army from him; and, although he caused the arrest of Lelewel and others, he was obliged to set them free again. Then appeared the Czar's proclamation of December 19th, in which unconditional submission was required, and the invasion of the Russian troops announced; and on January 13th Count Jezierski returned and reported that Nicholas left no other choice than unconditional submission or war. Thereupon Chlopicki announced to the National Council that he would only retain the dictatorship on condition that unlimited power be granted him. As this was not accepted, he laid down the dictatorship and the chief command, January 17th.

January 19th the Diet reassembled, and on the 25th, at the motion of Count Roman Soltyk, pronounced the independence of Poland, and the deposition of the Romanow dynasty. A new government of five men was formed, in which Czartoryski was president, while Lelewel was the only democrat. The army was increased as quickly as possible, and the chief command intrusted to Prince Radziwill, in the expectation that his friend Chlopicki would assist him with military counsels.

The Russian field-marshal, Count Diebitsch Sabalkanski, crossed the Polish boundaries, in the first week of February, with 118,000 men, and advanced upon Warsaw in several divisions. After a few insignificant engagements, battle was delivered at Grochow, February 25th. The Poles had 45,000 men, the Russians 70,000, and twice as many cannon as the Poles. Notwithstanding all their bravery, the Poles had to retire from the field, leaving 8000 dead and wounded behind them, to 12,000 on the part of the Russians. Then Radziwill, to whom the seriously wounded Chlopicki could render no further assistance, laid down the chief command, and Strzynecki was chosen in his stead. Like all the Polish generals, this one was better fitted to command a division than to play the strategist. He neglected to take advantage of Diebitsch's passage of the Vistula, and of his division of his army into smaller detachments to defeat the Russians in detail. And when he was in a position to attack the Russian guards with superior numbers, through fear of a surprise of Warsaw he detached a considerable force for its defence, and gave Diebitsch time to come to their assistance. So the unlucky battle of Ostrolenka was brought

on (May 26th), in which no amount of personal valor could supply the lack of good generalship. The Poles lost 7000, and the Russians 9000 men. Diebitsch, who had showed less energy in this campaign than in the Turkish campaign of 1829, died at Pultulsk, June 10th, of the cholera, and on the 27th of June the Grand-duke Constantine died at Witepsk. The former had no heart for this war, and was hence frowned on by the National Russians. The latter is said to have expressed pleasure at the valor of the Poles as if that valor were his doing. Hence arose the report that the sudden deaths of both men were not natural.

Still worse than the loss of a battle was the news which poured in from the old Polish provinces. What Chlopicki had neglected in the first weeks of his dictatorship must now be dearly paid for. The bold Dwerniki, who had won the first advantage over the Russians, February 14th, was sent with 6000 men to Volhynia, to arouse that and the more southern provinces. General Count Rüdiger was opposed to him with 15,000 men, and before his superior numbers Dwerniki had to retire (April 27th) into Austrian territory, where he was held prisoner until the close of the war. His troops were disarmed, but the greater part of them stole back over the Polish frontier. In spite of this mishap, the Polish nobility rose in Volhynia, Podolia, and the Ukraine, and set themselves at the head of their peasants; but they were easily overpowered by the superior force of the Russians. Matters were no better in the north, in Samogitia and Lithuania. General Gielgud, one of the richest landed proprietors in Lithuania, had been sent thither with 12,000 men. Generals Chlapowski and Dembinski were in command under him. A rapid attack on the weakly garrisoned Wilna might have brought the whole country into their hands, and made it a barrier against Russia. But Gielgud, more concerned about his estates than about the great cause, squandered valuable time in inaction, was repulsed before Wilna, the garrison of which place had been in the mean time strengthened, and finally, July 12th, he and Chlapowski concluded to cross the Prussian frontier at Mesnel and lay down their arms. At the moment of crossing, a Polish officer sprung out of the ranks, and with the cry, "Die, traitor!" shot Gielgud. Dembinski behaved more heroically, and, with the 4000 men that he had separated from the main body, fought his way safely from the farthest limits of Samogitia through Lithuania, which

was full of Russians, to Warsaw, and entered it, August 3d, amid the rejoicings of the people.

The failure of all enterprises, and the suspicion that the people were betrayed by the aristocratic party, brought about in Warsaw the most violent and terrible scenes. All attempts to interest foreign powers, especially France and England, came to nothing; Poland was thrown on her own resources. The democratic party sought to arouse among the peasants zeal for the revolution, and for that purpose demanded that the Diet should make the peasants, at the expiration of their military service, proprietors of the land farmed by them. The aristocracy, threatened in its purse, opposed this proposition. So there resulted finally the popular excesses of August 15th, when the prisons, where thirty or forty persons, accused of being in communication with the Russians, were confined, were broken open, and all alike, guilty and innocent—even women—murdered. The government, whose members were threatened with death, disbanded. Czartoryski fled in disguise into the Polish camp. The intriguing General Krukowiecki had himself named president of the government by the Diet, which was overawed by the people, in order to find an opportunity to betray his country to Russia, and receive his reward from the Czar.

Changes had also been made in the command of the army. The incapable Skrzynecki had been deposed, August 10th, and succeeded by Dembinski. But as he could conjure up no victories, he too had to lay down the chief command. It was then intrusted by the new president to the incapable Malachowski. While on the part of the Poles the strength of the nation was being idly dissipated by disunion, and by incapacity and treason among the leaders on the part of the Russians, after Diebitsch's death, the power had been committed to a strong hand. Count Paskewitch Eriwanski had been promoted to the chief command, owing to his able conduct of the war against the Persians, and his success in Asia Minor. He transferred the theatre of operations to the lower Vistula, crossed to the left bank, and advanced on Warsaw. Instead of holding all his troops together for the defence of the capital, and playing his last card before its walls, Kruckowiecki sent away several detachments, nominally for the sake of procuring supplies. Among these was a detachment of 20,000 men under the Genoese adventurer Ramorino. Only

34,000 soldiers remained in the city, which was attacked by Paskewitch with 70,000. He assaulted on the 6th and 7th of September, and lost 20,000 men; for the Poles, in spite of bad generalship, fought with the utmost bravery. However, he succeeded in driving them out of their first two lines of intrenchment. At the same time, he entered into negotiations with Kruckowiecki, who promised unconditional surrender of the city, and the retreat of the Polish army to Praga. But when General Berg, who was conducting the negotiations, returned to the city to make the final arrangements, he found that Kruckowiecki had been deposed by the more resolute members of the Diet, and Niemojewski named president. A truce of forty-eight hours was agreed upon, and during that time the Diet and the army abandoned Warsaw and Praga, and retired to Modlin. September 8th, the Russians entered Warsaw, from which they had been driven by the Poles, amid the most extravagant hopes, on the 30th of the previous November.

Since, however, the Russians had suffered in the assault great losses which could not be so quickly repaired, the Polish generals thought of carrying on the war, and even of attacking Warsaw, where the Russians had a difficult position among an angry population. So Ramorino received the command to join the main army in Modlin; but, instead of obeying, he marched toward Galicia, and on the 16th of September crossed the Austrian frontier with 10,000 men, and laid down his arms. The gallant General Rozycki, with a smaller detachment, was driven back by overwhelming numbers, and forced to flee to Cracow, September 25th. On the receipt of this news, Paskewitch adopted quite a different tone. He had entered into negotiations with headquarters at Modlin, and allowed it to appear as though he had authority to grant a general amnesty and the retention of the constitution of 1815, but now he required unconditional submission. This the army and the Diet would not hear of. Officers and soldiers alike demanded to be led once more against the enemy, that they might slake their thirst for vengeance in his blood. But Rybinski, who had succeeded the aged Malachowski in the chief command, did not wish to cause useless bloodshed, and so, October 5th, he crossed the Prussian frontier with the remainder of the army, 24,000 men and ninety-five guns, and gave up his arms. Soon afterward the fortresses of Modlin and Za-

mosc surrendered, and for the second time *finis Poloniæ* was pronounced.

Czar Nicholas was firmly resolved to annihilate Poland as an independent state, a separate nationality, and to absorb it into the grand total as a Russian province. The constitution of 1815 was abolished, a council of state established, whose members were nominated by the Czar, and Paskewitch, now Prince of Warsaw, was placed at the head of the civil and military power as governor. The Polish contingent no longer constituted an independent army, but was lost in Russian regiments, and sent to the most distant regions, especially to the Caucasus. The whole country was disarmed; the rustic was deprived of his very scythe, and the concealment of weapons was visited with capital punishment. Those members of the Diet who had voted for the deposition of the house of Romanow were sent to Siberia; in the case of generals, an investigation was set on foot, and the miserable Kruckowiecki was confined in a small town in the interior of Russia. Most of those who were compromised had fled abroad, to await, in France, Italy, England, Switzerland, or America, the return of better times. Their property was confiscated, which, in the case of Czartoryski alone, amounted to about 20,000,000 Polish gulden (between nine and ten million dollars).

A war of annihilation was also waged against the Polish language and educational institutions. The universities of Warsaw and Wilna were closed temporarily; all schools were established on a Russian footing; the acquisition of the Russian language and history was made a *sine qua non;* and Russian officers were set at the head of the higher institutions of learning. Everything was done to promote the spread of the Greek Church among the Roman Catholic Poles, and the children of mixed marriages were brought up in the Greek faith. There ruled a system of terrorism rivalling the government of the most capricious pasha. Under such conditions, further attempts at revolution could not fail to be made.

Russia's position in Europe was quite changed after the suppression of the Polish insurrection. Germany, many of whose princely houses were connected with the Russian court by marriage, had to feel this. Even Austria and Prussia eluded with difficulty the iron grasp of the new guardian. This was still more difficult for the smaller states. In addition to the chancel-

lor's office at Vienna, the secret cabinet at St. Petersburg was now ready to give "good" counsels to princes and ministers. The reaction again dominant in Germany and the rest of Europe could rely on strong support. The name of Nicholas signified, not alone for Poland, but for many other states as well, stagnation, retrocession, the rest of the grave.

But Russia was casting her eyes not only on western Europe, but also on Asia. She wished to advance against Central Asia, and to become England's rival there; and hence it became necessary for her to possess the Caucasus, which was inhabited by freedom-loving, warlike races—the Tcherkesses, Tchetchenzes, Lesghians, and others. Fraudulently basing her claims upon the treaty of Adrianople of 1829, Russia began to carry on this war in earnest in 1834. She suffered at that time considerable losses, especially from the unwearying Shamyl, the leader of the Tchetchenzes; and the same was the case in 1845, when Prince Woronzow commanded the Russians. Shut in on all sides, Shamyl had to surrender to General Bariatynski in 1859. By the magnanimity of Czar Alexander II., he was allowed to take up his residence in Kaluga. It was not until the year 1864 that the subjugation of the Caucasian populations was fully effected. The advance of Russia against Turkestan was at the outset not favored by fortune. The expedition of General Perowski, with 20,000 men and 10,000 camels, perished in the steppes between the Caspian sea and the sea of Aral, in the snow-storm of the winter of 1840. But this loss was fully compensated by the successes of the following decades.

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§ 9.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The eyes of King Ferdinand VII. were scarcely closed, September 29th, 1833, when the Apostolic party—whose strength lay in the north of Spain, and especially in Navarre and the Basque provinces—proclaimed his brother, Don Carlos, king under the title of Charles V. In order to offer a successful resistance to the Carlists, who were fighting for absolutism and priestcraft,

there was no other course for the regent, Maria Christina, than to throw herself into the arms of the liberal party. So the seven years' war between Carlists and Christinos, from a war of succession, became a strife of principles and a war of citizens. At the outset, owing to the skill of General Zumalacarreguy, to whom the Christinos could oppose no leader of equal ability, the Carlists had the advantage in the field. Don Carlos threatened the Spanish frontiers from Portugal, where he had been living in exile with his dear nephew, Don Miguel. In this strait, Christina applied to England and France, and between those two states and Spain and Portugal was concluded the quadruple alliance of April 22d, 1834, the aim of which was to uphold the constitutional thrones of Isabella and Maria da Gloria, and to drive out the two pretenders, Carlos and Miguel. In that year both pretenders, who enjoyed to a high degree the favor of the Pope and the Eastern powers, had to leave Portugal. Carlos reached England on an English ship in June, but fled again in July, and, after an adventurous journey through France, appeared suddenly in Navarre, to inspire his followers with courage by the royal presence. The war was conducted with passion and cruelty on both sides. After the death of Zumalacarreguy at the siege of Bilbao, June 14th, 1835, the Christinos, who were superior in point of numbers, seemed to have the advantage. But they could accomplish little against the restless ecclesiastic Cabrera, who, after receiving his first ordination, had gone over to the pretender's camp. He was the most dexterous of the guerilla chiefs. The turning-point was reached when the command of the Christino army was committed to Espartero. In 1836 he defeated the Carlists in the murderous battle of Luchana. In 1837, when Carlos advanced into the neighborhood of Madrid, he hastened to the succor of the capital, and compelled him to retreat.

To these losses were added disunion in the Carlist camp. The utterly incapable, dependent pretender was the tool of his *Camarilla*, which made excellence in the catechism a more important requisite for the chief command than military science, and which deposed the most capable generals to put its own creatures in command. The new commander-in-chief, Guergué, said, bluntly, to Carlos, "We, the blockheads and ignoramuses, have yet to conduct your Majesty to Madrid; and whoever does not belong in that category is a traitor." This Apostolic hero was defeated

several times by Espartero in 1838, and the enthusiasm of the northern provinces gradually cooled down. He was deposed, and the chief command intrusted to the cunning Maroto. As an enemy of the *Camarilla*, he could only maintain himself against its constant attacks by great victories; but, as he did not succeed in winning victories over Espartero, who overmatched him, he concluded, instead, August 31st, 1839, the treaty of Vergara, in accordance with which he went over to the Christinos, with his army, and by that means obtained full amnesty, and the confirmation of the privileges of Navarre and the Basque provinces. After this, Don Carlos's cause was hopelessly lost. He fled, in September, to France, with many of his followers, and was compelled to pass six years in Bourges under police supervision. In 1845, after he had resigned his claims in favor of his eldest son, the Duke of Montemolin, he received permission to depart, and went to Italy. He died in Trieste, March 10th, 1855. His followers, under Cabrera, carried on the war for some time longer in Catalonia. But they, too, were overcome by Espartero, and in July, 1840, they fled, about 8000 strong, to France, where they were put under surveillance. The civil war was at an end, but the strife of principles continued. Espartero, who had been made Duke of Victory (Vittoria), was the most important and popular personage in Spain, with whom the regent, as well as everybody else, had to reckon.

In the mean time Christina had contrived to alienate the respect and affection of the Spaniards, both by her private life and her political conduct. Her liberal paroxysms were not serious, and gave way, as soon as the momentary need was past, to the most opposite tendency. On the increase of the Carlist insurrection in 1834, she had set the once persecuted Martinez de la Rosa, known as poet and author, at the head of the ministry, and given the country a constitution that satisfied nobody. After a long interval the Cortes again came together, and soon divided into the two hostile parties of Moderados and Progressists. Ministries changed rapidly; Toreno, Mendizabal, Isturiz, succeeded one another. Owing to the desperate condition of the finances, and out of opposition to the Apostolical-Carlist party, the Progressists demanded abolition of the monastic orders, and confiscation of their property; which was partially carried out. In a few cities bloody excesses were committed; cloisters were demolished, monks and

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nuns murdered, and parish priests and Jesuits hunted over the border. The constant wavering, and the frequent prorogations of the Cortes, increased the dissatisfaction. In 1836 the Progressists apprehended a reaction, and sought to anticipate it. Insurrections were organized in the larger cities, and the constitution of 1812 was made the programme of the revolt. The government replied by hanging the state of siege over Madrid, and disbanding the national guard. Then the insurrection broke out in the summer residence of La Granja, whither Christina had retired with her court. Soldiers of the guard forced their way into the palace, and compelled her to accept the constitution of 1812. A constitutional assembly undertook a revision of this, and therefrom resulted the new constitution of 1837. Christina swore to it, but hoped, by controlling the elections, to bring the Moderados into the Cortes and the ministry. When she succeeded in this, in 1840, she issued a municipal ordinance placing the appointment of the municipal authorities in the hands of the administration. This occasioned riots in Madrid and other cities; and when Christina commissioned Espartero, who was just returning victorious, to suppress the revolt in Madrid, he refused to constitute himself the tool of an unpopular policy. But he was the only man who could hold in check the revolution which threatened to break out on all sides; and so, September 16th, 1840, he had to be named minister president. He chose only Progressists into his ministry. September 29th, he made a triumphal entrance into Madrid, and October 5th he laid before the regent in Valencia his programme, demanding repeal of the municipal ordinance, dissolution of the Cortes, and dismissal of the *Camarilla*. Under such circumstances the regency had but little charm for Christina, and there were, moreover, other causes working with these to the same result. Soon after the death of her husband, she had bestowed her favor on a young lifeguardsman named Munoz, made him her chamberlain, and been secretly married to him. This union soon published itself in a rich blessing of offspring, but it was not until the year 1844 that her public marriage with Munoz, and his elevation to the rank of duke (of Rianzares) and grandee of Spain took place. Having by this course of life forfeited the fame of an honest woman, and exposed herself to all sorts of attacks, she preferred to leave the country. October 12th, she abdicated the regency, and journeyed to France.

May 8th, 1841, the newly elected Cortes named Espartero regent of Spain, and guardian of Queen Isabella and her sister, the Infanta Luisa Fernanda. He on his part showed himself not unworthy of this high post, and sought to establish order in all branches of the administration, and also to preserve his dignity in his dealings with the clergy and the Pope. But in a country where it is to this day the custom for a popular officer, with a couple of regiments and some programme or other, to renounce his allegiance, it is, especially for an upstart, hard to hold power long. Since he knew how actively Christina, supported by Louis Philippe, was working against him with gold and influence, he entered into closer relations with England, whereupon his envious foes and rivals accused him of the sale of Spanish commercial interests to England. Because he quieted rebellious Barcelona by a bombardment in 1842, he was accused of tyranny. In 1843 new insurrections broke out in the south; Colonel Prim hastened to Catalonia, and set himself at the head of the soldiers whom Christina's agents had won over by a liberal use of money; Espartero's deadliest foe, General Narvaez, landed in Valencia, and marched into Madrid at the head of the troops. Espartero, against whom Progressists and Moderados had conspired together, found himself forsaken, and embarked at Cadiz, July 26th, 1843, for England, whence he did not dare to return to his own country until 1848.

In November, 1843, the thirteen-year-old Isabella was declared of age. She assumed the government, made Narvaez, now Duke of Valencia, minister president, and recalled her mother. Thereby gate and doors were opened to the French influence, and the game of intrigue and reaction recommenced. In 1845 the constitution of 1837 was altered in the interests of absolutism. The freedom of the Press was restricted, the national guard abolished, and the Cortes relegated to an existence even more nominal than that of the French Chambers. In order to secure to his house a lasting influence in Spain, and acquire for it the reversion of the Spanish throne, Louis Philippe, in concert with Christina, effected, October 16th, 1846, the marriage of Isabella with her kinsman Francis of Assis, and of the Infanta Luisa with the Duke of Montpensier, his own youngest son. (At first his plan was to marry Isabella also to one of his sons, the Duke of Aumale, but he abandoned it on account of the energetic protest of the Palmer-

ston cabinet, and, instead, chose for Isabella, in Francis of Assis, the person who, by reason of his mental and physical weakness, would be least likely to stand in the way of his son Montpensier.) This secretly negotiated marriage cost Louis Philippe the friendship of the English cabinet. The pleasure-loving Isabella, who followed in her mother's footsteps, soon found her Francis unendurably tedious, while a young Progressist, General Serrano, proved so handsome and agreeable that, in July, 1847, she amused herself with him and other officers at La Granja, while Francis found himself condemned to lead a hermit's life in the hunting castle of Pardo. The marriage was in all respects an unfortunate one; the legitimacy of the royal children was matter of grave doubt; and Christina, the evil genius of Spain, went one day and returned the next. The Spanish government won military laurels in the winter of 1860, when General O'Donnell (Duke of Tetnan) conducted a successful war against Morocco.

Portuguese politics ran a course somewhat similar to the Spanish. On receipt of the news of the occurrences at La Granja, September 9th, 1836, Lisbon echoed with the cry, "Long live the constitution of 1820!" Queen Maria da Gloria had to summon a ministry of *Septembrists*, and a constitutional assembly. In 1838 this latter somewhat altered the constitution of 1820 in the direction of moderation. Four years later this was again overturned. Don Pedro's *Charta* of 1826 was raked out, and a rigid administration was conducted by the Duke of Terceira and Count Thomar (Costa Cabral). The exhausted land was exasperated by the burden of taxation, and when a new insurrection affected the whole country the queen was so hard pressed (1847) that she had to appeal to the three powers with which she had concluded the Quadruple Alliance, and quell the rebellion with the help of an English fleet and a Spanish army. Several years then passed under the rivalry of Count Thomar and the Duke of Saldanha, who opposed and overthrew one another quite after the manner of their Spanish prototypes. The queen died, November 15th, 1853, at the age of thirty-five, after the country under Saldanha's strong rule had gradually settled into rest. Her husband, Ferdinand of Coburg, conducted the government for his minor son, who assumed it for himself, under the name of Pedro V., September 17th, 1855. He died in 1861, and was succeeded by his brother Luiz, the present king.

§ 10.

ENGLAND.

The immediate question which occupied all Great Britain and Ireland was Parliamentary reform. The new premier, Earl Grey, kept his word; he caused the Reform bill to be brought before the Lower House by Lord John Russell, March 1st, 1831, and announced that he would stand or fall by that measure. In accordance with this, rotten boroughs were to be deprived of their representation, which was to be given to the cities, and the property qualification for election was to be diminished. There was no talk of radical measures here; the poorer classes would have the right to vote after the bill as little as before it; the aristocracy would still have the controlling influence, but the well-to-do middle class would no longer be excluded from the Lower House. The sittings of the House were very stormy. The famous historian Macaulay, and the Irish agitator O'Connell, spoke in favor of the measure; Robert Peel, the son of the cotton-spinner—with Wellington, a pillar of the aristocracy—spoke against it. The bill did not pass, and Parliament was dissolved. The new elections resulted overwhelmingly in favor of the reformers. September 21st, 1831, the Reform bill passed the House with a majority of 109. On the following day it came before the Lords, and was rejected. This raised a great excitement in London and other cities. Wellington, who had spoken very strongly against the bill, barely escaped personal violence. Men spoke of the abolition of the Lords, as in Cromwell's time, and recalled the fate of the Stuarts and of Charles X. of France. Parliament was prorogued, and met again in December. Again the Commons passed the Reform bill, and again the Lords rejected it. Then Earl Grey desired of the king power to name new peers, in order thereby to give the ministry a majority in the Lords; but the king, under pressure of the high nobility, the foreign ambassadors, and the queen, a Meiningen princess, refused the request, accepted the resignations which the ministers thereupon tender-

ed, and intrusted the Duke of Wellington with the formation of a new cabinet. He could not have made a worse choice. A Wellington ministry meant revolution—a "great week" in England —it meant the breaking of a terrible storm on the heads of the high nobility. All business came to a stand-still; all armed for the battle. In Birmingham more than 100,000 men assembled, and swore to fight, if need be, for their good rights, and sent word to London that they would hasten thither, arms in hand, at the first call. Thousands of Scots declared themselves ready to march over the border. Angry Ireland awaited but the signal. The meetings had no other words for Wellington than, "To the gallows with him!" Men were provoked at the queen's interference, and said, "Petticoats aren't good for politics; she had better go back across the Channel." Such an open expression of the popular feeling had its effect. Wellington, it is true, did not hesitate even before civil war, but the most influential Tories to whom he applied to accept seats in the cabinet refused. He had to signify to the king that he could not form a cabinet, and Lord Grey was once more summoned; but he consented to take office only on condition that he be allowed to create more peers. The Tories, who saw in this an annihilation of the independence of the Lords, would not push matters to that extreme. The most zealous withdrew their resistance, and so the Reform bill passed the Upper House, June 4th, 1832, and was confirmed by the king. This was a defeat of the aristocracy, and must be followed by other defeats, if a citizen of the nineteenth century was to find residence in England possible. It was to be hoped that with the same weapons of reform many more breaches would be made in the wall of English feudalism.

Not the mass of the people, but only the middle classes, derived any tangible benefit from the Reform bill. As formerly these, so now those in their turn believed themselves entitled to demand political equality with the upper classes. The Radical party, which had branched off from the reformers, and would fain give the principle of Parliamentary reform a still broader extension, attached itself to the people—to the numerous working-men's clubs—and this new social-political party composed the People's Charter (whence its members received the name of Chartists), with the following five articles containing their demands: universal suffrage, secret ballot, annual parliaments, abo-

lition of the property qualification for membership of the House, and payment of the members of Parliament. O'Connell, Hume, Atwood, and the Irish lawyer O'Connor conducted the agitation in popular meetings, through the Press, and in Parliament. In Manchester, a meeting, said to consist of 300,000 persons, declared in favor of the Charter; and in Bath a meeting of 4000 women did the same. A Chartist committee was formed, and in 1839 the National Petition, which had 1,285,000 signatures, and had to be carried on a wagon, was presented to the House, Atwood recommending this weighty petition to Parliament as a reason for granting the People's Charter. The rejection of a bill to that effect caused among the laboring classes an excitement which could scarcely be allayed. Trusting to their numerical superiority, after the February revolution of 1848, the Chartists attempted to bring new pressure to bear upon Parliament and the administration, and announced a petition with 5,000,000 signatures. But the whole middle class arrayed itself against them in such imposing numbers, and with such determination, that Feargus O'Connor's exertions again proved futile. The time of the "fourth estate" was not yet come. But the influence of the Chartist movement on the course of parliamentary activity was undeniable. This showed itself most conspicuously in the bill for the repeal of the corn-laws, which was introduced (1846) by the then premier, Robert Peel, and carried through both houses of Parliament (largely by Wellington's help in the Lords) notwithstanding the opposition of the aristocracy, which, as possessor of the land, was interested in the retention of the corn-laws. For this success the nation had principally Richard Cobden to thank, the champion of free-trade, who, from having as a boy tended sheep, rose to be the first political economist in England.

The next great question which clamored for solution was the Irish question. Notwithstanding the Emancipation Bill of 1829, which had rendered a seat in the House of Commons possible for a Roman Catholic, the most crying injustices toward the Irish still continued in full force. The rich property of the Roman Catholic Church was still in possession of the Protestants; the 6,000,000 Irish Roman Catholics still had to pay tithes and fees to the Anglican clergy; while their own churches and schools, supported by private contributions, led an anxious existence. All juries still consisted exclusively of Protestants. The first demand

of the Irish was the abolition of the hated tithes. In order to strike at the root of the evil, O'Connell agitated for the repeal of the legislative union of Ireland with England, and the establishment of a separate Irish Parliament. The word Repeal became in a few months the watchword of all Irishmen, and a network of Repeal organizations was spread over the whole country. But, although O'Connell could command his countrymen as a general his army, and although in the monster meetings hundreds of thousands received his word as gospel, yet he was shrewd enough not to overstep the limits of legality. However, the spirit which he had conjured up gradually passed beyond his control. In many places the payment of tithes was refused, ejectment was resisted, and revenge was wreaked on the hated "Saxon" with fire and sword.

In this English Poland, too, radical reforms, ecclesiastical and political, were needed in order to make of an artificial member of the national body a natural and healthy one. But every liberal measure was wrecked on the unreasonableness of the Anglican clergy, who cried out about papacy, as in the days of the Stuarts, and on the ill-will of the Tories, who saw their power and their money-bags threatened together. Only drop by drop could lenitives for Irish need be expressed from Parliament. The Irish Tithe Bill, which was over and over again brought forward by the Whig ministries, finally came out of the parliamentary debates in 1838, but in an emasculated form. The tithes from which the Irish were exempted were rolled off on to the landed proprietors, and they indemnified themselves by raising the rents. And when Lord John Russell proposed to apply the surplus revenue of the Irish Church for the general improvement of the educational system—that is, in the main, for school purposes—the Established Church cried profanation, and the measure fell through. No wonder that the demand for Repeal was never extinguished in the Emerald Isle—not even after the death of the great agitator in 1847—and that the famine of 1846, and the French revolution of 1848, fanned the fire again to flame. Thereupon the government undertook to overcome the evils by armed force, instead of curing them. The new agitator, Smith O'Brien, was transported to Australia (1848) for high-treason; but was afterward pardoned, and allowed to die at home in 1864. The Fenian conspiracy, which was the work of Irish-American revolutionists, and which sought

in the sixties to combat English rule, partly on Canadian and partly on Irish soil, had likewise for its aim the separation of Ireland from England, but met with no success whatever. The bill for the emancipation of slavery, brought in by the Grey ministry in 1833, deserves to be mentioned with praise. In accordance with its terms, the slaves in the West India colonies were to be made freemen after a brief interval of apprenticeship, and their owners were to receive an indemnity of £20,000,000. It was also a great step in advance when the Jews, who had been eligible for municipal offices since 1828, were at length admitted into the House of Commons in 1858, an innovation which is perhaps to be ascribed to respect for wealth. Baron Nathan de Rothschild was the first Jew who was allowed to tread the holy halls of Westminster.

The league of the Orangemen was largely responsible for the bitterness of the opposition of this period between English and Irish. Founded at the time of William of Orange for the maintenance of English laws and of Protestantism, it had recently, since the revival of the Irish question, reappeared. All Tories gave it their support. Lodges were established, as among the Freemasons. It spread in the army also, and the membership rose to 300,000. The ideal of this party, and the head of the league, was the Duke of Cumberland, the king's brother, who shortly after, as King of Hanover, attained an unenviable reputation in the constitutional controversy. Ultimately the plans of this powerful league did not stop at the maintenance of Protestant supremacy in Ireland, but aimed also at strengthening and maintaining the Tory rule in England. The Tories could not think, without a shudder, of the death of the childless and sickly William IV., who, according to English law, would be succeeded on the throne by his niece, Victoria, daughter of the eldest of his brothers, the deceased Duke of Kent. As she had been brought up in Whig principles, and, as niece of the King of the Belgians, was accredited with liberal ideas, the Tories might reckon on a decrease of their influence, while the Duke of Cumberland, on the other hand, would have been quite the man as king to carry out, or at least attempt to carry out, the extremest principles of their party with the obstinacy of a Charles X., and the heedlessness of a Polignac. Hence was ascribed to them the plan of setting aside the succession, and placing the duke upon the throne. Hume, a

Radical, brought the matter before Parliament, and moved the suppression of the so-called Orange lodges. Rumors of the machinations of the league caused such a sensation, and so much bad blood, that the Duke of Cumberland himself was obliged to recommend to his party, in 1836, the disbanding of the league. King William died June 20th, 1837. Victoria ascended the throne, and the continental princes began a pious pilgrimage across the Channel to St. James's palace to have their sick hearts healed by the wonder-working virgin. Prince Albert, of Saxe-Coburg, nephew of the King of the Belgians, distinguished for noble manliness, and for his finished education, was the fortunate suitor to whom Victoria was married in 1840, and with whom she led an unusually happy married life. The prince consort had a very difficult position among the English people, who were jealous of his natural influence; but he succeeded, nevertheless, in winning universal esteem by his sagacity and tact. He died December 4th, 1861, mourned by the queen her whole life since.

Under Victoria's government, Great Britain's sovereignty and commerce received important accessions in Asia. In 1824 the English had begun to establish themselves in Farther India. In a war with the Burmese, they took the territories of Arakan and Assam, and, in 1852, Pegu and the coast land. The advance of the Russians involved them in a war with the Afghans, among whom they established a friendly prince in 1839. But the Afghans, at the instigation of the Russians, rose again in 1841, and the English army was compelled to retreat, and almost utterly annihilated. The English took revenge in the campaign of 1842—devastated the country, and destroyed the cities of Candahar and Cabul, and then evacuated that remote territory. On the other hand, Scinde, at the mouth of the Indus, submitted to the English, and after a struggle of several years (1844–'49) the country of the Sikhs was subdued—the Punjaub, with the city of Lahore. In this last-named place enormous booty was found, and, among the rest, the Koh-i-noor (mountain of light) diamond. A controversy about the opium trade, which the Chinese government prohibited, involved England, in 1840, in a war with China, in which Canton was captured, and Nanking threatened; and in 1842 the Chinese were compelled to conclude the peace of Nanking. By this the island of Hong-Kong was ceded to the British, five Chinese ports were opened to commerce, and the trade

in the enervating opium was perpetuated. While, owing to the rebellion of Taiping, a destructive war was being waged in the interior of China, the indiscreet conduct of Yeh, Governor of Canton, gave the English and French occasion to take that city in 1857. The entrance of the allied fleet into the river Peiho extracted the peace of Tientsin in 1858. As this was not kept, a new French-English expedition was undertaken in 1860. The Peiho forts were captured; the Chinese defeated in the field; the imperial summer palace plundered by the French, and destroyed by the English; Pekin, the capital, threatened, and a new peace concluded. By this new harbors were opened, and the Celestial Middle kingdom, hitherto so exclusive, was brought into active communication with European states. The similarly exclusive Japan was also opened to the British in 1854, and then to other nations. The decided ground taken by the President of the United States in 1851—that no nation has the right to shut itself up against intercourse with other nations—gave the occasion for the last-mentioned action.

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§ 11.

TURKEY AND EGYPT.

ENGLAND'S interest in none of the European questions was so great as in the Eastern question. This entered upon a new phase through the bold aggression of a Turkish vassal. The peace of Adrianople (1829) had greatly discredited the authority of the Porte; insurrections multiplied, and Turkish armies had to enter Bosnia and Albania. In these and all other matters by which the embarrassment of the Porte was increased, the ambitious Mehemed Ali, Pasha of Egypt, had a hand. As payment for his services against the Greeks, he had demanded the pashalik of Damascus. Sultan Mahmoud II. had refused the demand, and only given him the promised Candia. Hence, while the Western powers were occupied with the consequences of the July revolution, and all Europe appeared to be on the verge of a new upheaval, he undertook to seize his booty for himself. In consequence of a quarrel with Abdallah, Pasha of Acre, Ibrahim Pasha,

notorious for his barbarous conduct of the war in Peloponnesus, crossed the Egyptian frontier, October 20th, 1831, with an army organized on the European system, took Gaza, Jaffa, and Jerusalem without resistance, and besieged Acre, which was resolutely defended by Abdallah. Mehemed Ali now demanded both pashaliks—Damascus and Acre. The sultan commanded him to evacuate Syria. The demand was naturally refused; so Mehemed and his son Ibrahim were outlawed. But the latter proceeded with his operations, took Acre by storm May 25th, 1832, and entered Damascus. In the mean time, a Turkish army, under Hussein Pasha, had advanced into Syria. Mehemed Pasha, Hussein's lieutenant, was defeated at Homs, July 9th. Hussein himself, attempting to retrieve this loss, was defeated at Beylan July 27th, and his army scattered. The sultan sent a new army against Ibrahim, under Reshid Pasha, the Grand Vizier, who had displayed great efficiency in the reduction of the Albanians and Bosnians. Reshid did not have troops enough, and was hampered by the jealousy of the Serasquier, Chosrew Pasha. He was utterly defeated at Konieh December 20th, and was himself taken prisoner. The sultan was in a critical situation. He could not at the moment bring together another considerable army, while Ibrahim had 100,000 well-trained troops, and the road to Constantinople lay open before him. The boldest wishes of his father, who even aspired to the possession of the imperial throne, seemed near fulfilment.

Russia had many reasons for not desiring the satisfaction of this ambition, but she also wished to use the sultan's need for her own advantage. She offered him her help, and in his deserted condition he had to accept this "gift of the Danai." All was in train: a Russian fleet appeared in the Bosphorus, and landed troops at Scutari, while a Russian army was on the march from the Danube to cover Constantinople. What Peter the Great and Catherine II. had held before them as the Russian policy — to plant the Greek cross upon the church of Saint Sophia, in Constantinople—appeared in the way of attainment under the guise of the most disinterested friendship and magnanimous benevolence.

At length England and France perceived how dangerous it was to forget the East in their study of the Dutch-Belgian question. Their ambassadors had enough to do, by a hasty peace, to make

Russia's help unnecessary. As their threats made no impression on the victorious Mehemed Ali, they filled the sultan with distrust of Russia, and by representing a cession of territory to his vassal as the lesser of the two evils, persuaded him into the peace of Kutayah (May 6th, 1833), by which Mehemed Ali received the whole of Syria and the territory of Adana, in south-eastern Asia Minor. Russia had to retire with her object unattained, but had no sooner been thrown out of the front door than she came in at the back. She called the sultan's attention to the favor shown the insatiable pasha by England and France in the peace of Kutayah, and concluded with him, July 8th, 1833, the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, by which he entered into a defensive alliance with Russia for eight years, and pledged himself to permit no foreign vessel of war to pass through the Dardanelles.

The Western powers took this outwitting very ill, and from that time on kept a sharp eye on Constantinople. David Urquhart in several journals, especially in the *Portfolio*, started in 1835, subjected the Russian policy to an unsparing criticism, and so quickened the watchfulness of his government. This was peculiarly inconvenient for Mehemed Ali. He paid his tribute as formerly, but raked up everything possible against the Porte, and succeeded in representing himself as the protector of Islam in opposition to the heretical reformer Mahmoud. The west coast of Arabia, as far as the English post at Aden, had been in his possession since 1829. He now sought to extend his sway over the eastern coast, and subdue the Sultan of Muscat; and with that end in view took the Bahrein islands, and threatened the important commercial city of Basra. If this were to continue, the two most important roads to the East Indies, by Suez and by the Persian Gulf, would be in the hands of Mehemed Ali; and he was one who well understood how to make the most of such commercial advantages by his oppressive system of monopolies, and by burdening the trade of foreign nations with high export and import duties. With Egypt, Syria, and Arabia in his hands, England's position in the East would receive a blow that must be felt. So it was a foregone conclusion which side England would take. In 1838 she concluded with the Porte a commercial treaty by which the abolition of all monopolies, as well as free exportation from all parts of the Turkish empire, including Egypt and Syria, was secured to her. Mehemed Ali hesitated about accepting this

treaty; and Mahmoud, full of hate against a vassal who threatened ultimately to devour him, declared him a traitor, deprived him of all his dignities, and caused an army to advance into Syria under Hasiz Pasha. But again fortune was not favorable to the Turks. In their camp, as military adviser of the commander-in-chief, was a Prussian captain, Hellmuth von Moltke. For two years he had been assisting the sultan in planning and putting into execution military reforms. Recognizing the weakness and unreliable character of the Turkish army, he advised Hasiz Pasha to fall back on the strong camp at Biridshik, bring up the re-enforcements which were under way, and then risk a battle. But the Pasha would not listen to Moltke's advice, pronouncing retreat a disgrace. He was completely routed at Nisib, on the Euphrates, June 24th, 1839, and his army scattered. For the second time the road to Constantinople lay open to Ibrahim. Misfortunes fell thick and fast upon the Turks. Sultan Mahmoud died June 30th, and the empire fell to a sixteen-year-old youth, his son Abdul Medshid. Five days later, Capudan Pasha, with the Turkish fleet, sailed out of the Dardanelles under orders to attack the Egyptians. Instead of this, he went over to Mehemed Ali with his whole fleet—in consequence of French bribery, it was said. Fortune seemed to be emptying its cornucopia on the Egyptian; but he forgot the ring of Polycrates. He was deaf to all proposals of compromise on the part of the Porte, and demanded, as a preliminary to peace, nothing less than the right of hereditary transmission of all his possessions in Egypt, Syria, and Candia.

In order to prevent Turkey from casting herself a second time into Russia's arms, four great powers—England, France, Austria, and Prussia—declared, July 27th, 1839, that they would themselves take the Eastern question in hand. To save herself from being wholly left out, Russia had to give her consent, and become a party to the treaty. But there were very different views as to the way in which the question was to be settled. France, which was striving after the control of the Mediterranean, and which, since Napoleon's campaign, had turned its eyes toward Egypt, wished to leave its friend Mehemed Ali in full possession. England saw her interests endangered by the pasha, thought France's occupation of Algiers quite enough, and was afraid that if Turkey were too weak she might become the defenceless prey of Russia. The latter wished at no price to allow the energetic pasha to en-

ter upon the inheritance of Turkey, or even of a part of it, and was pleased at seeing the cordial understanding between France and England destroyed. Austria and Prussia supported England and Russia, and so France was left alone. The Anglo-Russian view found expression in the quadruple alliance which the great powers, with the exception of France, concluded in London, July 15th, 1840. By this the hereditary possession of the pashalik of Egypt, and the possession for life of a part of Syria, were secured to Mehemed Ali in case he submitted to the conclusions of the conference within ten days. Without troubling themselves very much about the warlike outcry in France, the military preparations of Minister Thiers, or the call to the Rhine frontier—since Louis Philippe's disinclination to go to war was too well known—the allied powers began hostilities against Mehemed Ali, who, relying on French assistance, refused to submit. The Anglo-Austrian fleet sailed to the Syrian coast, and took Beirut and Acre; and Alexandria was bombarded by Commodore Napier. This and the fall of the Thiers ministry brought Mehemed Ali to a full realization of his mistake. He might consider himself lucky in being allowed to hold Egypt as hereditary pashalik upon evacuating Syria, Arabia, and Candia, and restoring the Turkish fleet. For this favor he had to thank England, which sought by this means to secure his friendship and the Suez road to India. The catastrophe of the "sick man" was again put off for a few years. Later France also assented to the conclusions of the quadruple alliance.

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§ 12.

GERMANY.—AUSTRIA.—PRUSSIA.

THE fall of Warsaw and the passage through Germany of Polish refugees awakened, as in the case of the Greek rebellion, sympathy for an unhappy people; but it also awakened dissatisfaction with existing conditions. This was still further increased by the fact that reaction, spurred on by Russia, became ever bolder. The political excitement displayed itself particularly in two events—the Hambach festival of May 4th, 1832, and the Frankfort conspiracy of April 3d, 1833. About 30,000 persons from all parts

of Germany, the men decked with ribbons of black, red, and gold, and the women wearing belts of the same colors, streamed from Neustadt, in Rhenish Bavaria, toward the ruins of Hambach castle. The ideal and impracticable nature of German popular orators was once more well displayed. The speakers, like Dr. Wirth, editor of the *Deutsche Tribüne*, and Dr. Siebenpfeifer, editor of the *Westboten*, demanded nothing less than the republicanization of united Germany, or even a "confederation of republican Europe," and the audience cried, "Down with the Princes! To arms! to arms!" How little the resources and deeds of this party corresponded with their words was soon shown when the Bavarian field-marshal Prince Wrede, with but a few troops, succeeded without trouble in bringing all Rhenish Bavaria into submission. The doings in Frankfort were still madder. About seventy conspirators, including a Würtemberg lieutenant, Koseriz, had persuaded themselves that in south Germany thousands of soldiers were only waiting for a leader; and that at the first signal the flames of rebellion would blaze up simultaneously in Lyons, Italy, and Poland. Under the lead of Dr. Gürth and Dr. Rauschenplatt (already known for his part in the Göttingen disturbances of 1831), they attacked the main guard-house and police head-quarters, and overpowered the Frankfort soldiers. But when re-enforcements arrived the tide turned, and after a short street fight, the people paying no heed to their summons, they were put to flight or captured. They had fondly believed that the surprise of Frankfort and the forcible dissolution of the Diet would bring all south-western Germany into the revolutionary stream.

No better service could be rendered to the reactionary longings of the German governments than by such displays of swaggering impotence. With reference to the Hambacher festival, Metternich wrote: "If well used, it may prove a festival of the good; at least the bad have been much too hasty." The Diet was fully informed beforehand in regard to the Frankfort conspiracy; but purposely let it pose with the whole apparatus of its amateur theatre, even at the cost of a couple of soldiers, in order, as Metternich said, not "to lose an opportunity which may never occur again, and to reach the very root of an evil that for years has been a grievous burden to princes as well as people." Metternich and the Diet were again as active as after the murder of Kotzebue. The Carlsbad resolutions of 1819 appeared in a new, revised, and

enlarged edition, as it were. The resolutions of the Diet of June 25th and July 5th, 1832, and the decisions of the ministerial conference at Vienna in 1834, which was preceded by consultations of the ministers of Austria, Russia, and Prussia in Teplitz, and a meeting of the monarchs of those three countries in Münchengrätz in 1833, made the most far-reaching encroachments into the rights of the Assemblies of the Estates. The right of refusing taxes or rejecting the conclusions of the confederation was denied them; the Press censorship was extended even to the publication of the transactions of the Estates, and for the adjustment of quarrels between governments and Estates a tribunal of final appeal was established—the impartiality of which was tested by the Hanoverian controversy a few years later—consisting only of plenipotentiaries of the different governments. The universities also were to be more closely watched over, and all associations of students were forbidden.

As in Mayence, in 1819, so now in Frankfort, a central committee of inquiry was established to thwart demagogical machinations, and the sovereign republic of Frankfort had to accept an Austro-Prussian garrison. In all the German states a new wild-beast hunt after *demagogues* was started. About 1800 persons, some of them highly respected men, were thrown into prison, and many of them mentally and physically most shamefully maltreated. In Darmstadt Pastor Weidig was driven to suicide by the brutal treatment received from his inquisitor, Georgi, while in Frankfort two of the April prisoners went mad, and were put in the insane asylum. Many suspected persons fled to Switzerland or Paris, to wait for better days, or sought to begin a new life in America. Some of the Estates, especially those of Baden, attempted opposition to the resolutions of the confederation. But Baden, where, since 1830, the popular Grand-duke Leopold had sat upon the throne, where absolute freedom of the Press existed, and where delegate Welcker had already made a motion for a German parliament, was now the very state most strictly disciplined. In consequence of a special resolution of the Diet, the liberal Press law had to be repealed, and censorship again introduced. Professors Rotteck and Welcker were deprived of their position at the university of Freiburg, and the university was for a time closed. Even princes whom liberal Germany had formerly thought of for the imperial throne, William of Würtemberg, and Louis of Bava-

ria, let themselves be carried away by the reaction. The latter, who had for some time been gradually more and more yielding to Ultramontane influences, even gave orders that political prisoners should beg pardon of his picture, thus bringing back the days of Tell and Gessler.

Germany scarcely seemed to have become a little calmer, when an English ultra-Tory caused fresh agitation. By the death of William IV. of England, the personal union between Hanover and England, which had lasted since 1714, was dissolved. In Hanover, the Salic law—the exclusion of the female line—was in force; and so, while in England Victoria became queen, June 20th, 1837, her uncle Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, obtained the Hanoverian throne. It seemed as though he were determined to win in Hanover, also, the unpopularity, or rather hatred, which he had brought upon himself in England. He made his entrance into the capital June 28th, and on July 3d he announced that he did not recognize the constitution of 1833, which had been made without his consent, and which did not appear to him adapted to further the prosperity of his subjects. And yet it was the fundamental law agreed upon by crown and Estates, and as little to be done away with at the wish of only one of the parties as any other law. Further, it was asserted, especially by Dahlmann on ministerial authority, that all the male members of the family—and hence Ernest Augustus also—had given their consent to the family law of the Hanoverian dynasty, and, by that very fact, to the constitution on which that law was based. A patent of November 1st formally declared the constitution abolished; and in its stead the old constitution of 1819, with its different estates, was raked out of the dust, and this, with a few modern alterations, was to serve for the Hanoverians. The true reason for this *coup d'état* was the indebtedness of the English prince. By the constitution of 1833, the crown-lands were declared state property, and the king received a civil list. But it was just the income from these crown-lands, of which he at once took possession, that Ernest Augustus could so well use to appease his English creditors; and, as a proposition to grant him this income manifestly could not pass the Assembly of the Estates, the whole constitution had to fall.

Some of the officials from whom the oath of allegiance was required came into conflict with their consciences. Seven profess-

ors of the university in Göttingen—Albrecht, Dahlmann, Ewald, Gervinus, Weber, and the two Grimms—refused to take the oath, calling attention at the same time to the continued validity of the abolished constitution. They were deprived of their posts; and three of them—Dahlmann, Gervinus, and Jacob Grimm, who had published their protestation—received a command to leave the country within three days. All Germany paid a tribute of applause to their firmness; and William of Würtemberg, who openly disapproved of the new king's breach of the constitution, was one of the first that attempted to make amends for the injustice by reinstatement of the "Göttingen seven"—he called Ewald to Tübingen. But Ernest Augustus did not allow himself to be moved by this. He laid the plan of a constitution before the Assembly of the Estates of 1838. That body declared itself incompetent to vote in the question of the constitution, inasmuch as it had not been elected according to the fundamental law of 1833, and resolved to lay a memorial before the Diet invoking its protection for the maintenance of this fundamental law. Thereupon it was prorogued. The governmental plan, which was composed in the aristocratic interests, was at length adopted, with a few changes, in 1840. The action of the Diet in regard to the appeal was truly classic. By a majority of nine to seven (among these seven were the representatives of all south Germany), it rejected the complaint of the Hanoverian Estates, "since, under existing circumstances, a cause founded on the law of the Confederation for interference in these internal affairs does not exist." The king had conquered; but expressions of the intensest scorn and indignation formed his hymn of triumph.

In Austria, as long as State-chancellor Prince Metternich remained in power, no change of constitution was to be thought of. In this respect, the death of the Emperor Francis II. (1835) produced no alteration, for his eldest son and successor, Ferdinand I. —who was both bodily and mentally a weakling, and was, furthermore, subject to epileptic attacks—abandoned the government to Metternich more completely than even his father had done. However, in the first years of his reign, a somewhat milder spirit showed itself, as well as a greater care for the commercial and general industrial interests of the country. But the representation of the estates sunk to a mere name on the Austrian side of the Leytha; the public schools were utterly neglected; in

the higher schools and colleges the exact sciences were cultivated by preference; and the government appeared to aim at making its subjects, the inhabitants of the capital in particular, forget all ideals in a luxurious Phæacian life. Only Hungary maintained its parliamentary constitution intact, and in time began to constitute a dangerous opposition. In Italy the national spirit was held down with difficulty. The Poles also began to stir once more. At a time when there appeared no prospect of success (in 1846), a provisional government was set up in the free state of Cracow, and the spread of the insurrection on all sides was at once expected. In Posen, Mieroslavski and many other conspirators were arrested. In Galicia, the imperial officials called out the peasants against their landlords, the Polish nobles, and a sort of war of annihilation between the peasants and their former oppressors was the result. Cracow itself was occupied by the Eastern powers, and incorporated in the Austrian empire.

But Metternich's power was already on the decline. Liberal ideas were too strong for him to be in a condition to repress them in the enormous province which he once called his own (besides Austria, Prussia, all Germany, and Italy, at the least). Prussia was freeing herself more and more from Austrian guidance, and inclining toward Russia. Since the suppression of the Polish insurrection, the Emperor Nicholas had played unquestionably the first part in eastern Europe, from the Ural mountains to the Rhine. While seeking to keep alive the mutual jealousy of Austria and Prussia, that he might have nothing to fear from their reunion, he promoted, on the other hand, their agreement so far as was needful in order always to have a coalition ready against revolutionary western Europe. Further, he warned the lesser German courts against the Austrian and Prussian designs of mediatization, and gave them plainly to understand that their independence was only to be assured by accepting him as their protector.

Prussia's efforts to gain a firmer footing in Germany showed themselves in the formation of the *Zollverein* (customs-union). At the beginning of the twenties there were as many customs boundaries as there were states. No industry could thrive under such conditions. In the year 1828 a customs-union was formed between Würtemberg and Bavaria, and scarcely a month later a similar union was entered into between Prussia and Hesse-Darm-

stadt. In order to promote the prosperity of the country, and attach to itself the mercantile interests of the other parts of Germany, the Prussian government made every effort to extend the limits of the *Zollverein*. It succeeded in effecting the accession of Electoral Hesse in 1831; Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, and Thuringia in 1833; Baden and Nassau in 1835; and the free city of Frankfort in 1836. Imperceptibly the states of the *Zollverein*, with a population of about 27,000,000, came into a certain dependence upon Prussia, which, although at first only affecting industrial and commercial interests, might readily be improved for national and political ends.

There was a change of sovereigns during this period in Prussia also. After an eventful reign of forty-two years, Frederic William III. died, June 7th, 1840, leaving to his eldest son a land outwardly in good condition, inwardly full of longing for freer forms. The controversy about mixed marriages was not yet settled. In the year 1825 the Prussian government had extended to Westphalia and the Rhine provinces the regulations already existing in the eastern provinces of the kingdom, in accordance with which the religious education of the children, in the case of mixed marriages, depended upon the will of the father. In 1834 a convention on this subject was concluded with the bishops of Westphalia and the Rhine provinces. The Archbishop of Cologne, Droste von Vischering, supporting his action on a Papal brief, forbade the religious sanction of such a marriage if the promise were not first given to educate the children as Roman Catholics, although before his appointment as archbishop he had recognized the convention. As he would not submit to the government, even denying the state all right to a voice in religious matters, and as he finally sought to excite the fanaticism of clergy and laity on his side, he was arrested, November 20th, 1837, and taken to the fortress of Minden. For similar reasons Martin von Dunin, Archbishop of Posen and Gnesen, was carried to Colberg. The new king, inspired by the wish to grant the church all the freedom it could desire, at once annulled the royal placet, and accorded the bishops freer intercourse with Rome. Through the medium of the Roman Catholic Count Brühl, he entered into negotiations with the Pope; and in 1841 concluded a convention by which Dunin was to be restored to his bishopric, Droste was to be released, and Bishop Geissel, of Spires, be assigned him as co-

adjutor, and a Roman Catholic department was to be added to the *cultus* ministry. This department was intrusted with the protection of the rights of the state in matters of marriage as against the ecclesiastical authorities; but it soon made itself the representative of ecclesiastical interests as against the civil government. This was especially the case in 1850, when it could not do enough for the church in the draughting of the religious paragraphs of the constitution.

Frederic William IV. was a man of intellect, to whom all looked with hope. His first official acts showed the wish to conciliate and to heal. Full amnesty for political offences was granted. Arndt was reinstated in his professorship at Bonn; Jahn released from his confinement at Freiburg, on the Unstrut; and Jacob and William Grimm called to Berlin. But the test question, the touchstone of his ability to be a great sovereign of the nineteenth century, was the question of the constitution. The Landtag of the province of Prussia, at the festival of Königsberg, on occasion of taking the oath of allegiance, petitioned the king, in a memorial, to introduce a general representation of the country. But however much inclination he might have toward free institutions, he still had too high a conception of the authority of a king—of the divine right—to be willing to share his power with a parliament. Moreover, his gaze was directed toward former centuries, toward the Middle Ages, rather than the present. Only that which was rooted in the past attracted him and was valid in his eyes, and into this he sought to breathe a fresher spirit. But old bottles are proverbially unsuited to new wine; and the political development of the century was thoroughly dissatisfied with a political system imitated from the Middle Ages, and demanded representation. The Prussian Landtag received the answer that the provincial parliaments would be retained, but a parliament of the whole kingdom not introduced. There appeared two pamphlets, one by Schön, the over-president of Prussia, and the other by Jakoby, a physician in Königsberg, bearing respectively the titles "Whence and Whither" and "Four Questions." The first represented the granting of a constitution of the realm as a concession to political necessity, the second represented it simply as a right of the people. Attention was now turned to the provincial parliaments, and they were urged by petitions and addresses to take the initiative in a movement for the attainment of more liberties.

The censorship for books of more than twenty sheets was done away with, and a superior college of censors established. In 1842 the provincial committees were summoned to Berlin, in order to "supplement the provincial institutions by an element of unity," and to consult regarding the common interests of the state. It was a feeble first step toward a parliament, but its tendency was recognized. The attempted assassination of the king by Burgomaster Tschech, July 26th, 1844, worked, like most such attempts, in the interest of reaction.

Side by side with the political went the religious question, the one playing over into the other. The king was strictly orthodox, and his minister of public instruction, Eichhorn, assumed a tutelage and surveillance of religious teachings and writings that recalls the fairest days of Villèle's ministry under Louis XVIII. and Charles X. But all prescriptions and synods were of no avail against the force of the stream, which had its sources in the philosophical tendency of the decade. Philosophy was the ruling force in those days. Men like David Frederic Strauss, Frederic Vischer, and Bruno Bauer were mightier than Eichhorn. Free congregations, the so-called Friends of Light, were formed under the Saxon preacher, Uhlich, under Wislicenus in Halle, and Rupp in Königsberg. Professor Hengstenberg declaimed against them in Berlin, and set forward in his *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* the most orthodox principles. Apostasy occurred even in the bosom of Roman Catholicism. The Rhenish clergy could not refrain from some public celebration of triumph over the result of the late religious controversy, and so they exhibited at Trèves, in 1844, the holy unseamed coat. Over a million persons made the pilgrimage to this relic, which was reported to have wrought unheard-of miracles. Then appeared an open letter "against the idol-feast at Trèves to the bishop of that place, as the Tetzel of the nineteenth century," from a suspended priest in Silesia, Johannes Ronge. This was the beginning of the foundation of the German Catholic church in Breslau, which soon won adherents in all parts of Germany. At the same time a Christian Catholic congregation came into being in Schneidemühl, in Posen, under the Roman Catholic pastor Czerski. All these religious movements had a political coloring. The adherents of the Berlin court and state theology were absolutists of the purest water, while the rationalists were eager for a parliament like England's, an example which was often brought

up. In conflicts between the Roman Catholic church and the German Catholics, the former was always sure of protection from the government.

It was a time when all Germany looked toward Prussia, and when it was each day expected that something was about to happen there. February 3d, 1847, appeared a royal patent by which the "United Landtag" was created on the basis of the hitherto existing provincial parliaments. Its competence did not extend over too wide a field. Its consent was to be requisite to the levying of new taxes or the increasing of those already existing, and in the conclusion of national loans. In the matter of legislation it could, like the provincial parliaments, merely express its opinion. This Landtag consisted of two *curiæ*, of which the first, the *Herrencurie* (House of Lords), was composed of the princes of the blood, foreign princes holding fiefs from the Prussian crown, *standesherren* (mediatized nobles, *i. e.*, whose lands had in former times been independent), and the representatives of certain foundations and corporations; the second, the *Dreiständecurie* (House of the three Estates), was composed of the representatives of the *Ritterschaft* (the lesser nobility and gentry), the cities, and the country parishes. It was a second step toward a parliament, and as such was examined in all its bearings by the Breslau jurist Henry Simon, in a pamphlet entitled "Accept or Refuse."

April 11th, the United Landtag was opened by the king with a brilliant speech. He had put into it his whole political creed, and solemnly announced: "No power on earth shall ever succeed in persuading me to exchange the natural relation between king and people for a conventional, constitutional one; and neither now nor ever will I permit a written sheet, like a second providence, to thrust itself in between our God in heaven and this land to displace the old sacred fealty." "The Crown can and must rule only according to the laws of God and the country, and according to its own free decision, and not according to the will of majorities. Prussia cannot endure such a condition! Throw a glance upon the map of Europe, on the situation of our land; above all, cast a mental glance over our history!" The dissatisfaction with this speech, which, ignoring the votes and wishes of the people, commended an almost unlimited absolutism, was so great that the delegates from the province of Prussia wished to return home on the spot. However, they let themselves be per-

suaded, by their fellow-liberals from the Rhine provinces, to help in building further on this foundation. Brilliant oratorical talents were displayed in this Landtag, and a fresh, free spirit pervaded the assembly. The opposition had the upper hand, and expressed to the king the expectation that the "patent of February 3d will be the beginning and not the end of the parliamentary development of the realm." The Landtag was closed on June 26th, without any other result than to incite men to strive for something more. In December the consultations of the united provincial committees began again in the old easy-going way. It was clear that this could not last, and just as clear that the king would not sign that "sheet of paper," that "second providence," without the pressure of outward necessity. And yet what was the patent of February 3d? Was it not itself such a written sheet? But it certainly had not the value of a second providence. At this time great attention was attracted by a pamphlet from D. F. Strauss, entitled "The Romanticist on the Throne of the Cæsars."

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§ 13.

SWITZERLAND AND THE SONDERBUND.

The party which had effected the adoption of freer constitutions in most of the cantons in 1831 was now striving to bring about a federal reform. It carried, through the Diet of 1832, the appointment of a commission which was to revise the act of confederation, and submit its conclusions to a special session in 1833. The liberal cantons—Berne, Aargau, Thurgovia, St. Gallen, Soleure, Zurich, and Luzerne—concluded the Siebener-Concordat (treaty of seven) for the maintenance and accomplishment of popular sovereignty. In opposition to this, the conservative cantons—Uri, Switz, Valais, Neuchâtel, and Basle city — united in the Sarner-Bund. In conjunction with the neutrals, the latter succeeded in frustrating the revision in 1833. With this success, their hopes and demands increased. Armed bands from Switz and Basle city entered (July 30th, 1833) the *landschafts* of Ausser-Schwyz and Basle-landschaft, which had seceded from them, in order to force

them to submission. The consequence was that Switz and Basle city were occupied by federal troops, and the Sarner-Bund was declared dissolved. The separation of Basle into two independent cantons was recognized; Ausser-Schwyz and Alt-Schwyz were reunited, but with complete equality of rights.

The accumulation of fugitives from Germany, Poland, and Italy, who found an asylum in republican Switzerland, brought with it complications with foreign powers, some of the fugitives abusing the hospitality afforded them. The most active of these revolutionists was Joseph Mazzini, of Genoa, who, without the least prospect of success, was constantly contriving new attempts at revolution, in order to keep his Italian countrymen in practice. "Young Italy," which he founded at this period, arranged an inroad into Savoy, February 1st, 1834, under the General Ramorino whose course in Poland was so suspicious, in order, from Savoy, to revolutionize Piedmont and the rest of Italy. After the occupation of a few villages, the undertaking fell through, owing to the non-participation of the people. From that time on, Switzerland was regarded abroad as the hearth of radicalism. Matters became serious when Mazzini, wishing to extend his activity over all Europe, founded "Young Europe," to revolutionize the continent. Then it rained political notes. The neighboring powers complained of the abuse of the rights of asylum, and held in prospect the most hostile measures in case Switzerland did not expel the participants in the above-mentioned inroad, and exercise a better surveillance over the remaining fugitives. The language of Louis Philippe was especially severe, and he even threatened war in case Switzerland did not expel Louis Napoleon, who had returned from America, and was living at Arenenberg as a Thurgovian citizen. To free the hospitable republic from this embarrassment, the latter left Switzerland of his own accord, and went to England.

The religious conflicts were still more important in their results. The call of Dr. Strauss, from Würtemberg to the university in Zurich, in 1839, brought the country people to arms, and caused the overthrow of the liberal régime in Zurich, and the liberals did not come into power again until 1845. Of more consequence was the monastic question. Seven cantons, in a conference at Baden in 1834, had resolved upon the subjection of the church to the authority of the state, and the employment of the cloisters for purposes of general usefulness. The controversy on

this point was most violent in the canton of Aargau. The radical government of that canton finally (1841) closed all cloisters, among others the wealthy Muri, and sequestered their property for "purposes of instruction and benevolence." The excitement thereat among the bigoted Roman Catholics was great, and it was the means of bringing about the victory of the ultramontane party in Luzerne and Valais in 1844. The Jesuits were called to Luzerne, and intrusted with the education of the youth. Joseph Leu, a rich peasant, and Sigwart-Müller were especially active in bringing this about. The Jesuits had also effected a lodgment in Freiburg and Switz. Their expulsion from Switzerland was aimed at by all the liberal cantons. A volunteer expedition in 1845, under the lead of Ochsenbein, of Berne, miscarried. The government of Luzerne, still more enraged by the assassination of Leu, resorted to terroristic measures, and demanded the punishment of the volunteers and the restoration of the Argovian cloisters. As no heed was paid to its demands, it formed, with Switz, Uri, Unterwalden, Zug, Freiburg, and Valais, a *Sonderbund* (separate league), for mutual protection against foreign and domestic foes. This league within a league could not be tolerated; and, since the liberal cantons formed the majority, they resolved, at the session of the Diet in Berne, in July, 1847, upon the dissolution of the *Sonderbund*, as incompatible with the treaty of confederation, and the expulsion of the Jesuits. As the fanatics of Luzerne would not yield obedience to the Diet, a federal execution was ordered against the cantons of the *Sonderbund*, the Helvetic army called out, and the experienced General Dufour, of Geneva, put in command.

The cabinets of Vienna, Berlin, and Paris did everything to prevent an actual collision; but, as they were too favorably disposed toward the *Sonderbund*, and assisted it with money and arms, so it, in the hope of intervention, allowed the quarrel to terminate in war. The liberals sought to bring the war to a conclusion by one rapid campaign. The courier of the French Premier, Guizot, was still under way with despatches for the chiefs of the *Sonderbund*, when they had already fled across the Alps, and all that was left for him was to hurry after them. Perhaps a few months later an intervention would have taken place; but before those months were sped, Guizot, Metternich, and many others were in exile, glad that there were still states which afforded political fugitives asylum.

General Dufour settled the controversy quickly and completely. He took Freiburg by capitulation, defeated the principal army of the *Sonderbund* (November 23d), and entered Luzerne. All the cantons had to yield, and accept the conditions of peace which were dictated to them. Among these were payment of the expenses of the war, a change of government in the cantons, the dissolution of the *Sonderbund*, and the expulsion of the Jesuits. In a few weeks all was accomplished. Then the reform of the Helvetian constitution was proceeded with, and in 1848 the new federal state was established. The *Ständerath* forms a sort of upper house, which is to represent the governments of the several cantons; while the *Nationalrath* forms a lower house, which is elected by the people in proportion to the population. By this united congress the highest tribunal of Switzerland—the *Bundesrath*—is chosen, and at the head of this is a president.

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§ 14.

FRANCE UNDER LOUIS PHILIPPE.

NONE of the great monarchs had so difficult a task as Louis Philippe. If he attached himself to the majority of his people and showed himself in earnest with "the republican institutions which ought to surround the throne," he had all the continental powers against him; if he inclined toward the absolute system of the latter, then not alone the extreme parties, but also the men of the constitutional monarchy, who held to the royal word that "from now on the constitution shall be a reality," rose against him. The former was the lesser danger, for the foreign powers had enough to do with the revolutionary spirit of their own people, and a liberal France would have given them still more. Louis Philippe's worst foe was the dissatisfaction at home, which, if too boldly challenged, would send him the same way that Charles X. went in 1830. There was in reality not so much need of skill in balancing as of liberal principles, in putting which into effect he must keep pace with the spirit and wishes of his people. His system, which he himself named a happy medium (juste milieu), would have been a happy medium if he had struck the middle and

kept it; but he gradually swerved so much toward the right that the middle was far to his left.

From the outset he had three parties against him—Legitimists, Bonapartists, and Republicans. The two former were in themselves of small moment; it was the last which he had to consider, for they had made the revolution, and naturally did not wish to see themselves deprived of its fruits. As long as three members of this party were in possession of the most important posts (Odilon Barrot, prefect of the Seine; Dupont de l'Eure, minister of justice; Lafayette, commander-in-chief of all the national guards of France, and by that fact at the head of 1,500,000 bayonets) the government had to be carried on with some respect for the wishes of the City Hall. But how long would this Republican triumvirate sit in the king's council? The main-stay of his throne, as he comprehended it, was the *Bourgeoisie*, the well-to-do middle class. After the fall of the Bourbons, under whose government the nobles and clergy had disputed their rule, the *Bourgeoisie* had quickly gained possession of the power and brought him to the throne; and now, with him as king, it wished to have peace at any price, in order to increase its prosperity and enjoy its riches in quiet and comfort. It was only this class which had won in the July revolution, for which it had itself shed very little blood; the laboring classes, the "horny-hands," on the other hand, derived as little advantage from the change as the Roman Plebeians from the overthrow of the kings. By means of the electoral law and the provision that the members of the national guard must themselves pay for their costly outfits, Louis Philippe gained both the Chamber and the national guard. The foreign powers also showed themselves complaisant, and recognized the July monarchy. But the Emperor of Russia did not do this without speaking of the "deplorable events" which brought about this change of dynasty, and in addressing Louis Philippe he did not give him the customary title, "My Brother."

The trial of the ex-ministers of Charles X.—of whom, to the embarrassment of the new government, three besides Polignac had been arrested in their flight—caused the first excitement. The populace demanded the death of those who, by signing the *ordinances*, had brought on the revolution, and hence were indirectly guilty of the death of so many. But even Lafayette was against this. He was magnanimous enough to wish to rescue

them, for the very reason that they were his enemies. This caused a split in the ranks of the ministry also. Five members, among them Guizot, withdrew; and, November 2d, 1830, Lafitte, as minister president, undertook the formation of a new ministry of liberal tendencies. The Chamber of Peers condemned the ex-ministers to imprisonment for life, and Polignac, in addition, to the loss of his civil rights. In consequence of the clemency of this sentence, there was great excitement in Paris for two whole days. The arms but just laid down seemed about to be resumed. But the circumstance that the Republican triumvirate was on the side of the administration and the Chambers, prevented the agitation from developing into an actual outbreak. Yet Lafayette lost so much of his popularity that the king could dare to cause a bill to be brought before the Chambers abolishing the office of commander-in-chief of all the national guards of France. Thereupon Lafayette gave in his resignation, and, after some hypocritical hesitation, Louis Philippe accepted it. Soon after, Dupont left the ministry. Odilon Barrot still for a short time remained at his isolated post. The new municipal law, which put the choice of mayors wholly in the hands of the minister and the prefects, was a step backward. This was made up for by an improved electoral law, lowering the qualification for suffrage, and raising the number of voters from 80,000 to 200,000—certainly a low enough figure with a population of 30,000,000.

In the mean time, the revolution had entered upon its march through Europe. Wherever it came into danger, France was looked upon and applied to as its natural helper. Lafitte's ministry wished to conjure up no foreign complications, and hence set up the principle of non-intervention. But what had succeeded in Belgium did not succeed in Italy. On the announcement of the Austrian ambassador that his government was about to intervene in the States of the Church, Lafitte threatened war. Metternich replied, "If this intervention occasion war, then war may come. We would rather expose ourselves to the dangers of war than perish in the midst of rebellions." He might well venture to speak in this way, for, while Lafitte was demanding non-intervention, Louis Philippe, behind his back, had consented to intervention. When Lafitte became aware of this, he gave in his resignation; whereupon, March 31st, 1831, Casimir Périer formed a new ministry. He was the true representative of the Bour-

geoisie; a banker, like Lafitte, but possessing more energy and political talent. He was overbearing enough to bend even Louis Philippe to his will; and, as minister president, wished to have the actual conduct of affairs, and not merely the responsibility. Peace without, quiet and order at home, were his aims.

The Legitimists, as well as the Republicans, thought they had found in him their man. The former were so infatuated as to believe that their time was come again. February 13th, 1831, the anniversary of the Duke of Berry's assassination, they had arranged a pompous memorial service in the church of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois, which bears a bad reputation from the night of Saint Bartholomew's. The exasperated populace, seeing in this a challenge, pressed into the church, and destroyed the relics, altars, etc. On the following day they stormed the Archbishop's palace, and threw all the movables into the street. Notwithstanding this very distinct rebuke, the Duchess of Berry, Marie Caroline, assisted by the ultra-legitimist Duke of Modena, and by Charles Albert, of Sardinia, set out for France with a few trusty followers. She landed in Marseilles; and, as the people there did not respond to her call, she traversed the whole country, after various adventures, and presented herself in the Vendée as the regent of France for her son, the legitimate king, Henry V. Spite of all their valor, her followers had to succumb before the superior numbers of the troops sent against them. The duchess herself fled to Nantes, and remained four months in hiding with a family devoted to her interests. She was finally discovered, and taken, November 2d, 1832, through the treachery of a baptized Jew named Deuz, who received 500,000 francs for betraying her. Her kinsman, Louis Philippe, was extricated from his embarrassment as to what to do with her by her delivery of a daughter as to whose paternity she could give the world no satisfactory explanation. Under such interesting circumstances, there was nothing left for the Duchess of Berry but to take ship for Palermo, in the summer of 1833. The Legitimists lost for a while all inclination to risk their heroes and heroines on the slippery soil of France, and only rested their hopes on some general change of circumstances.

The contest with the Republicans was more difficult for the government. The fall of Warsaw aroused them to action. In Paris barricades were erected, gun-stores plundered; and the min-

isters, who, notwithstanding all their promises to the beseeching, hoping Poles, had given no help, were cursed. But the armed power remained master. There were also riots in other cities; among others, a very bloody one in Lyons, in November of 1831, in consequence of the quarrels between the silk manufacturers and their workmen. Périer acted everywhere with severity and energy; but he was scarcely able to silence the dissatisfaction, far less to suppress it altogether, for governmental expenses were being constantly increased, and business was at a stand-still. It was at a time so ill chosen that Louis Philippe asked from the Chamber an increase of his civil list to 18,000,000 francs, although, at the time of his coming to the throne, he had said to Dupont, "With a civil list of 6,000,000, a citizen king has enough and to spare." The Chamber chose for the king of the *juste milieu* a happy medium between the two sums, and voted him 12,000,000. At the funeral of the Republican General Lamarque, June 5th, 1832, there was a serious street fight, and cries of "Vive la Republique!"

Fortunately, the government could show a few things in its favor. The hereditary character of the Peers was taken away. (Later, the nomination of life peers was conceded to the king, by which that Chamber lost the last vestige of its independence.) On the second intervention of the Austrians in the States of the Church, Périer occupied Ancona, and announced in the Chamber that he sought to give the Pope's subjects some security that the Pope would keep his promises. "If the Austrians stay, then we stay too; if they go, then we shall go also." The occupation lasted seven years—just as long as the Austrians remained in Romagna.

May 16th, Prime-minister Périer died of the cholera, and the other ministers resigned at the opening of the Chambers. The king's unchangeable idea (la pensée immuable) made itself more and more felt with each new change of ministers. October 11th, 1832, Marshal Soult became at the same time minister of war and head of a new ministry, in which Guizot, the quondam professor of history, took public instruction, and the former editor of the *National*, Thiers, the department of the interior. It was in great part a Doctrinaire ministry, and its programme was a strong executive, and a firmer tone in foreign affairs, the department which was administered by Broglie. New laws directed against the

Press, societies, and juries created great dissatisfaction. The offering for sale of newspapers in public places was forbidden; the existence and establishment of societies was made dependent upon the permission of the government; offenders against these laws were to be brought, not before juries, but before police magistrates, and, in case of attacks upon the king or the constitution, before the Chamber of Peers. The Republicans, who saw in this their complete suppression, risked a new fight in the streets of Lyons and Paris, in April, 1834. They were defeated, and the government used the insurrection to carry through the Chambers a law forbidding, under heavy penalties, the carrying of weapons without police permission. At the same time, the standing army was raised to 360,000, and the participants in the April insurrection brought before the Court of Peers. The most important of the accused, Cavaignac and Marrast, escaped to England; the rest were condemned to imprisonment, but none to death. This trial, which was accompanied by tumultuous scenes, brought the government more injury than advantage.

The government gained more through the infernal machine of the Corsican Fieschi. July 28th, 1835, the king, attended by his sons and a brilliant staff, rode to the Boulevards to review the national guard and the garrison of Paris. On his arrival at the Boulevard du Temple a fearful explosion took place, and from the windows of a house opposite a hail-storm of bullets burst upon the crowd. In an instant sixty persons lay dead or wounded in the street. Marshal Mortier and several other members of the king's cortége were killed; he himself, for whom it was intended, was not even wounded. Fieschi and two Parisians whom he named as his accomplices were executed. The whole Republican party was unjustly made responsible for this attempt, and new blows were struck at the juries and the Press. Every Press offence involving a libel of the king or the administration was to be tried from this time on before the Court of Peers, and the composition of that body rendered conviction certain. With these "September laws" the reaction was complete, the power of the Republicans was broken. Their activity did not cease, however. Their numerous societies continued to exist in secret, and to the political affiliated themselves the social societies, which, after the communistic teachings of Count St. Simon and his followers, demanded, among other impossibilities, the abolition of

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private property. It was these baleful excrescences which deprived republicanism of all credit, and outbreaks like that of May 12th, 1839, where a few hundred members of the "Society of the Seasons," with Barbès and Blanqui at their head, disarmed military posts and proclaimed the republic, found not the slightest response. The repeated attempts which were made on the king's life were also unsuccessful. In the year 1836 Alibaud made an attempt, and soon after him Meunier; in 1840 Darmès; in 1846 Lacomte, and after him Henri.

Louis Philippe felt himself so secure upon his throne that in 1837 he published an amnesty by which Polignac and his fellows again obtained their freedom and their civil privileges. His relations to foreign powers became better the more he approximated to their system, putting restraints upon societies, the Press, and juries, and energetically crushing popular revolts. Naturally he was by this very means constantly further estranging the mass of the people. It was regarded as a humiliation of the nation that he wished to live at peace with the great powers at any price; that he sacrificed Italy, Poland, and Mehemed Ali, and only ventured upon a threatening attitude or actual hostilities against weaker states—against Portugal, under Don Miguel, against Switzerland, Morocco, etc. His two eldest sons, the Dukes of Orleans and Nemours, made a journey to Germany in 1836, and were received with the greatest honor at the courts of Berlin and Vienna. The former married Princess Helen, of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, in 1837, and became by her the father of a son, the Count of Paris—the fourth royal child since the unhappy son of Louis XVI. to enter the world with golden hopes and brilliant expectations, but small part of which were to be realized. The Chamber readily voted an increase of the establishment of the Duke of Orleans to 3,000,000 francs; but it was regarded as contemptible avarice on the king's part that, notwithstanding his wealth, he was constantly requiring new appropriations for his children.

What the Legitimists and Republicans had not effected—a change of government—the Napoleonids now took in hand. After the death of the Duke of Reichstadt (1832), Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, son of the ex-king Louis of Holland and Hortense Beauharnais, step-daughter of the Emperor Napoleon, regarded himself as the regular heir of the imperial throne. Born April

28th, 1808, he had lived with his mother in banishment since his seventh year, first in Augsburg, and then in the castle of Arenenberg, in the canton of Thurgovia. He entered the Swiss army, and under General Dufour's guidance studied gunnery as a science. The rebellion in the States of the Church, in 1831, drew him and his elder brother into the ranks of the *Carbonari*. The latter met his death there; the former escaped to England. Thence he returned to Arenenberg, and busied himself with literary labors. He composed the "Rêveries Politiques," in which he endeavored to show the impossibility for France of any other than the Napoleonic dynasty. Perceiving how unpopular the July monarchy was, he believed his time to be come. He was in secret communication with a few officers of the Strasburg garrison; and hoped, by his mere appearance and the magic of his name, to win over the whole garrison, and, as in an avalanche-like march of victory, like that of the great Napoleon in 1815, to enter Paris at the head of a great army. October 30th, 1836, he suddenly appeared in the court of the artillery barracks in Strasburg, with a few trusted followers, and was received by the soldiers with the cry, "Vive l'Empereur!" But in the infantry barracks, to which the conspirators then marched, he did not meet with the same reception. The governor, Voirol, succeeded in retaining the soldiers in their allegiance, and Louis Napoleon and several of his accomplices were captured. He was brought to Paris, and Louis Philippe was generous enough to send him off, without further investigation, on a steamer for America. This mild sentence had for the king the unpleasant result that the seven accomplices—some of them officers in active service—who were brought before the jury in Strasburg were acquitted, the populace hailing their acquittal with joy. The people did not hold it right that the high-born principal should be allowed to escape, while his more humble creatures were punished.

While Thiers, the historian of the French Empire, was minister president (March 1st to October 21st, 1840), it was determined, in order to win over public opinion, to bring the bones of Napoleon from the island of St. Helena to France. The English government gave its consent. The honor of escorting them was assigned to the king's third son, the Prince of Joinville. He landed in Cherbourg with his precious freight, and, December 15th, 1840, the emperor's remains were borne in a splendid sarcophagus, vast

throngs of people crowding round, to the Invalides, where later a special monument was erected for them.

The enthusiasm which the mere preparations for this transfer of the imperial remains had called forth in France led Louis Napoleon to make a second attempt to present himself to the nation as nephew and heir of the emperor. He had returned from North America to Switzerland, and had spontaneously left that country and gone to England, when Louis Philippe demanded his expulsion and threatened war. Thence he embarked, with about sixty persons, clothed in the uniform of the old imperial guards, and landed in the neighborhood of Boulogne, August 6th, 1840. In order to produce more effect, he had brought a live eagle with him. In a proclamation he declared that the Bourbon-Orleans dynasty had ceased to reign, and promised France the restoration of her former greatness. A decree established for the time a provisional government, set Thiers, then premier, at its head, and made Marshal Clauzet commander-in-chief of the army. But this attempt also came to nothing. The regiment of the line in Boulogne remained passive, but the customs soldiers attacked him, and he and his attendants had to spring into a boat to try and reach the steamer that brought them thither. The boat turned over, and he was drawn, dripping, out of the water and taken to prison. Set before the Court of Peers, he developed, with the strength of faith and the obstinacy peculiar to him, his Napoleonic principles and claims. He was condemned by the Court of Peers to imprisonment for life, and confined in the castle of Ham. Thence he escaped, clothed as a mason, May 25th, 1846, and succeeded in reaching England. All the world laughed at his folly; but without the scenes of Strasburg and Boulogne, and the martyrdom of a six years' imprisonment, his name certainly would not have produced such an effect in the year 1848.

The isolation into which France had been brought by its Eastern policy had, as has been narrated in connection with the disagreement between Turkey and Egypt, occasioned Thiers's dismissal. After having made great preparations for war, and persuaded the Chamber to approve of the fortification of Paris, he had to resign, since Louis Philippe had no desire to bring about a coalition of Europe against himself. The military preparations were discontinued, but the fortification of Paris was energetically pushed forward. The reproach was made against the government

that the fortification was directed less against an outward enemy than against the revolution-loving Parisians—an end which it certainly did not serve in later years. The new ministry, in which (October 29th, 1840) Soult presided, and was at the same time minister of war, while Guizot had foreign affairs, Count Duchatel the interior, and Villemain public instruction, maintained itself in its principal members (Guizot and Duchatel) until the February revolution, and soon succeeded in establishing good relations once more with the four great powers. Among the people it was very unpopular as the "Ministry of Abroad," and Thiers's active opposition to his more successful rival added greatly to this unpopularity. As minister Thiers had succeeded in maintaining an independent position, and had laid down the principle: *le roi règne, mais il ne gouverne pas.* Guizot adopted the ossified system of the aging king with all the tenacity of an incorrigible bureaucrat of honorable character.

A favorable field for military activity was afforded the July monarchy in the conquest of Algiers, an inheritance which it had received from the Bourbons. If this new province did not bring in much income to the French, who are not great masters in the art of colonization, but rather consumed quantities of men and money, nevertheless the war with the fanatical Bedouin and Kabyl tribes was an excellent school for the soldiers, and at the same time afforded the government a welcome channel to lead off the uneasy, turbulent Parisian youth. Here were trained the generals of the second empire, which could show scarcely an officer of distinction who had not won his spurs in Algeria. Among the Arabs the Emir Abd-el-Kader, a second Jugurtha, far overtopped all others. At once priest and warrior, he enjoyed among his countrymen unlimited confidence, and by his cunning and knowledge of the country succeeded in maintaining himself for several years against the French generals. Scarcely was he defeated, scarcely had it gone abroad that he was annihilated, when he appeared with fresh forces to resume a creditable offensive. Mascara, his residence, was captured, under Marshal Clauzet, in 1835; but the expedition against Constantine, the ancient Cirta, failed. It was not until the second expedition, in 1837, that General Valée carried the city by storm (October 13th), after General Damrémont had fallen on the first day of the assault. At the time of the Eastern war France built wide-reaching plans on this new posses-

sion in North Africa. England's jealousy burnt so much the more hotly, and it was ascribed to her machinations that in 1839 the Arabs in great numbers took the field against the French in a holy war, carrying their incursions to the very gates of Algiers. In 1841, General Bugeaud succeeded to the chief command, and, supported by capable officers, like Colonel Lamoricière and Changarnier, gave a new and surprising turn to the war. Abd-el-Kader, whose smalah (travelling palace) had been plundered by the Duke of Aumale, the king's fourth son, and from whom several tribes had fallen away, was driven out of Algiers, and had to seek protection from Abderrahman, Emperor of Morocco. The latter allowed himself to be drawn into the war, and sent out his son with an army. But while the Prince of Joinville with the French fleet bombarded and demolished the fortifications of Tangiers and Morocco, Bugeaud won a brilliant victory at the river Isbyl (August 14th, 1844), and forced the emperor to a peace. The war was carried on by the untiring Abd-el-Kader, and horrible atrocities were committed on both sides. There arose a storm of indignation in Europe when it became known that Colonel Pelissier (in the Crimean war the Duke of Malakoff) had caused a large number of Arabs who, with their wives and children, had taken refuge in a cave, to be suffocated therein—a proceeding which, however, the minister of war, Soult, accustomed to Napoleon's bloody decrees, deemed justifiable. And when, finally, in 1847, Abd-el-Kader, deserted by all, and hemmed in on every side, surrendered to Lamoricière on condition of a safe passage to Syria or Egypt—a condition assented to by the Duke of Aumale, Bugeaud's successor in the government—the royal father refused to confirm his son's treaty, but caused Abd-el-Kader to be brought to France, where he was kept in close confinement at Amboise for several years. The Emperor Napoleon released him, and assigned him an annual revenue, on the promise that he would live for the rest of his life at Brusa, in Asia Minor. He lived there until the year 1855, when the city was destroyed by an earthquake. He then chose Damascus for a residence, and on occasion of the atrocities of the Druses and Turks against the Christians in 1860, assisted the latter to the best of his ability. For this Napoleon conferred upon him the grand cross of the Legion of Honor.

The death of the universally respected and beloved Duke of Orleans was the first *memento mori* for the July dynasty. July

13th, 1842, he drove to Neuilly to take leave of his family before his departure for the camp at St. Omer. The horses took fright; he leaped from the carriage, was dashed against the pavement, and four hours afterward was dead. Of his two sons, the elder, the Count of Paris, was only four years of age, and hence a long minority was looked forward to, as Louis Philippe was then sixty-nine years old. At the proposition of the government the Chambers intrusted the regency, in case of the king's death, not to the beloved Helen, Duchess of Orleans (nominally on account of her Protestantism), but to the Duke of Nemours, unpopular on account of his aristocratic leanings. Some reparation for the loss of his eldest son was made to the king in the marriage of his youngest son, the Duke of Montpensier, with the Infanta, Luisa Fernanda, in 1846. But this alliance, which held out to the Orleans family the prospect of the Spanish throne, broke up those good relations with the English cabinet which had been restored after the settlement of the Eastern question, that cabinet accusing Louis Philippe's government of political dishonesty. In other matters, also, dark shadows fell upon the July monarchy. Two former ministers—Teste, president of the court of cassation, formerly minister of public works, and Cubières, the late minister of war—were accused and convicted (1847) of gross peculation and venality. The murder of the daughter of Marshal Sebastiani by her husband, the Duke of Praslin, made a still worse impression. And when he escaped condemnation by poisoning himself in prison it was said that the government had helped him to the means of making away with himself that they might not have to afford the people the spectacle of the execution of a duke. It was difficult to furnish proofs that the king and his system of government were responsible for these crimes, but the Legitimists and Republicans held to an inner connection between the one and the other, and declared such crimes to be the necessary consequences of the ruling system. The king, it was said, had his own way in the Chambers without question, and then gave himself up to the delusion that the majority of the Chambers was the expression of the popular will. Where the electors are persuaded to elect the ministerial candidates by the prospect of the building of roads and railroads in their district, and where these candidates are led by the distribution of profitable posts and dignities to themselves and their families to obey unconditionally and follow

the ministry through thick and thin, there, even if only the well-to-do class has the suffrage, it was said, the popular representatives are no longer representatives of the people, and he who as king listens to their voice is but listening to his own.

This was the position of Louis Philippe and the ministry, in which Guizot had presided since Soult's retirement, in September of 1847. Guizot's opponent and rival, Thiers, did not hesitate to attack him unsparingly in the Chamber. He laid bare the corruption which, spreading downward, was constantly on the increase, and declaimed against the disgrace with which Guizot was covering the country by his partiality for the Jesuits and the Sonderbund in Switzerland. Neither Thiers nor Odilon Barrot, who wished for the maintenance of the liberties that had been gained in 1789, were for the overthrow of the dynasty, or even for universal suffrage. In contrast with the lawyer Ledru Rollin, who would fain raise the banner of the red republic, and the poet Lamartine, who indulged in indefinite phrases about equality, these two united in opposition alike to the ministry and radicalism. They wished to uphold the monarchy and ward off a new revolution—a thing only to be effected by electoral reform. Hence they several times offered in the Chamber a motion reducing the qualification for suffrage, raising the number of delegates, and excluding from the Chamber of Deputies all dependent, removable officials. Each time the ministers opposed the measure, and a majority of the Chamber rejected it. So they resolved to apply directly to the people, and by this means exert a pressure on the Chambers and the ministers. This gave occasion to the "Reform Banquets." There members of the opposition and journalists united in a banquet with people of all classes, in order, in memory of the revolutions of 1789 and 1830, to advocate sovereignty of the people, resistance to the system of the administration, and proper care for the working-classes, and to sign a petition for electoral reform. These banquets, the first of which was held in the neighborhood of Paris, July 9th, 1847, found a response in the whole country, and added to the existing excitement.

In the Chamber, which was opened December 28th, 1847, there were very stormy scenes. The speech from the throne spoke of the "hostile and blind passions" of the opposition, and showed as little disposition toward electoral reform on the part of the ministry as on that of the majority of the Chamber. Hence the

opposition concluded to hold a Reform Banquet in Paris itself on the 22d of February, and made preparations in the grandest style. They invited the national guard to form a double line from the Place Madeleine to the place chosen for the banquet in the Champs Elysées, unarmed, but in uniform, nominally for the preservation of order, but, in reality, in order to win the national guard for reform, and, by the publicity of the matter, to force it on the notice of the masses. But Count Duchatel, minister of the interior, forbade this exhibition of the national guard, and threatened military interference. Thereupon the opposition, the more moderate part of which wished to avoid an armed collision, gave up altogether the plan of the Reform Banquet, and presented to the president of the Chamber of Deputies a memorial, signed by fifty-four delegates, calling for the impeachment of the ministry for treason to the principles of 1830.

The populace, who had been looking forward to a great spectacle, were ill pleased with this. Some did not know that the banquet was given up, and assembled on the streets (February 22d) in crowds, sung the Marseillaise, and cried, "Hurrah for reform! Down with Guizot!" If the king dismissed the ministry on that day, called the reformer Odilon Barrot to form a ministry, and made electoral reform his programme, his throne was safe. But he did nothing of the sort; he allowed the excitement to increase, and was only willing to yield when it was already too late. "No more concessions!" Charles X. had said. Louis Philippe thought the same thing; and when necessity at length compelled him to make them drop by drop, then no more were made to him. It is remarkable how little perception the otherwise well-informed king showed in those February days—how little memory he had for the teachings of history, for the events of 1830, to which he was about to contribute a companion piece. Supported by his bribed majority in the Chambers, he thought he stood upon thoroughly legal ground—that he might still name the constitution a reality, and sharply distinguish his position from that of Charles in 1830. There certainly was a distinction. Royal decrees and resolutions of the Chambers are not the same thing. But for the people it was a matter of complete indifference whether the sovereignty on which it prided itself was hampered by ordinances of the king or resolutions of the Chambers. Therein lay the short-sightedness of the aged king.

THIRD PERIOD. 1848-1863.

THE FEBRUARY REVOLUTION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.—THE SECOND EMPIRE AND ITS ASCENDENCY IN EUROPE.

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§ 15.

THE FEBRUARY REVOLUTION, THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, AND THE EMPIRE.

THE leaders of the secret societies were ready to strike. They wished only to ascertain beforehand how far they could carry the people with them in this matter, and which side the national guard would embrace. Naturally, they left nothing untried to incite and inflame the populace. One of their men, Charles Lagrange, who had distinguished himself before this in the insurrection at Lyons, in 1834, as a skilful conductor of revolutions, had already carefully studied out the parts for his *corps de revanche*. Barricades were erected on the 22d of February, and street fights took place. On the 23d this street-fighting had assumed a more serious character, especially as the national guard not only did not support the regular troops, but even joined in the cry of "Down with Guizot!" This influenced the king to dismiss the Guizot ministry, and call Count Molé, with some members of the Left Centre, to power. Although the appointment of Molé, who did not materially differ from Guizot in his principles of government, was a blunder, and only Odilon Barrot, the leader of the reform party, was then capable of stemming the rising flood, yet Guizot's dismissal, which became known on the morning of the 23d, brought about a momentary suspension of hostilities. In the evening there was a voluntary illumination of the city, and peace seemed once more restored.

At ten o'clock that night the crowd, shouting and singing, were surging hither and thither on the brilliantly-lighted boule-

vards. Lagrange, with his wild crew, was among them. A red banner and torches were borne in advance, and women and children followed on behind. They broke the windows of Hebert, minister of justice. Then they moved toward the ministry of foreign affairs, to pay their respects to M. Guizot. There stood a guard of about fifty men. Suddenly a shot was fired from among the crowd (it is said that Lagrange fired it with careful calculation of the results). The guard took this for an attack, and fired a volley into the closely-packed mass. There was a startled scattering, but about fifty dead and wounded were left upon the square to be carried off by the more courageous of their comrades, put on wagons, and drawn through the streets with cries of "Murder! Treason! To arms!" The alarm-bell sounded; barricades were erected in all parts of the city, and thousands of armed men manned them.

On the morning of the 24th appeared a proclamation, signed by Odilon Barrot and Thiers as the new ministers, announcing the dissolution of the Chamber, and the appointment of the beloved General Lamoricière as commander-in-chief of the national guard. It was vain. An article in the *Réforme*, a radical sheet, said: "Louis Philippe lets the people be shot down as Charles X. did. Let us send him after his predecessor!" The regular troops, who had already been thirty-six consecutive hours under arms, and who were not properly supplied with provisions, hearing Marshal Bugeaud, Duke of Isly, the only man fit to cope with such an insurrection, named commander one minute, and the decrepit Marshal Gérard the next, remained for the most part inactive on-lookers at the fury of the volcano, especially as, in consequence of the proclamation, the order had been given them to withhold their fire. So the crowd succeeded, between ten and eleven A.M., in taking the Palais Royal, the private property of the Orleans family, and destroying all the valuables there. The guard stationed opposite the Palais Royal refused to surrender their arms, and were massacred. Then the crowd moved on the Tuileries.

There everything was already in a state of disorganization. Emil Girardin, the editor of the *Presse*, entered unannounced, and asked, as the price of the salvation of the throne, the immediate abdication of the king. The queen opposed this most resolutely, and others added their words to hers, especially—and in

a very offensive manner—the Duke of Montpensier. Bugeaud, who had prepared a complete plan of attack, to the last moment urged a life or death fight. At length Louis Philippe drew up a declaration of abdication in favor of his grandson, the Count of Paris. The news spread rapidly on all sides, but was too late to check the storm of popular passion. When the king, in civilian's clothes, a round hat on his head, gave his arm to his wife, to wander forth in his old age from the fulness of prosperity into the land of banishment, all, even the soldiers, were moved. "This is your work, sir! You have brought it to this pass! You did not deserve to have so good a king!" said the queen to Thiers, comprehending with a true instinct that his bill for electoral reform had given the first impulse to rebellion. The royal pair, accompanied by the Duchess of Nemours and her children, went on foot through the garden of the Tuileries to the *Place de la Concorde*, entered two cabs which awaited them there, and drove to St. Cloud. There they were soon joined by their children, the Duke of Montpensier and Duchess Clementine of Coburg; and all proceeded on the same day, by way of Trianon, to Castle Dreux, where the king hoped to be able to rest for a few days.

At his command, the Duchess of Orleans had remained behind to guard the interests of her son. By Dupin's advice, she went on foot to the Chamber of Deputies, attended by her two sons and the Duke of Nemours. She had scarcely left the Tuileries when the barricaders pressed in, with the cry, "Vive la république!" and gave free course to their rage of destruction. The duchess was respectfully received by the deputies, and Dupin with timid voice called upon them to proclaim the Count of Paris king, and the duchess regent. But, from fear of the people, now pressing in in constantly increasing crowds, the Chamber did not dare to raise its voice for the monarchy; and even Odilon Barrot's words, effectively calculated though they were—"The July monarchy now rests on the heads of a woman and a child"—had no effect. To prevent them from coming to any decision, and to produce a division among the supporters of the monarchy, a republican delegate, Marie, declared that, by the law adopted by the Chambers, the Duke of Nemours, and not the Duchess of Orleans, was made regent; but nevertheless, as though that were consistent, he moved the establishment of a provis-

ional government. The galleries shouted their approbation. New crowds pressed in. Smock-clad, drunken men, who had wandered into the cellars of the Tuileries, broke into the hall with the force of an overflowing stream, crying, "Down with the Bourbons, new and old! Down with the regency! Down with the bribed Chamber! Down with all traitors!"

This was the mortal hour of the July monarchy; in that moment all was lost. After Guizot had been overthrown and the king forced to abdicate, the Chamber might still have rescued the monarchy by its vote, as was the case in 1830. But then the people and the majority of the Chamber were in harmony; now they were not. The Chamber was now regarded as accessory to the hated system of administration, and in its consciousness of guilt dared do nothing. Consequently it was unresistingly set aside by the same popular power which broke in pieces the throne in the Tuileries, and ceased to rule as completely as the king. From the moment when those rough working-men, black with powder and smoke, and drunken with the costly wines from the palace cellar, broke into the council-hall, there was no longer monarchy or Chamber; the claims of the Count of Paris were no more regarded than those of the Duke of Bordeaux in the July days of 1830. Most of the delegates fled precipitately. The duchess with her children had to break a way through the terrible crowd. Several times she was almost suffocated; her children were torn from her; and she herself finally escaped into the garden, and thence into the neighboring house of President Sauzet, only by the self-sacrifice of her attendants. She was in despair at the loss of her children. The Count of Paris soon reappeared, after having been rescued from the dangerous embrace of a murderous ruffian. The recovery of the younger son, the seven-year-old Duke of Chartres, was not effected without costing the luckless widow an anxious night and an anxious day. The poor child came near being crushed and trampled underfoot in the crowd. He was finally rescued by a door-keeper of the Chamber, and was brought to his mother the next day at the castle Ligny, whither she had gone. Soon after she journeyed with her children to Germany by way of Belgium. The Duke of Nemours had taken refuge in an out-house. Aware of his unpopularity, he thought it prudent to effect his escape disguised as a soldier of the national guard.

When Louis Philippe learned, on the morning of February 25th, that the republic had been proclaimed in Paris, he esteemed it no longer safe to linger at Dreux. While the other members of the family sought to reach their future asylum in other ways, the king and queen, with borrowed money and a false pass, made for the coast of Normandy in order to cross to England on a fishing-smack. The stormy weather forbade this, and the king had to make up his mind to a journey to Havre, spite of the danger of being recognized. But as few difficulties were thrown in the way of his departure as formerly in that of Charles X. He embarked on the English packet in Havre and landed safely in England, where the other members of his family shortly joined him, the Prince of Joinville and the Duke d'Aumale being the last. The former of these was in command of the fleet in the Mediterranean; the latter, as governor of Algeria, was at the head of 100,000 men. The provisional government felt some uneasiness at the outset in view of the great power of the two princes, but, after all France had followed the example of the capital and declared for the republic, a restoration from Algeria was no longer to be thought of. The princes laid down their commands, and travelled to England by way of Gibraltar. There the royal family took up its abode at Claremont, the property of Leopold of Belgium, the king's son-in-law, and there Louis Philippe died, August 26th, 1850, at the age of seventy-seven. Guizot and the other ministers also succeeded in making good their escape into foreign parts.

It was the Republicans and the Socialists who by a daring *coup-de-main* had overturned the July monarchy, which the most intelligent opponents of the Guizot system wished to maintain. But since intelligence seldom throws itself behind barricades, so now the men of the barricades overrode it and for a time had their own way. The matter was settled when the Chamber of Deputies allowed itself to be surprised. After the flight of the Duchess of Orleans matters there took the most extravagant turn. A butcher's employé strode gravely up and down in the middle of the hall, a bloody apron on, and a butcher's knife in his hand. One "smock-man" levelled his gun at the president, another at Lamartine. To seem to stand above the mass was a criminal offence. The old republican, Dupont de l'Eure, took the chair, and finally succeeded in bringing about some sort of order. The difficult

problem of forming a provisional government was solved by Lamartine. He caused all present—delegates, members of the national guard, students, and "smock-men"—to write down the persons of their choice. He received these ballots, and after some consideration drew up from them a list. This he handed to Dupont, who read it aloud amid universal applause. The names were Dupont de l'Eure, Lamartine, Arago, Marie, Garnier-Pagès, Ledru Rollin, and Crèmieux. This provisional government hastened to declare its entrance into office by taking possession of the city hall. It was high time, for after the seven provisional rulers, attended by a few hundred armed men, had forced their way through the countless mass of people filling the city hall and its environs and found accommodation in a small room, they learned that a provisional government had likewise been set up in the editorial rooms of the two papers *Réforme* and *National*. In this government were the same names as on Lamartine's list, with the addition of five more. This difficulty was settled by accepting these five as secretaries of the provisional government. But only one of them, Pagnerre, the leading publisher of Republican writings, was content with this subordinate position; the others—Flocon and Armand Marrast, editors of the above-mentioned journals, Louis Blanc, the spokesman of socialism, and Albert, who as a locksmith's hand was a representative of the laboring classes—soon rose from the position of mere consulting members to that of voting ones.

The new government had scarcely been installed, with Dupont as president (February 25th), when about 30,000 armed men surrounded the city hall, and the government was in danger of being overturned by the red republic. As the third estate had acquired the sovereignty in 1789, so now the fourth estate sought to grasp the reins. The crowd, misguided by socialistic and communistic twaddle, cried, "Hurrah for the democratic and socialistic republic!" and one of their number, a factory hand, made his way into the council chamber of the provisional government, struck the stock of his loaded gun against the floor with such force that the whole room shook, and demanded, in the name of the people, the introduction of the system of community of property, the institution of a proletarian government, and the adoption of the red flag and cockade instead of the tri-color. That the February revolution did not result in the rule of the masses is to be attributed

principally to Lamartine, who during this period, in addition to an irresistible, popular eloquence, displayed admirable presence of mind, and utter fearlessness of death. The first decree of the government contained a ratification of the republic, and was solemnly published at the *Place de la Bastille*, February 27th, in presence of hundreds of thousands. The streets of Paris gradually resumed their wonted appearance, even before the ruins of the burnt and plundered palace of Neuilly had ceased to smoke. At this latter *auto-da-fé* several plunderers in the cellars, quite too forgetful of self, shared the fate of the building.

With such unruly elements, the task of the government was one of enormous difficulty. With its recognition of the so-called "right to labor," it had assumed the duty of "guaranteeing the support of the workman by work," and all who had no work, as well as those who wished none, now called upon the government to support them, as though they were government officials. Naturally, in those unsettled times all trade and industry stood still, while at the same time the influx into Paris, and consequently the number of breadless workmen there, increased greatly. This led to the establishment of *national workshops*, in which all were offered work and wages by the state. These works, in which about 100,000 persons, among them even scholars and artists, were engaged, were confined to useless excavations and the like in Paris and a few other cities, and finally developed into complete idleness. If this state of affairs were to last a couple of months, financial and moral bankruptcy would be not merely imminent, but actually present. The condition of the treasury was in any case desperate enough, so that the minister of finance found himself obliged to raise the direct taxes forty-five per cent., a measure which markedly diminished the enthusiasm of the country people for a republic. And yet the fourth estate believed that the state was nothing but an experimental machine for eccentric and crack-brained communists. In the Luxembourg palace, where the Chamber of Peers had lately burnt its incense before the encroaching monarchy, a "Working-men's Parliament" was in session, with the "apostle" Louis Blanc as president. This body, consisting chiefly of journeymen mechanics and day-laborers, debated the question of national economy—how with less work a man is to secure a larger income. The watchwords *liberté*, *égalité*, *fraternité* were here the order of the day, and one had to

be prepared at any moment to see the baldest and crudest communism converted from theory into practice. The democratic Press and the political clubs likewise urged the people on. A crowd of new papers had sprung up, and several hundred political clubs had been organized. Not merely the old revolutionists, like Barbès, Blanqui, Cabet, Raspail, and the like, but also others not so well known, sought to gather their little parliaments about them. They were the sworn foes of all civil order, and as such made several attempts to overthrow the Provisional Government and defer the elections for the National Assembly, which had been fixed for the month of April. They well understood that they would not have the majority in this assembly, and that it would be far more difficult to set this aside, inasmuch as it would be the expression of the popular will. But neither on March 16th nor on April 16th did the Social Democrats, as the united ultra-republicans and socialists named themselves, succeed in carrying out their purpose, notwithstanding the enormous crowds they brought together. The newly-formed garde mobile and the national guard, thanks to Lamartine's firmness, carried the day.

The fateful elections to the National Assembly approached. By a decree of the Provisional Government each Frenchman who had reached the age of twenty-one was entitled to vote, and any Frenchman over twenty-five was eligible for election. The number of the delegates was fixed at 900, one for each 40,000 of the population. The result of the elections was an overwhelming defeat of the Social Democrats. The sittings began May 4th, and the republic, first proclaimed February 24th, was once more pronounced the permanent form of government. The resignation of the Provisional Government was accepted, and an account of its doings rendered. The proposition to commit the executive power provisionally into the hands of one man, the popular Lamartine, who had been elected in ten electoral districts and had received in all over 2,000,000 votes, was rejected by Lamartine himself, from fear of the strong measures necessary to hold down the insubordinate opposition. Hence (May 10th) the National Assembly elected an executive commission consisting of five members. Their choice fell on Arago, Garnier-Pagès, Marie, Lamartine, and Ledru Rollin, and these five were to conduct the government by a responsible ministry until the constitution about to be discussed was completed. Arago, as the one first chosen, presided over the

Executive Commission. The nomination most important in its consequences was that of Cavaignac as minister of war.

In opposition to the political order thus being restored, the clubs resolved to overthrow the National Assembly and the Executive Commission, and set up a Social-democratic dictatorship. The presentation of a monster petition for the re-establishment of a free and independent Poland formed the pretext under which, on May 15th, a crowd of 100,000 persons, under the leadership of Blanqui, Raspail, Sobrier, and Huber, gathered on the *Place de la Bastille* and marched against the palace of the National Assembly. Drunken men with savage, murderous faces crowded into the hall. All was wild confusion. Huber, "in the name of the people deceived by its own representatives," declared the Assembly dissolved. Its members left the hall, and the victorious revolt established a new government. The news of the approach of troops disturbed them in their work, and they repaired with all speed to the city hall, formed a government under Louis Blanc, Blanqui, Ledru Rollin, Raspail, Proudhon, Albert, and four others, and drew up a declaration of war on Russia, Austria, and Prussia, in case they should oppose the restoration of Poland. But, owing to Lamartine's energy, the national guard was quickly called out, the city hall retaken, and Blanqui, Raspail, and their fellow-conspirators were sent as prisoners to Vincennes. In order to be prepared for similar risings, the garrison of Paris was raised to 55,000 men, and these were placed under the command of the new minister of war, Cavaignac, who had been summoned back from Algeria.

The supplementary elections, which took place early in June, brought new and important members into the National Assembly, such as Thiers, Changarnier, and Victor Hugo. But all these names were outweighed by one which was already setting all France in commotion—the name of Louis Napoleon. Elected a delegate in Paris and three other electoral districts, he was ready to follow France's call; but the Executive Commission, mindful that his attempts at Strasburg and Boulogne qualified him less for a deputy than for a pretender, moved that the decree of banishment issued against the Napoleonids in 1832 be enforced against Louis Napoleon. The National Assembly, however, which had already consented to the admission of his cousins, the sons of Jerome and Lucien, declared his election valid. For the present,

after he had recognized the government by a brief visit in Paris, he continued to reside in England, observing the development of affairs from a distance.

The question of the national workshops was the first which demanded solution. The number of workmen enrolled had risen to 117,000, each one of whom received two francs daily. Their complete suppression had to be preceded by a few preparatory measures, such as the order that the work should be paid by the job, and that a part of the workmen should be removed from Paris and employed in remote provinces. The Social Democrats, perceiving the tendency of these measures, armed themselves for a life or death struggle. But the government was also armed. Cavaignac had prepared a regular plan of campaign for these street fights. The battle, for which the rebels mustered 40,000 men, began on June 23d, at the gate of St. Denis, with an attack on the national guard. On the 24th it had assumed so serious a character that the National Assembly decided to declare Paris in a state of siege, and to intrust General Cavaignac with dictatorial power. The battle raged until the 26th, and more than 10,000 persons were killed. Notwithstanding his character as the bearer of terms, General Brea was shamefully murdered by the insurgents; and Archbishop Affre, who addressed them with words of conciliation, was mortally wounded. With the bombardment of the Faubourg St. Antoine the victory of the party of order was assured. It was the fiercest street fight which Paris had ever seen. From 12,000 to 14,000 of the rebels were taken prisoners, and those who were convicted of participation were condemned to transportation to a transatlantic colony, while the leaders were referred to a court-martial.

On July 28th, after the retirement of the Executive Commission, the National Assembly made General Cavaignac chief of the executive and president of the cabinet, as a token of gratitude for the rescue of the country. He at once formed a new ministry, and named General Changarnier commander-in-chief of the Parisian national guard. It was natural that, after those bloody June days, a reaction against the wild outgrowths of the revolution should set in. The national workshops were closed, the most unruly clubs and papers suppressed, and the state of siege protracted. The majority of the National Assembly was in favor of a strong government, and supported Cavaignac. In

November the debates on the new constitution reached a conclusion. The last question was whether the election of the president should proceed from the National Assembly or directly from the people. The latter plan was adopted, although the poet Felix Pyat foretold the results of such an election in the most forcible manner. November 12th the new constitution was solemnly promulgated on the *Place de la Concorde.* The presidential election was to take place on the 10th of December. Louis Napoleon had appeared in the National Assembly for the first time on September 26th, and had made no very marked impression, either by his personal appearance or by the explanation which he then read. His friends pressed his claims for the presidency with all their power, and befooled the country people with the notion that, as president, the emperor's nephew would pay back, out of his own pocket, the forty-five per cent. increase on the land-tax. This proved extraordinarily effective, although, in reality, the nephew's pockets were full of nothing but bills. The country population, which hated the February revolution, the republic, and everything belonging to them, had the decision; and hence, in the presidential contest between Cavaignac and Louis Napoleon, the latter came out victor. Of 7,300,000 votes which were cast he received 5,430,000, and Cavaignac only 1,448,000; while the remainder were divided between Ledru Rollin, Raspail, Lamartine, and Changarnier. The word "Napoleon" was still all-powerful among the masses; and there were, further, many who voted for him and against Cavaignac, because the latter's energetic suppression of the June revolt held out the prospect of a too rigid rule; while they regarded Napoleon as weak and incapable, and hoped to be able to use him for their party purposes. This singular judgment, for which a few eccentricities had, perhaps, furnished the occasion, might at that time have been heard almost anywhere in France and Switzerland. The disillusion was soon to follow.

December 20th Cavaignac laid down his office, and Louis Napoleon was proclaimed president, and took the oath. He swore to remain true to the one and indivisible democratic republic, and then added, "My duties are prescribed for me, and I will fulfil them as a man of honor." At the conclusion of his address he went up to Cavaignac (who had resumed his place as delegate), seized his hand, and said, "General, I am proud to be

the successor of such a man as you." Cavaignac mutely thanked him by a bow. Accompanied by several officials of the National Assembly and numerous officers, he repaired to the Palace Elysée Bourbon, which had been assigned him, and was there received by his kinsmen and partisans, who already saw in him their sovereign.

The constituent assembly expired May 26th, 1849, and on May 28th the legislative assembly began its sessions. Here the Legitimists and Orleanists had the majority: the republic was already almost a thing of the past—a fact which worked principally to the advantage of the president. The inherent hostility between him and the representatives of the people became each day more irreconcilable. From the Social Democrats there was hardly anything more to be feared. Their outbreak of June 13th, on occasion of Ledru Rollin's motion to impeach the president and his ministers because of the expedition against the Roman republic—a motion which fell through in the Assembly—was quickly and without much trouble suppressed by General Changarnier, commander-in-chief of the national guard and regular troops in Paris. Ledru Rollin had to flee; Paris was declared in a state of siege, Social-democratic papers forbidden, and all political associations, with the exception of electoral assemblies, prohibited. By these constant limitations of the popular rights, and by the petty party quarrels of the various coteries which were aiming at such different results, the representatives of the nation lost popularity and respect among the people. The "Prince President" made use of the popular mood, and represented himself on all occasions as the one from whom the country, if it would only let him rule alone, might expect the fulness of fortune's horn. Most of the June prisoners were pardoned by him; frequent tours were made in the provinces, and occasion found to say constantly more and more about the great uncle and the splendor of the old empire. When opportunity offered the taciturn man allowed even his most secret wishes to shine through. So, in Lyons, in the fall of 1851, on occasion of receiving the respects of the well-to-do classes, he condescended to explain that "he was ready to carry out the popular will, whether it bade him to resign or persevere." In Normandy he expressed himself still more definitely, and referred to the great blunders of the constitution, as the greatest of which he regarded Article 45, whereby

the presidential term was limited to four years, while the retiring president could not be chosen again until after an intervening period of four years.

This provision thwarted Napoleon's ambitious aspirations; hence he instigated a rain of petitions for a revision of the constitution. For such a change a majority of three-fourths of the National Assembly was legally necessary, and that majority was not to be had. The matter was brought before the general councils of the departments, and eighty out of eighty-five declared in favor of revision. The breach grew ever more serious. Every one felt that a dictatorship of some sort was imminent; the question was, who was the dictator to be? As the popular representatives and their followers were hopelessly split up—some inclining toward Count Chambord (Duke of Bordeaux), others toward the Prince of Joinville, or Changarnier, while the Socialists leaned toward Carnot—Napoleon had an easy game, provided he did not shrink from extreme measures, which was by no means his weak side. His principle was to persuade as many as possible, and compel the rest. He endeavored to win the officers and soldiers by banquets with unlimited wine and cigars. He took away from the incorruptible Changarnier the command of the troops in Paris. By frequent changes of ministry he had discredited the most famous names, and beginning with Odillon Barrot, as president of the cabinet, had ended with his trusty St. Arnaud as minister of war. The next step in the plan was to secure continuance in office, notwithstanding Article 45, by a new popular election, for it was thought that the outspoken will of the people would have more force than a paragraph on paper. For this purpose the president caused a bill to be brought forward for the restoration of universal suffrage, which had been somewhat limited by a law of May 31st, 1850. The National Assembly rejected the bill, and, in expectation of an approaching struggle, sought to take from the hands of the minister of war the disposition of the armed forces. But this measure fell through, owing to the opposition of *la Montagne* (the extreme party), which was exasperated by the limitation of the suffrage, and so the National Assembly was left a defenceless prey for the next energetic *coup-de-main*. There were not wanting sagacious and bold men who gave good counsel —not to wait and let themselves be sent to Vincennes by the prince president, but to seize him in his palace, the Elysée Bourbon, and

secure him in Vincennes behind bolts and bars. But it required more courage and military strength to carry this out than the Orleanist party possessed, and so there was only the other alternative left.

Only a few persons were admitted into the secret—St. Arnaud, minister of war; Count Morny, a delegate to the Assembly and a natural brother of Napoleon (son of ex-queen Hortense and the imperial adjutant, Count Flahaut); Maupas, prefect of police; and, as far as was necessary, General Magnan, commander of the first military division. Napoleon had perfected the whole plan with a quondam non-commissioned officer, Persigny, who in Strasburg and Boulogne had already shown himself his most resolute adherent. December 2d, 1851, the anniversary of the coronation of Napoleon I. and of the battle of Austerlitz, was chosen for the *coup-d'état*. On the previous evening there was a brilliant gathering in the Elysée. The president was very cheerful, and on taking leave asked his cousin, the Princess Mathilde (daughter of the ex-king Jerome, and divorced wife of the Russian Count Demidoff), for a friendly token, in case they should not meet again. Morny is said to have shown far more courage and determination than Napoleon in the matter of the *coup-d'état*, and to have been, in fact, the leading spirit.

After the company had separated at midnight the prefect of police, under pretext of a Social-democratic conspiracy, arrested about 100 persons, members of the National Assembly, chiefs of the secret societies, and popular leaders from the faubourgs. Among those apprehended were generals Changarnier, Cavaignac, Lamoricière, and Bedeau, as well as Colonel Charras, Thiers, and Lagrange. Simultaneously the most important points in the city were occupied by troops, and several decrees were posted. These informed the people of the dissolution of the council of state and the National Assembly, announcing that the latter had come to be a mere nest of conspirators, and that it was forging weapons for a civil war. The decrees also announced the restoration of universal suffrage, and the suspension of the state of siege over Paris and ten neighboring departments, and summoned primary assemblies of the French people to vote on the principles of the new constitution. These principles were to be a presidential term of ten years, exclusive dependence of the ministers on the head of the state, the elaboration of legislative measures by the council of

state, and the establishment of a senate and a legislative body. It was a faithful copy of the consular constitution of 1799.

On the morning of December 2d the Parisians read these decrees, signed by Morny, as minister of the interior, and learned that a new government had been set up overnight, and that they were now nearer the empire than the republic. The general impression was more one of astonishment than indignation, but with a great part of the delegates to the National Assembly the latter feeling naturally predominated. As the place where they held their regular sittings was guarded by troops, about 200 of them assembled in the *mairie* of the tenth district, deposed the president, declared that the executive power had passed over to the National Assembly, and named General Oudinot commander of the military force in Paris. They were soon enabled to perceive how ineffective their decrees were. The police ordered them to disperse, and on their declaration that they would yield only to force they were seized and carried off in the wagons of the galley prisoners to various jails and forts. All newspapers were subjected to censorship, and several were totally suppressed. The barricaders of December 3d and 4th were mercilessly mowed down by a force, of 80,000 soldiers, and the casemates of the Parisian forts were filled with several hundred prisoners. Most of these, by virtue of a "general measure of safety," were transported to Cayenne or Algeria. Of the delegates arrested on the 2d of December the majority were set free, but about eighty of them—among whom were Thiers, Victor Hugo, Changarnier, Cavaignac, Lamoricière, and Bedeau—were banished from the country. How the country took the *coup-d'état* was shown by the *plébiscite* of December 20th and 21st, when seven and a half million votes were cast in favor of prolonging the president's term to ten years, and 650,000 against it. Louis Napoleon now left the Elysée Bourbon and took up his quarters in the Tuileries. January 14th he promulgated the new constitution, and in a decree of January 22d he announced the confiscation of all those possessions of the Orleans family which Louis Philippe, on ascending the throne, had made over to his children, instead of uniting them, according to ancient custom, with the public domain. Even Morny disapproved of this measure, and laid down his office as minister of the interior, to be succeeded by Persigny. On March 29th the senate and the legislative body, to which

scarcely any but Bonapartists had been elected, were opened, and the *coup-d'état* was justified by the necessity of a "rescuing act." The sole activity of the senate consisted in the increase of the salary of the prince president to twelve million francs. The legislative body had to regulate the budget, and accepted with due submissiveness the propositions of the government. In order to win over the working-classes, eighty million francs were appropriated for public works; and in the year 1852 began the execution of those magnificent works which were intended to make Paris the finest city in the world, to give the working-classes a rich harvest, and to lessen the possibility of barricade fights.

On a new tour through France Napoleon met with an enthusiastic reception everywhere, and was openly invited, especially among the country people, to go one step farther. "Vive l'Empereur!" was a cry frequently heard, and one for which he had ardently longed. He caused it to appear as though he were not striving after this new dignity, but would not refuse to take it, if such were France's earnest wish. But there was one serious difficulty—that at home, and still more abroad, no one could think of the empire without war and conquests. To allay these qualms Napoleon said at a banquet at Bordeaux: "France seems to wish to return to the empire. Many think that the empire is war. No, gentlemen, the empire is peace." The general councils again received a hint to send in to the senate petitions for the proclamation of the empire. A few *maires* were impatient enough, without waiting for anything further, to proclaim the empire in their districts on their own responsibility. The senate, which was called together November 4th, accepted the proposed change of constitution and voted the restoration of the empire on the 7th. The people confirmed this *senatus consultum* November 21st and 22d with 7,800,000 votes against 253,000, and on December 2d, 1852, the anniversary of the *coup-d'état*, Napoleon III. was proclaimed "Emperor of the French by the grace of God and the will of the people." The foreign powers, who had welcomed the *coup-d'état* as a safeguard against the revolution, were not so well pleased with the new empire; but, their wishes to the contrary notwithstanding, there was nothing for them to do but to recognize it. The three Eastern powers delayed the longest; and, as in the case of Louis Philippe, so now in the case of Napoleon, Czar Nicholas could not prevail upon himself to give him the customary title of

"brother," and so named him his "good friend." After the example of his uncle on occasion of his second marriage, the *parvenu* emperor looked about him for a bride from one of the ancient princely houses; but the Eastern powers succeeded in thwarting his suit for Princess Charlotte of Vasa. Thereupon he married (January 30th, 1853) the beautiful Spaniard, Eugenie Montijo, Duchess of Teba; and on the 16th of March, 1856, she bore him an heir, Prince Napoleon Eugene.

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§ 16.

ITALY.

THE revolution of 1831, which affected the States of the Church, Modena, and Parma, had been suppressed, like the still earlier rebellions in Naples and Piedmont, by Austrian intervention. If revolution had fair play in Italy, it was sure of the victory. It was only foreign power for which it was not yet a match. Hence, all the hatred of the Italians was directed against foreign rule, as the only obstacle to the freedom and unity of the peninsula. As in the times of Barbarossa and his grandson, so also in the forties the watchword was: "Death to the Germans!"—by which the Austrians were now meant. The secret societies and the exiles in communication with them—especially Joseph Mazzini, who issued his commands from London—took care that the national spirit should not be buried beneath material interests, but should remain ever wakeful.

Singularly, the first encouragement came from the very quarter in which formerly nothing but a fondness for Chinese methods had been experienced. Pope Gregory XVI., a man of the olden time, who thought of nothing beyond spiritual rule and Austrian bayonets, had died June 1st, 1846, and been succeeded by the fifty-four-year-old Cardinal Count Mastai Ferretti, who took the name Pius IX. If the pious world which visited him was charmed by the amiability and clemency of its new head, the cardinals were dismayed at the reforms which this new head would fain introduce in the States of the Church and in all Italy. He published an amnesty for all political offences; permitted the

exiles to return with impunity; allowed the Press freer scope; threw open the highest civil offices to laymen; summoned from the notables of the provinces a council of state, which was to propose reforms; bestowed a liberal municipal constitution on the city of Rome; and endeavored to bring about an Italian confederation, in which all Italian states should take part—Rome being the federal city in which they were to consult regarding peace and war, customs' duties, commercial treaties, and other common matters. After the French revolution of 1848 he granted a constitution. There was a first chamber, to be named by the Pope, and a second chamber, to be elected by the people, while the irresponsible college of cardinals formed a sort of privy council. A new era appeared to be dawning. The old-world capital, Rome, once the mistress of the nations, still the mistress of all Roman Catholic hearts, was to become the central point of Italy, to break the way for the century, to raise the national banner, and unite in one irresistible whole the scattered strength of Young Italy. It was as though the Pope himself were become a *Carbonaro*. Before the February revolution drove European monarchs into the liberal camp for the rescue of their thrones, all Rome was already full of the new reformer, full of *vivas* for *Pio Nono*, full of hopes of final liberty. In Milan and Modena a *viva* to the Pope was looked on as political heresy, as a revolutionary cry—something which had not happened for centuries.

But when the flames of war broke out in the north, and the fate of Italy was about to be decided between Sardinia and Austria on the old battle-fields of Lombardy, the Romans demanded from the Pope a declaration of war against Austria, and the despatch of Roman troops to join Charles Albert's army. Pius rejected their demands as unsuited to his papal office, and so broke with the men of the extreme party, who, just amnestied and recalled by him, now wished to lord it over him. In this time of agitation Pius thought that in Count Pellegrino Rossi of Carrara, who had been Louis Philippe's ambassador in Rome, he had found the right man to carry out a policy of moderate liberalism, and on the 17th of September, 1848, he set him at the head of a new ministry. The anarchists, who saw their only chance in Rome, as in Paris, in general subversion, could not forgive Rossi for grasping the reins with a firm hand, for endeavoring to establish law and order, and for being intellectually far superior

to all the babblers and demagogues of the capital. And he had against him not merely the radical party, but also the extreme hierarchical party. November 15th, notwithstanding all warnings, he drove to the Chambers, in order to open them after their prorogation with a speech. In this speech he was about to promise abolition of the rule of the cardinals and introduction of a lay government, and to insist upon Italy's independence and unity. He had scarcely alighted from his carriage when some miscreant in the mob thrust a dagger into his neck, and he sunk to the earth without a sound. The next day an armed crowd appeared before the Quirinal and attacked the guard, which consisted of Swiss mercenaries, some of the bullets flying into the Pope's antechamber. He had to accept a radical ministry and dismiss the Swiss troops. Defenceless, as he now was, abandoned to the coercion of the party of subversion—to which Prince Charles of Canino, a son of Lucien Bonaparte, belonged—Pius fled in disguise from Rome to Gaeta, November 24th, and sought shelter with the King of Naples.

Mazzini and his party had free scope. A constitutional convention was summoned, which declared the temporal power of the Pope abolished (February 5th, 1849), and Rome a republic. To them attached itself Tuscany. Grand-duke Leopold II. had granted a constitution, February 17th, 1848, but, nevertheless, the republican-minded ministry of Guerrazzi compelled him to join the Pope at Gaeta, February 21st, 1849. The republic was then proclaimed in Tuscany, and union with Rome resolved upon. But there things did not go so smoothly after the flight of the Pope as was expected, for he had applied to the Roman Catholic powers for their assistance, and Louis Napoleon, president of the French republic, had more than one reason for wishing to send troops against the Roman republic. The inconsistency of causing one republic to suppress another occasioned him no conscientious scruples. For him the essential point was that, by supporting the papacy, he would win over the French clergy, whose influence on the people he hoped to use for the furtherance of his own plans. Further, it would give him prestige if, after Louis Philippe's government had been so long accused of disgraceful cringing and servility toward foreign powers, he could cause French banners to wave once more in foreign capitals, and could give the Austrian hegemony in Italy check. Accordingly, Marshal Oudi-

not was despatched with 8000 men. He landed in Civita Vecchia, April 26th, 1849, and appeared before the walls of Rome on the 30th, expecting to take the city without any trouble. But there, after the defeat of the Sardinian army, a crowd of desperate men from all the countries of Europe had assembled. Joseph Garibaldi, of Nice, the daring leader of volunteers, had returned to Italy after long years of battle in the service of the South American republics. At Mazzini's invitation he set himself at the head of Rome's defenders, and they received the marshal with such a well-directed fire that, after a fight of several hours, he had to retreat to Civita Vecchia with a loss of 700 men. A few days later the Neapolitan army, which was to attack the rebels from the south, was defeated at Velletri; and the Spanish troops, the third in the league against the red republic, prudently avoided a battle. But Oudinot received considerable re-enforcements, and on June 3d he advanced against Rome for the second time, with 35,000 men, while the force in the city consisted of about 19,000, mostly volunteers and national guards. In spite of the bravery of Garibaldi and the volunteers, into whom he breathed his spirit, Rome had to capitulate, after a long and bloody struggle, owing to the superiority of the French artillery. On the 4th of July Oudinot entered the silent capital. Garibaldi, Mazzini, and their followers fled, and the foreign rule, against which the rebellion had been undertaken, was re-established in another form. Pius, for whose nerves the Roman atmosphere was still too strong, did not return until the 4th of April, 1850. His ardor for reform was cooled. He, as little as the King of Naples, could be prevailed on to restore the constitution; and although he did grant laymen some privileges with regard to the council of state and municipal administration, all higher offices and the whole government machine again fell into the hands of the cardinals. Their peacock-like display of their power seemed all the stranger the more evident their impotence became. In the Legations they had to protect themselves by Austrian bayonets, and in Rome and Civita Vecchia by French. This lasted in the Legations until 1859, and in Rome and Civita Vecchia until 1866 and 1870.

Simultaneously with Rome the south of Italy had entered into the movement so characteristic of the year 1848. The scenes of 1820 and 1821 were repeated. Sicily once more sought to raise herself from the position of a province to that of an independent

kingdom. On the 12th of January the revolt broke out in Palermo. The city was bombarded from the citadel, but finally the Neapolitan garrison, beset on every side, had to return to Naples on French and English ships of war. King Ferdinand II. believed that he could allay the excitement in no other way than by promising the introduction of a constitution after the French pattern of 1830. This constitution was sworn to on the 24th of February, the day of the revolution in Paris, and a liberal ministry was appointed. But, as it created a united parliament for Naples and Sicily, the Sicilian provisional government, with the venerable Rear-admiral Ruggiero Settimo at its head, refused to accept it, and demanded the Sicilian constitution of 1812 and a separate Sicilian parliament. After the February revolution in Paris, King Ferdinand in his alarm consented to their demands, summoned a Sicilian parliament, and named Settimo governor-general of Sicily. But the Sicilians, likewise affected by the Parisian revolution, now went still farther, and required that the union between Naples and Sicily should be a mere personal one, and that in addition to its own parliament Sicily should have its own ministry, separate finances, and a separate army. These demands seemed to Ferdinand excessive, and he rejected them, acting therein in harmony with the Neapolitans. Thereupon the Sicilian parliament declared that the king had forfeited the Sicilian crown, and voted the perpetual exclusion of the Bourbon dynasty. On the 11th of July they chose the Duke of Genoa, son of Charles Albert, King of Sicily. But Charles Albert, who was scarcely able to save his own throne in his struggle with the Austrians, did not dare to accept a second one for his family; and England, which favored the separation, went no farther in its selfish sympathy for the island than pious wishes and unctuous speeches. If Sicily would be free, she must win freedom with her own arm.

In Naples itself monarchy seemed to be rapidly rolling down an inclined plane. April 7th Ferdinand was obliged to declare war on Austria, and send 13,000 Neapolitans, under the old revolutionist William Pepe, to join Charles Albert's army in upper Italy. The radicals, pointing to Paris, already spoke of a constitutional assembly, and of setting up a republic. At the opening of the Chambers, May 15th, barricades were erected in the streets of Naples. Ferdinand ordered his Swiss troops to charge, and the revolt was suppressed in an hour. The city was given over

to the revenge of the soldiers and the robbery of the lazzaroni. The national guard was at once disarmed, the Chambers dissolved, a new ministry formed after the king's liking, and the Neapolitan contingent recalled from upper Italy. Only about 1500 men refused obedience, and marched on to Venice with Pepe to assist in its defence; more than 11,000 returned home, and were sadly missed by Charles Albert on the battle-fields of Lombardy. The democracy in Naples had been annihilated, and the Bourbon Ferdinand was the first of the monarchs to master the revolution. But the subjugation of seceded Sicily still remained to be achieved.

The Austrians had just driven Charles Albert back across the Ticino, and reoccupied Lombardy, when King Ferdinand sent a fleet, with 8000 land troops, to Sicily, under General Filangieri, Prince of Satriano. The city of Messina was bombarded for several days without intermission from the fleet and the citadel, which was in the hands of the Neapolitans, and, after being partially reduced to a heap of ruins, was carried by assault and plundered, on the 7th of September, 1848. The fugitives found shelter on the French and English fleets, the admirals of which attempted mediation. Ferdinand consented to offer a separate parliament and administration, as well as a pretty inclusive amnesty, but refused to consent to a special ministry for war and foreign affairs. The Sicilians, not content with this, began the war anew simultaneously with Charles Albert's second campaign. Mieroslawski, a Pole, was made commander-in-chief. He threw himself into Catania, and Filangieri attacked him there. The Neapolitans were repulsed; but when the Swiss troops came up the city was carried by storm, April 6th, 1849. Filangieri next marched against Palermo. The government disbanded, and fled to Malta. The populace would not hear of capitulation; but the artillery fire of army and fleet brought them to terms, and Filangieri entered Palermo on the 17th of May. He ordered a general disarmament, and established an oppressive military rule over the whole island; and there was no more talk of parliament and constitution.

All these struggles in central and southern Italy stood in close connection with the events of 1848 and 1849 in upper Italy. If the cast of the dice were favorable—if the national cause triumphed there—both Pius and Ferdinand would have to tread more popular paths; but if the fates ordained disaster on the

Po, then the doom of the revolutions in the south was sealed. In the north the struggle was to shake off the Austrian yoke. Austria had not yet succeeded in reconciling Italian hearts, nor won over even the smallest party. The reforms of Pope Pius IX. in 1847 revived the national wishes and aspirations once more. Demands similar to those of Sicily were now made on Austria—a vice-kingdom, with separate parliament, Italian ministers, and only Italian troops. The imperial state was at that time still in a condition in which it could venture to refuse these demands. In order to diminish the Austrian revenues, the Italians refrained from tobacco and lotteries, in both of which the state had a monopoly. During the month of January, 1848, there was constant friction between the citizens and the military in Milan and the university cities of Pavia and Padua. Sicily was in flames—Ferdinand had already been compelled to grant Naples a constitution—Tuscany and Rome had been drawn into the stream, and Charles Albert had become a convert (February 8th) to a constitutional system; but Austria still believed that she could best hold political passions in Lombardy in check by means of martial law (February 22d, 1848). The bow was stretched to the breaking-point. Two days later Paris rose. On March 13th even good-natured Vienna was in rebellion; and then no chain was strong enough to hold the insurrection down. March 18th, Milan rose. All classes took part in the fight; and the eighty-two-year-old field-marshal Count Joseph Radetzky, a glory-crowned veteran of the Napoleonic wars, was obliged, after a street fight of two days, to draw his troops out of the city, call up as quickly as possible the garrisons of the neighboring cities, and take up his position in the famous Quadrilateral, between Peschiera, Verona, Legnago, and Mantua. March 22d, Venice, where Count Zichy commanded, was lost for the Austrians. Manin, a lawyer, took his place at the head of a provisional government in the city of lagoons, and other cities followed the lead of Venice. The little duchies of Modena and Parma could hold out no longer; Dukes Francis and Charles fled to Austria, and provisional governments sprung up behind them. Like Naples, the duchies and Tuscany also sent their troops across the Po to help the Sardinians in the decisive struggle.

The hopes of all Italy were centred on Sardinia and its king. The character of the Sardinian people had in it something sturdy

and soldierly. There was also considerable culture among them. Gioberti, philosopher and enemy of the Jesuits, and the historian Cæsar Balbo had their home in Sardinia; and literary merit, uniting itself to patriotism, exercised great influence. The army was in good fighting trim. Former rulers had sought to escape from the Austrian guardianship; but Charles Albert, whose succession Metternich had disputed, had additional reasons for disliking that guardianship. The house of Savoy, from which the king was descended, like the house of Hohenzollern, is instinctively led, by the history of centuries, to extend its power, whether by peaceful or by warlike means; and so Charles Albert, called to the aid of Lombardy, entered Milan to win for himself the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom and the hegemony in Italy. He presented himself as the liberator of the peninsula, but it was not a part for which he was qualified by his antecedents. One who, after being a *Carbonaro*, had fought under the Duke of Angoulême against the Spanish revolution, and surrendered himself to the most bigoted absolutism, was better suited for the camp of the Austrians than for the Italian tricolor. His hatred against Austria was not national, but dynastic. He was a brave soldier, but a poor captain, and so full of distrust and jealousy of the good commanders of his own country that he preferred to set doubtful strangers at the head of the army rather than tried and trusty countrymen. His opponent, Radetzky, was old, but his spirit was still young and fresh. He had a practised eye, abundant energy and resolution, skilled generals, and a well-disciplined army. The re-enforcements which Naples and the duchies brought to the Sardinian army were not worth much. The Neapolitans were early recalled; the duchies sent untrained troops; and even Milan, with all its speeches and demonstrations, gathered scarcely 8000 men.

Radetzky received re-enforcements from Austria, and on the 6th of May repelled the attack of the Sardinian king south-west of Verona. May 29th, he carried the intrenchments at Curtatone; but as the Sardinians were victorious at Goito and took Peschiera, while Garibaldi with his Alpine rangers threatened the Austrian rear, he had to desist from further advances, and limit his operations to the recapture of Vicenza and the other cities of the Venetian main-land. In the mean time the Austrian court, chiefly at the instigation of the British embassy, had opened negotiations with the Lombards, and offered them their indepen-

dence on condition of their assuming a considerable share of the public debt, and concluding a favorable commercial treaty with Austria. But, as the Lombards felt sure of acquiring their freedom more cheaply, they did not accept the proposition. Radetzky was now in a position to assume an active offensive. He won a brilliant victory at Custozza, July 25th. The Sardinians attempted to make a stand at Goito and again at Volta, but were driven back, and Radetzky advanced on Milan. Charles Albert had to evacuate the city in which, again accused of treason, he barely escaped the popular rage, and Radetzky, so recently expelled, had the satisfaction of receiving a municipal deputation beseeching him to enter the city with all speed, and put a check on the fury of the unchained populace. He entered Milan, and on August 9th concluded an armistice with Charles Albert, who had to withdraw his troops from Lombardy and the duchies.

This was so great a humiliation for the king who had called forth and fostered such extravagant hopes, that he gladly yielded to the pressure of the radical party in Turin, and tried once more the chance of war. He intrusted the chief command to the Polish general Chrzanowski, who had fought with distinction under Napoleon, and also in 1831 in Poland, but who proved to be nothing more than a capable division commander. He also intrusted General Ramorino, who was a favorite among the radicals, with a command. March 20th, 1849, he put an end to the armistice, with the intention of marching into Lombardy, the inhabitants of which had given him much valuable information regarding their enthusiasm for freedom and the poor condition of the Austrian army. But the disillusion speedily followed. Radetzky crossed the Ticino, and in a four days' campaign on Sardinian soil defeated the foe so completely — March 21st at Mortara, and March 23d at Novara—that there could be no more thought of a renewal of the struggle. The Genoese, Ramorino, who failed to occupy the post assigned him on the river Po, thereby facilitating the advance of the Austrians, was court-martialed. The court condemned him to death, without deciding whether the accusation of treason was well grounded or not, and he was shot at Turin, May 22d. Charles Albert, who had vainly sought death upon the battle-field, was weary of his throne and his life. In the night of March 23d, at Novara, he laid down the crown and declared his eldest son king of Sardinia, under the

title of Victor Emmanuel II. He hoped that the latter would obtain a more favorable peace from the Austrians than he himself, who was so hated by them, could hope to do. Then, saying farewell to his wife by letter, attended by but two servants, he travelled through France and Spain to Portugal. He died at Oporto, July 26th, 1849, of repeated strokes of apoplexy. The new king had a meeting with Radetzky at a farm-house near Novara, March 24th, and concluded an armistice with him. The negotiations for peace, which were carried on in Milan, dragged, owing to the high demands of Austria, and it was not until August 6th that they were brought to a conclusion, Austria having somewhat moderated her claims through the representations of France and England. Sardinia retained its boundaries intact, and paid seventy-five million lire as indemnity.

The false report of a Sardinian victory at Novara had caused the population of Brescia to fall upon the Austrian garrison and drive them into the citadel. General Haynau hastened thither with 4000 men, well provided with artillery. The city was bombarded, and on the 1st of April it was reoccupied, after a fearful street fight, in which even women took part; but Haynau stained his name by inhuman cruelties, especially toward the gentler sex. Venice was not able to hold out much longer. It had at first attached itself to Sardinia, but after the defeat of the Sardinians the republic was proclaimed. Without the city, in Haynau's camp, swamp fever raged; within, hunger and cholera. On the news of the capitulation of Hungary, August 22d, it surrendered, and the heads of the revolution, Manin and Pepe, went into exile.

All Italy was again brought under its old masters. The expelled princes returned; the Austrians occupied Bologna and Ancona, and, owing to the valor of their armies and the skill of their generals, their dominion seemed invincible. The storm that had raged over the whole peninsula had subsided, and the Italian sun smiled once more; but Italian hatred of foreign rule grew ever darker and darker. They thought that they now knew the country which under more favorable constellations would renew the fight with Austria. Notwithstanding Custozza and Novara, the Savoyard cross continued to be the hope of Italy.

§ 17.

REVOLUTIONS IN GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND PRUSSIA.

In no country was so much inflammable material heaped up as in Germany. The intelligence and patriotism to be found there were wholly out of proportion to the amount of freedom and power which the cabinets allowed the people, and hence they everywhere met with opposition. Every government measure was subjected to an unsparing criticism. In the forties a few young philosophers greatly distinguished themselves in that field. The political songs from the pens of various talented poets, which appeared at that time, also had no small effect in kindling and maintaining the patriotic fire. In 1847 every one became convinced that the existing state of affairs would not continue, and that an explosion must shortly take place. Even such popular princes as William of Würtemberg were, in that year of scarcity, subjected to personal insult—in his case on occasion of a bread-riot. Men felt themselves too much tied down; they had outgrown their guardians, and were confident of their ability to raise the nation to a higher position at home and abroad than those who had hitherto occupied the green chairs at Frankfort either could do or would do. The disgraceful conduct of the Diet, and the objectionable character of Metternich's system, had never been so keenly felt, and so fearlessly denounced, as just at that time. Germans were tired of being constantly admired or ridiculed in English papers as the "nation of thinkers." A people which had had a not inglorious history reaching over centuries, whose scattered and discordant parts needed merely to be united under a single will to enable it to assume the first place in Europe—it longed to escape from the pettiness and powerlessness of a system of small states. The German people wished to turn a confederation of states into a federal state, place a strong central government at its head, and give that the firm support of a national parliament. The Diet, which had generally shown itself nothing more than a league of police directors, was regarded as

an antiquated institution that would be overturned by the next squall. The most modest wishes contemplated nothing less than the supplementing of the Diet, as the representative of the princes, by a parliament chosen by the people, as the representative of the people.

The speedy conclusion and the consequences of the *Sonderbund* war, by which Switzerland became a strongly concentrated commonwealth resting on popular sovereignty, met with the most hearty favor in Germany. This was in miniature what they would like to carry out at home on a larger scale. On the top of this came the excitement regarding Schleswig-Holstein, which by the open letter of King Christian VIII., July 8th, 1846, was made a German "martyr-child." Arrogant little Denmark must not be allowed to perpetrate so flagrant a breach of justice; new pieces must not be broken from the body of Germany; and gallant countrymen, whose hearts beat longingly for return to the paternal home, must no longer be abandoned to the abuse of a brutal sailor-folk. The sympathy for Schleswig-Holstein's rights and wishes penetrated all classes of the German people, so that scarcely a city could be found in which "*Schleswig-Holstein, stammverwandt*" (Schleswig-Holstein, kith and kin) was not sung with great fervor.

Perhaps they would have been content with singing for a good while to come, if the February revolution had not given an outward impulse to an energetic carrying out of all that was considered as demanded by the German people. The grand-duchy of Baden, whose chamber was an ornament to all Germany, was most exposed to the influences of the revolution, not alone through its proximity to France, but still more through the political development and tendencies of the lively and susceptible race which inhabits it. In September, 1847, Hecker, a lawyer, and Struve, a journalist, had spoken at a meeting at Offenburg in behalf of self-government by the people, a general armament, and a labor-guarantee on the part of the state, thus showing themselves comrades in point of doctrine of the social democrats of Paris. In October a meeting at Heppenheim discussed popular representation in the Diet. February 12th, 1848, in the Baden Chamber, Bassermann, of Mannheim, brought in a bill to summon a German parliament, in order to fill up the deep gulf that had been formed between princes and people by means of the Diet.

The princes were unpleasantly astonished at the course of events in Paris. But they thought that they could remedy the evil in their usual manner with a few innocent reforms—by putting on a little sticking-plaster. The courts of Berlin and Vienna decided to hold a congress of princes at Dresden, March 15th, and discuss the welfare of Germany, the meaning of which was ambiguous. But the inexorable logic of events saved diplomacy the trouble. In Baden a popular meeting at Mannheim, followed by an armed procession to Carlsruhe, February 27th, called upon the government to establish freedom of the Press and trial by jury, to arm the people, and to endeavor to bring about the establishment of a German parliament. The government agreed to everything. The other German governments were also unable to resist the pressure. Similar demands were everywhere made and granted, and the former heads of the opposition were summoned into the ministries—Römer in Würtemberg, Wipperman in Electoral Hesse, Stüve von Osnabrück in Hanover, and Henry von Gagern in Hesse-Darmstadt. In Bavaria there was even a change of monarchs. King Louis, who, once an enthusiastic friend of the Greeks and an opponent of Metternich's policy, had afterward become a tool of the ultramontane party, and occasioned much indignation by his knee-bowing edict, had had his old head completely turned by an adventurous *danseuse*, Lola Montez. In February, 1847, he made her countess of Landsfeld, and her influence in the government almost challenges comparison with that of the Marchioness de Pompadour or Countess Dubarry under Louis XV. This brought him into conflict with his ultramontane minister Abel, and led to the formation of the so-called "Lola ministry." But there was such indignation over this government of mistresses in the chamber, and among the students and people in general, that he was obliged to banish the countess from Bavaria; and, March 20th, 1848, deprived of respect and confidence, he had to abdicate in favor of his eldest son, Maximilian II. (1848–'64).

In south-western Germany the liberal party set itself at the head of the movement, as the liberal party in Paris had done during the July revolution of 1830. The Heidelberg assembly of March 5th, consisting of the former opposition leaders in the various Chambers, issued a call to the German nation, and chose a commission of seven men, who were to make propositions with

regard to a permanent parliament and to summon a preliminary parliament at Frankfort. This preliminary parliament assembled in St. Paul's church, March 31st, with Mittermaier, a Heidelberg professor, as presiding officer. The majority, consisting of constitutional monarchists, resolved that an assembly chosen by direct vote of the people, the suffrage to be independent of property, rank, or religious belief, should meet in the month of May, with full and sovereign power to frame a constitution for all Germany, and that a committee of fifty men should watch over the exact fulfilment of these resolutions on the part of the governments. These measures did not satisfy the radical party, whose leaders were Hecker and Struve. As their proposition to set up a sovereign assembly, and republicanize Germany, was rejected, they left Frankfort, and held in the highlands of Baden popular meetings at which they demanded the proclamation of the republic. A Hesse-Darmstadt corps under Frederic von Gagern, who had formerly been in the Dutch service, was sent to disperse them. An engagement took place at Kandern, in which Gagern was shot, but Hecker and his followers were put to flight. The German laborers from France, who entered Baden under the lead of the poet Herwegh, were scattered by the Würtemberg troops at Doffenbach, and the republican party was suppressed for the time being. The disturbances in Odenwald, and in the Main and Tauber districts, once the home of the peasant war, were of a different description. There the country people rose against the landed proprietors, destroyed the archives, with the odious tithe and rental books, and demolished a few castles.

The Diet, which in the mean time continued its illusory existence, thought to extricate itself from the present difficulties by a few concessions. It adopted the arms and the formerly repudiated colors of the empire—the eagle, and the black, red, and gold—and invited the governments to send confidential delegates to undertake, along with its members, a revision of the constitution of the confederation. One delegate was to be sent for each one of the seventeen votes of the existing Diet. These confidential delegates, among them the poet Uhland, from Würtemberg, began their work on the 30th of March.

The elections for the National Assembly stirred to their innermost fibres the German people, dreaming of the restoration of their former greatness. May 18th about 320 delegates assem-

bled in the Imperial Hall, in the Römer (the *Rathhaus*), at Frankfort, marched in solemn procession to St. Paul's church, and declared the National Assembly organized. Henry von Gagern, an imposing personage, was chosen president on the following day. Never has a political assembly contained a greater number of intellectual and scholarly men—men of character and capable of self-sacrifice; but it certainly was not the forte of these numerous professors and jurists to conduct practical politics. The moderate party was decidedly in the majority; neither the republicans nor the reactionists had much strength at their disposal. The first questions, concerning the validity of the acts of the National Assembly, and the institution of a central executive, were decided in favor of popular sovereignty. It was decided that such provisions of individual constitutions as might be in conflict with the general constitution about to be adopted were invalid, and that a provisional central executive should be created in the place of the Diet, and created, not by the National Assembly in concert with the princes, but by the National Assembly alone. June 27th, following out the bold conception of its president, the assembly decided to appoint an irresponsible administrator, with a responsible ministry; and June 29th, Archduke John of Austria was chosed Administrator of Germany by 436 votes out of 546. He made his entry into Frankfort July 11th, and entered upon his office on the following day. The hour of the Diet had struck, apparently for the last time. It resigned its authority into the hands of the Administrator, and after an existence of thirty-two years left the stage unmourned.

Archduke John was a popular prince, who found more pleasure in the mountain air of Tyrol and Styria than in the perfumed atmosphere of the Vienna court. But, as a novice sixty-six years of age, he was not equal to the task of governing, and as a thorough Austrian he lacked a heart for all Germany. The main question for him and for the National Assembly was, what force they could apply in case the individual governments refused obedience to the decrees issued in the name of the National Assembly. This was the Achilles's heel of the German revolution. To begin with, they must be clear on this point—in what way the National Assembly could enforce the pronounced will of the people against the governments of the thirty-five sovereign states of the confederation, thirty-one of which had a mo-

narchical form of government, two of them being great powers. How was it possible to accustom the great military states, Austria and Prussia, to the commands of Frankfort? And if they did not obey, what was to be expected of the secondary and smaller states, which were accustomed to seek and find help in Vienna and Berlin? Nothing was more certain than that all these princes would put up with the National Assembly not one hour longer than the danger on their own hearths compelled them to. Orders were issued by the federal minister of war that all the troops of the Confederation should swear allegiance to the federal administrator on the 6th of August; but Prussia and Austria, with the exception of the Vienna garrison, paid no attention to these orders; Ernest Augustus, in Hanover, successfully set his hard head against them, and only the lesser states obeyed. And even where this allegiance was recognized, it was hardly to be expected that in old monarchical states the officers would pay more heed to the commands of the distant central government than to their own princes and military chiefs. There certainly was no other way out of the difficulty than by the formation of a parliamentary army, such as the English revolution created and led to victory in the seventeenth century. The National Assembly must be prepared to strike to the ground the first refractory government, and venture upon a life or death struggle for the maintenance of its authority. With mere resolutions and hypotheses, with long speeches and sentimentalities, no real step could be made in advance. Either it must act boldly, or it must soon become the defenceless victim of those who would. Instead of meeting these dangers resolutely, and in a common-sense way, the Assembly left matters to go as they would, outside of Frankfort. One humiliation was submitted to after another, while the Assembly, busying itself for months with a theoretical question, as if it were a juristic faculty, entered into a detailed consideration of the fundamental rights of the German people.

The Schleswig-Holstein question, which had just entered upon a new phase of its existence, was the first matter of any importance to manifest the disagreement between the central administration and the separate governments; and it opened, as well, a dangerous gulf in the Assembly itself. The question at issue was one of succession. According to Danish law, on the extinc-

tion of the male line of the Oldenburg house the succession would pass to the female line; but according to Schleswig-Holstein law the succession was confined to males. As the son and brother of Christian VIII. were childless, the time was approaching when Denmark must lose both duchies, with their desirable coast line and the harbor of Kiel, and be confined to her own restricted territory. In Denmark the succession would fall to the king's sister, who was married to Prince William of Hesse, and her son Frederic; in Schleswig-Holstein it would fall to Duke Christian Augustus of Augustenburg. The pride of the Danes, long accustomed to misuse and impoverish the duchies, protested against the diminution of the kingdom, and in 1846 the king issued a manifesto extending the Danish law of succession to Schleswig-Holstein, and affirming their union with Denmark. To sweeten this bitter pill, King Frederic VII., who succeeded his father on the throne, January 20th, 1848, published a liberal constitution for all parts of his realm. But the duchies protested against a common constitution for all the states, and insisted upon their rights—separate succession, separate constitution, and indivisibility. The February revolution hastened the course of events. The Estates of the duchies established a provisional government, applied at Frankfort for the admission of Schleswig into the German confederation, and besought armed assistance both there and at Berlin. The preliminary parliament approved the application of Schleswig for admission, and commissioned Prussia, in conjunction with the tenth army corps of the Confederation, to occupy Schleswig and Holstein. On the 21st of April, 1848, General Wrangel crossed the Eider as commander of the forces of the Confederation; and on the 23d, in conjunction with the Schleswig-Holstein troops, he drove the Danes out of the *Danewerk*. On the following day the Danes were defeated at Oeversee by the tenth army corps, and all Schleswig-Holstein was free. Wrangel entered Jutland and imposed a war tax of 3,000,000 thalers (about $2,250,000). He meant to occupy this province until the Danes—who, owing to the inexcusable smallness of the Prussian navy, were in a position unhindered to injure the commerce of the Baltic—had indemnified Prussia for her losses; but Prussia, touched to the quick by the destruction of her commerce, and intimidated by the threatening attitude of Russia, Sweden, and England, recalled her troops, and concluded an armistice at

Malmö, in Sweden, on the 26th of August. All measures of the provisional government were pronounced invalid; a common government for the duchies was to be appointed, one half by Denmark, and the other by the German confederation; the Schleswig troops were to be separated from those of Holstein; and the war was not to be renewed before the 1st of April, 1849 —*i. e.*, not in the winter, a time unfavorable for the Danes.

This treaty was unquestionably no masterpiece on the part of the Prussians. All the advantage was on the side of the conquered Danes, and the incorporation of Schleswig with Denmark was as good as granted. The news of this treaty aroused universal indignation at Frankfort. It was not merely the radicals who urged, if not the final rejection, at least a provisional cessation of the armistice, and the countermanding of the order to retreat; the conservative historian Dahlmann, an old friend and defender of the "forsaken brother-race," was foremost in contending for such action. A bill to that effect, demanded by the honor of Germany, had scarcely been passed by the majority, on the 5th of September, when the moderate party reflected that such action, involving a breach with Prussia, must lead to civil war and revolution, and call into play the wildest passions of the already excited people. In consequence of this the previous vote was rescinded, and the armistice of Malmö accepted by the Assembly, after the most excited debates, September 16th. This gave the radicals a welcome opportunity to appeal to the fists of the lower classes, and imitate the June outbreak of the social democrats in Paris. On the 17th of September a popular gathering was held on the *Pfingstweide*, the democratic associations of the whole surrounding country flocking in to attend it. Under pretence of susceptibility for the national honor genuine thunder-bolts were hurled against both monarchs and National Assembly. The majority in the latter were pronounced traitors to the German nation, and a petition was resolved upon to be presented by the whole mass of the people, on the following day, in St. Paul's church. It was manifestly the aim of the leaders to dissolve the Assembly by force, proclaim a republic, and rule by means of a sovereign assembly. The next morning the crowd attempted to press into the church; but the ministry, informed of the danger, had brought up a few battalions of Austrians and Prussians from Mayence, and occupied all the entrances. A collision ensued; barricades were

erected, but were carried by the troops without much bloodshed. Unwarlike as the rebels showed themselves here, their assault upon two delegates to the National Assembly was blood-thirsty enough. General Auerswald and Prince Lichnowsky, riding on horseback near the city, were followed by a mob. They took refuge in a gardener's house on the *Bornheimer-heide*, but were dragged out and murdered with the most disgraceful atrocities. Thereupon the city was declared in a state of siege, all societies were forbidden, and strong measures were taken for the maintenance of order. The March revolution had passed its season, and reaction was again beginning to bloom. Pointing to the excesses of the red republic, reaction drew moderate men to its side, and then used them as stepping-stones to immoderation. The events on the Danube and the Spree paved the way for this turn of affairs.

Not even Metternich's state could escape a catastrophe. By shutting out foreign political life, by repressing all aspirations after a constitution, and by assiduously cultivating the sensuous nature of the people, this political juggler believed that he could keep Austria in an ideal condition. But the more immature and uneducated the people were, so much the easier was it, when the waves of revolution had once swept in, for new pilots to mislead them; so much the more liable were they to abuse unwonted liberties; so much the wilder and more unrestrained were their passions. Metternich had no thought of concessions; on the contrary, after the February revolutions he was anxious to avoid all appearance of being influenced by fear to make concessions. In the council of state, which conducted a sort of regency for the Emperor Ferdinand, on account of his mental and physical incapability, he emphasized the danger arising from such an interpretation. This council consisted of Archduke Louis, Prince Metternich, and Count Kolowrat. The longer the delay of the government, the greater the number of the petitions and addresses which were presented to it. The Vienna students unceremoniously demanded freedom of the Press, of speech, of teaching and learning, religious freedom, and general representation of the people. The opening of the *Landtag* of lower Austria, on the 13th of March, was the occasion for thousands of men to assemble before the *Landhaus*, where it met. Excited by a speech of Kossuth, the Hungarian popular leader, read to them by a student, they com-

pelled the members of the *Landtag* to go to the palace and represent there the wishes of the people. The haughty answer which the council of state returned to their representations increased the exasperation. Citizens and soldiers trod on one another's heels. One concession after another was wrested from the government —freedom of the Press, arming of the people, summoning of delegates from all the provincial parliaments. Metternich had to lay down office and flee to England, like Louis Philippe. The power now lay in the hands of the Vienna students and the citizen guard. They made the revolution permanent, and by armed demonstrations compelled the retreat of every person and the withdrawal of every measure that displeased them. Kossuth, who entered Vienna on the night of March 15th, was received with music and torches like a conqueror.

The new ministry, anxious to avoid a constitutional convention, published, on the 25th of April, a "fundamental law," which satisfied no one, inasmuch as the voting for representatives was made dependent upon a definite property qualification. Consequently, when the ministers would have disbanded the central committee of students and members of the national guard, which formed a real side-government stronger than the nominal government, they were compelled (May 15th), by a petition presented by 15,000 men, who surrounded the *Hofburg*, not only to permit the committee to continue in existence, but also to summon a constituent *Reichstag*, with but one chamber, the members to be elected on the basis of universal suffrage. These constant tumults, and the fear of still more threatening scenes, induced those about the person of the emperor to effect his flight to Innsbruck, on the 17th of May. This was followed by a brief revulsion of public opinion. The absence of the emperor was quite too severe a blow for the loyal Viennese, and they overwhelmed him with petitions to return to the capital. Instead of at once taking advantage of this more favorable mood by energetic measures, the ministers, after making the emperor's return conditional on the disbanding of the student legion, and publishing the decree disbanding it, let themselves be frightened by a third uprising and new barricades (May 26th) into recalling the decree and withdrawing the regular troops into the barracks. The minister of the interior, Baron von Pillersdorff, intrusted the restoration of order to the very persons who had disturbed it, and consented to the formation of a committee

of safety composed of privy councillors, members of the national guard, and students. This was nothing else than a dictatorship of the people, by which the ministry was set aside; and it had the effect of driving the educated and moderate part of the community away from the uncertain paths of revolution.

To fill up the measure of embarrassments—as though the rebellion in Italy, the craving for independence of the spur-jingling Magyars, and the committee of safety in Vienna were not enough—Prague entered the ranks of the revolution. There the Czechish population manifested hostility toward the German. The Czechs were no longer willing to form a part of Germany; they wished to unite Bohemia, Moravia, and Austrian Silesia into a separate Slavonic kingdom, with a constitution of its own. In order to organize themselves into a powerful party, they summoned a general Slavonic congress at Prague (June 2d), with Palacky as president; set up, in opposition to the servile ministry at Vienna, a provisional government; and commissioned Rieger to frame a Czechish constitution. Here, too, the students engaged in politics on a grand scale. There was no lack of collisions with the Germans and with the troops. In Prince Alfred Windischgrätz (to whom is ascribed the saying, "Humankind begins with the baron") the latter had a resolute, although extremely aristocratic, commander. He flatly refused the request of the Czechish students for a battery and 60,000 cartridges; for it was easy to see that these cartridges would be used against the prince and his soldiers, and that a government of the people would be formed here, as in Vienna, and a Czechish one at that. On the 12th of June there was a bloody encounter, before the palace of the prince, between the Czechs and the soldiers; and the prince's wife, who was listening at a window, was mortally wounded by a bullet. A few cannon-balls, then and on the following day, put an end to the revolt, and made it clear to the Czechs that they had claimed more than they could take. The Slavonic congress was dispersed; and, after some delay, it once more became plain that Austria's military power was not likely to abdicate.

Soon after the constituent *Reichstag* met in Vienna, and was opened by Archduke John, the Administrator of Germany. It was a Babel-like confusion of tongues, from which little in the way of a constitution was likely to result, especially as external relations were constantly furnishing material for the most ex-

cited debates. The return of the emperor, which took place August 12th, at the special request of the *Reichstag*, did little toward allaying the excitement. A bill to abolish all relations of socage and villanage—*i. e.*, to shake off all feudal burdens, as they were shaken off during the French revolution, in the memorable night of August 4th, 1789—was carried, with the proviso that the holders of such rights should receive a moderate indemnity from the state. The *Reichstag* soon found itself in an untenable position between the ministry and the working-men's leagues, and the general desertion of the Slaves reduced it to a rump parliament. An open collision could not long be avoided. The position of affairs became more and more a copy of the working-men's rule in Paris. Business was at a stand-still. The rich families sought more idyllic abodes. The proletariat daily increased in numbers, and its demands rose proportionally. Public works, like the national workshops in Paris, had to be started by the government; and the already consumptive treasury was obliged to pay a fine sum as wages to idlers. The Wessenberg ministry, which followed that of Pillersdorff, at last plucked up courage, made a reduction of five kr. (two and a half cents) in the daily wages, and reduced the refractory laborers to submission by the help of the national guard (August 23d). Then came a new complication. The breach with Hungary assumed such proportions that, on the 6th of October, the Vienna garrison was ordered to march against the Hungarians. A battalion of grenadiers refused obedience. The cavalry received orders to compel them to march; and a fight ensued, in which the grenadiers were supported by the students, the national guard, and the working-men. General Bredy was shot, and several cannon were carried off by the people. Barricades were erected everywhere, and the alarm-bell tolled in St. Stephen's tower. A raging crowd hurried to the ministry of war to look for Minister Latour, whose measures against Hungary were not to the mind of the Vienna democracy. Drawn from his hiding-place, he was dragged into the court-yard, and barbarously murdered by hammer-blows and sabre-cuts, and then, bleeding from forty-three wounds, hung to a gas-lamp. After this the arsenal was stormed, and its rich stores, consisting in part of rare and costly weapons, divided among the people. The *Reichstag* declared itself permanent, and, in an address to the emperor, required the formation of a new ministry,

and the deposition of Jellachich, *Banus* (viceroy) of Croatia, with other demands of a like character. The Vienna democracy had conquered, but in conquering insured its own defeat.

Under such circumstances the emperor could no longer linger in Schönbrunn. On the 7th of October he fled, with a strong escort, to Olmütz, in Moravia; commissioned Prince Windischgrätz to reduce Vienna, and appointed him commander-in-chief of all the imperial troops with the exception of the Italian. Windischgrätz marched out of Prague with his army, and appeared before Vienna on the 20th of October. There he formed a junction with the troops which Jellachich had brought up from Croatia, and with the garrison of Vienna, which Auersperg, the commandant, had led out, and, on the 23d, summoned the city to surrender unconditionally. The revolutionists, who were conducting a reign of terror in Vienna, foresaw little benefit for themselves in such a course, and preferred fighting it out, trusting to help from Hungary. At the head of the national guard was Messenhauser, a quondam lieutenant. The academic legion and the *garde mobile* (which latter consisted of paid proletaries) were commanded by General Bem, a Pole. Two members of the Diet in Frankfort, Julius Fröbel and Robert Blum, enlisted among the volunteers. The fighting lasted a whole week, day and night, displaying the greatest rancor on both sides. At length the suburbs were carried; and Messenhauser himself advised surrender, as ammunition and serviceable men were both lacking. In the afternoon of October 30th, while a deputation from the common council was negotiating a surrender at the head-quarters of Prince Windischgrätz, the approach of the Hungarian auxiliaries was descried from St. Stephen's tower. The volunteers and the proletariat pressed for renewal of the battle, and Messenhauser had to retain the command, and share it with Fenner von Fenneberg. But the Hungarians were repulsed by a detachment which Windischgrätz sent against them, and Vienna was taken by storm on the 31st of October. By evening of that day the imperial troops occupied every square. The lamp on which Latour had been hung was destroyed. Murder, rapine, and arson had free course, and those who could flee fled. The city was placed in a state of siege; an unlimited military despotism reigned, and martial executions with powder and ball seemed likely to have no end. Bem and Fenneberg escaped; Fröbel was set free; but Blum, who had

relied too much on his character as member of the Diet, was shot in the *Brigittenau* (November 9th). Messenhauser, although he had been recognized as commandant by the *Reichstag* and the ministry, also suffered death. The revolutionists of Pesth and Frankfort were to be taught that the army, in whose camp Austria lay, would not be trifled with any longer.

Before this catastrophe (October 22d) the *Reichstag* had been adjourned to meet in the small Moravian city of Kremsier, where, free from democratic influences, it could devote its undisturbed attention to the discussion of a constitution. It was reopened on the 22d of November; and on the previous day Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, known as general and diplomatist, formed a new ministry. In this Count Francis Stadion had the interior, and Baron Bruck, formerly book-dealer in Bonn, and founder of the Trieste Lloyd, took commerce. This change, which implied a stricter *regime*, was quickly followed by another. On the 2d of December Emperor Ferdinand laid down his crown. His brother, Archduke Francis Charles, whose wife Sophie was much disliked, renounced his right to the succession, and his son Francis Joseph ascended the throne of the Hapsburgs. New vigor was needed to deal with the new conditions, and a man was required who was bound by no pledges to the revolution, and above all to Hungary. This was what the liberal party feared, and it now believed reaction to be in full march. The *Reichstag* in Kremsier, treading in the steps of the Frankfort Diet, wandered into long debates on fundamental rights, and soon stood in irreconcilable opposition to the ministry. To the "grace of God" theory, which the ministry emphasized, the *Reichstag* opposed the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people. To reach a speedy conclusion, and not allow the conquered spirit of revolution again to raise its head in the streets of Vienna, the ministry dissolved this constituent *Reichstag* on the 7th of March, 1849, and itself published a constitution for all Austria. This was never put into effect; and in 1851, after the subjugation of Hungary, it was formally withdrawn.

The revolution in Berlin took a course similar to that in Vienna. The king clung to his "united *landtag*," regarding that impotent creation as the utmost concession in the way of popular government that could be expected of him. The people held quite a different opinion. Although not blind to the many ex-

cellences of the civil and military administration, they esteemed it a disgrace that a state which professed to stand at such a height intellectually should politically belong among the hindmost. The February revolution was the lightning flash that kindled this dissatisfaction into flame. From the 6th of March on there were popular gatherings before the Tents (*die Zelten*), and deputations were sent to the king. On the way home from these gatherings there were collisions with the troops, and on the 15th and 16th the soldiers made use of their guns. After the news of the Vienna revolution of March 13th the Berliners became still more restive. On the 17th came a deputation from Cologne, representing the threatening humor of the Rhine provinces, and even hinting at a separation from the Prussian monarchy in case no reforms were made in the direction of freedom. Another delegation from Berlin on the 18th of March demanded from the king, among other things, dismissal of the ministry, adoption of a liberal constitution, and the arming of the citizens. The delegates were well received, and at two o'clock that afternoon it was announced that two royal patents were in preparation granting the wishes of the people—abolishing censorship, improving the Prussian constitution, and proposing changes in the German confederation to be carried out in harmony with the other German governments. The people were in a good humor; they gathered in crowds on the *Schlossplatz*, and received the king with loud applause. But the fact that all entrances to the palace were occupied by soldiers aroused their indignation when they thought of the dead and wounded of the last few days. The cry, "Away with the troops!" became more and more violent and imperative. Infantry advanced with fixed bayonets to scatter the crowd. Two shots were fired—from the ranks of the soldiers, as the people believed, as others assert, from the ranks of the party of subversion—in the hope of results like those before Guizot's hotel in Paris on the 23d of February. The first thought of the people was that they were deceived, that they had been lured thither by fair promises in order to be slaughtered in crowds. "We are betrayed! Murder! To arms!" was the universal cry. All scattered in wild haste. In a couple of hours about 200 barricades had been erected, and over them floated the black, red, and gold banner. At three o'clock the troops began the attack, and by seven they had cleared the greater part of the *Königsstrasse* by the use of grape-

shot. The fighting lasted through the whole night, accompanied by the terrible noise of alarm-bells. On the morning of the 19th, after the exertions of the day before and the trying service of the previous week, the soldiers were so exhausted that a victory over the angry populace could not be reckoned on with any certainty; so the king yielded at last to the pressure of the citizens, commanded the troops to leave Berlin, consented to the formation of a citizen guard for the protection of the city and palace, and summoned a new ministry, with Count Arnim-Boytzenburg at its head. The corpses of the 216 men who fell behind the barricades, their heads decked with flowers and green boughs, were brought on biers and open wagons into the court-yard of the palace, and the king and queen were compelled to show them their respect with uncovered heads. In consequence of the amnesty issued for all political offenders, the Poles, held prisoners in Berlin on account of the outbreak of 1846, were liberated; and on the 20th Mieroslawski and his comrades in suffering made a sort of triumphal procession through the city, speaking of the alliance of Germany and Poland, and the re-establishment of a great, free Poland as a barrier against Russia.

Frederic William IV. seemed to have undergone a transformation. The proud Hohenzollern, in whose eyes royal power was radiant with a majesty more than human, descended from his heavenly heights and became like "one of us." On the 21st of March he issued a proclamation "to the German nation," in which he declared that "for the rescue of Germany" he set himself "at the head of the collective fatherland;" and in the afternoon, surrounded by the royal princes and several ministers and generals, he rode about the city, he and his escort wearing black, red, and gold favors, while a German flag was borne before them. In front of the university he halted, and spoke in enthusiastic terms of German freedom and unity. A proclamation of the same day, addressed "to my people and the German nation," contained the famous sentence: "Henceforward Prussia takes the lead in Germany." The burial of the victims of the barricades in a gigantic grave in the *Friedrichshain* on the 22d, when the king with bared head stood on the balcony of the palace while the procession, 20,000 strong, passed by, was the close of the revolutionary days in Berlin. The king's brother, the Prince of Prussia, who was falsely accused of inspiring the opposition of the court to liberal

measures, and of having given the troops the order to charge, journeyed to England at the express command of the king, that his presence might be no obstacle to a reconciliation. The "united *landtag*" met once more on the 2d of April, and was in session eight days, to examine and accept the electoral law for a constitutional convention laid before it by the Camphausen ministry, which had succeeded that of Arnim on the 29th of March.

In the grand-duchy of Posen the Poles were not satisfied with the partial separation and distinct administration of the eastern part. They demanded the complete separation of the grand-duchy from the kingdom of Prussia, and an insurrection broke out under Mieroslawski. After a little fighting it was put down by the Prussian troops in the months of April and May; and the rebellion in Cracow met with the same fate at the hands of the Austrians.

The constitutional convention was opened in Berlin on the 22d of May. Not only was the best political intelligence drawn off by the parliament at Frankfort, but the convention was, furthermore, wholly under the influence of the Berlin demagogues, who, after the retreat of the soldiers, felt themselves masters of the city and country, and were quite ready to play the sovereign for once by way of change. The draft of a new constitution laid before it by the ministry was rejected, and the discussion of another one began; but, owing to frequent interpellations of the ministers, and time spent in disposing of the burning questions of the day, no more progress was made here than in Vienna and Frankfort. At every important debate the *Schauspielhaus*, where the sessions were held, was surrounded by a crowd which threatened with violence every one that did not speak or vote as it wished. On the 15th of June the arsenal was stormed and plundered by the populace. The disaffection and weakness of the municipal authorities and the citizen guard was manifest. The convention adopted a resolution that the ministry should warn the officers against reactionary tendencies, and make it a point of honor with them to leave the service in case they were not in harmony with the new political principles; whereupon the ministers handed in their resignations, and the Pfuel ministry was formed (September 7th). Orders and titles of nobility were abolished, and distinctions of rank done away with. On the 31st of October, on the receipt of the news from Vienna, Waldeck, the

leader of the Left, moved that the ministry be called upon "to employ all the means in its power for the protection of the endangered liberties of the people in Vienna." Matters reached such a pass that the crowd drew knives against the moderate members of the convention and threatened them with the halter; and all saw that they were rapidly approaching the same state of affairs which had recently prevailed in Vienna. It was the restoration of order in that city by Windischgrätz which encouraged the adoption of a similar course in Berlin. Pfuel handed in his resignation, and on the 2d of November Count Brandenburg, a natural son of Frederic William II., announced to the convention that he was intrusted with the formation of a new cabinet. The convention sent a deputation to the king at Potsdam to protest against the choice of so aristocratic a person, and to demand a popular ministry. The king was immovable; and Jakoby, the representative from Königsberg, said to him on leaving, "That is the misfortune of kings: they will never listen to the truth"—words which, spoken at that time, did more harm than good. The cabinet was formed on the 9th, and was really under the direction of von Manteuffel, minister of the interior. Its first greeting to the convention was a royal message informing it that, in order to guard against the appearance of intimidation, it was transferred from Berlin to Brandenburg, and prorogued from the 9th of November to the 27th. At the same time General Wrangel received orders to enter Berlin with a large force. The city was placed in a state of siege, the citizen guard disbanded, a general disarmament ordered, and political associations suppressed. The attempts of the radical majority of the convention under their president, von Unruh, to continue their sessions elsewhere, after the closing of the *Schauspielhaus*, were rendered futile by the precautions of the police, and they hardly succeeded in voting that the payment of taxes to the Brandenburg government be refused. But they had no means to render effective such a measure, which was meant to hurl the brands of revolution into every hamlet in the kingdom. November 27th the members of the Right met in Brandenburg. December 1st, about 100 members of the opposition appeared, but only to repeat their protest against the transfer from Berlin. After their withdrawal there was no longer a quorum, and so the same thing happened here which occurred a few months later in Kremsier—the convention

was dissolved on the 5th of December, and the government published a constitution of its own making. This constitution abandoned the old Prussian system of different estates, and rested on democratic principles. Two chambers were to be elected, and the constitution was to be laid before them on their opening in Berlin on the 26th of February, 1849, for examination and acceptance. By this step Prussia entered the ranks of modern, constitutional states.

The more rapidly the two great military states of Germany rose again from the ruins of the revolution, and on the basis of the state of siege regained a firm footing in their capitals, the more uncertain became the position of the March ministers in the other states, and the more speedily the days of Frankfort drew toward their close. September 21st, 1848, the revolutionary Struve with a party of volunteers made an irruption into Baden from Basle. His followers were scattered by General Hoffmann in an engagement at Stauffen, September 24th, and Struve was captured, and imprisoned at Bruchsal. Hecker, despairing of the success of his plans, had turned his back on his fatherland and embarked for North America shortly before. In Frankfort the situation was gradually becoming simpler. By the end of the year the fundamental rights of the German people were at last disposed of. The numerous liberties which the German citizen was to enjoy looked very fine, but who was to guarantee their enjoyment? Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Hanover, and Saxony refused beforehand to accept them. If the most powerful states proved refractory in the matter of fundamental rights, how would it be with the general constitution, where wholly different questions, and questions intimately affecting the sovereign rights of the individual princes, were involved? They must not merely take into consideration the establishment of a House of the States and a House of the People, and their respective powers, but likewise the necessary limitations of the independence of sovereign states, the relations of the two great powers to one another and the other states of the Confederation, and the question of a head for the Confederation. It now became apparent what folly had been committed in beginning with the fundamental rights when the revolution was at its height, and taking up the constitution at a time when the reaction was gathering strength. It was only during the first three months, while the strength of the people was irresistible

and the power of the monarchs was broken, that a new Germany, with or without Austria, could have been founded. At that time even Frederic William IV. would have accepted the imperial throne from the hands of the people. Matters had taken quite a different form in 1849, when Austria was erecting her monuments of victory in Italy, Prague, and Vienna, and was on the very point, albeit with foreign assistance, of subduing the Magyars, and it was no longer the weakness of the monarchs, but that of the people, which was apparent.

After Prince Schwarzenberg had announced as part of his programme the indivisibility of the collective Austrian provinces and kingdoms, the Frankfort parliament had either to renounce the wished-for unity of Germany, in order to retain the German provinces of Austria in the Confederation, or abandon those provinces in order to attain German unity. The question whether Austria was to be admitted into the new confederation, or excluded from it, brought about a serious schism in the existing majority. The *Grossdeutsche* wished to admit it, the *Kleindeutsche* to exclude it. The former regarded any diminution of Germany as a disgrace and a misfortune, the latter maintained that a small and compact Germany was stronger than a large and loosely united one. Henry von Gagern, who had become the head of the ministry on December 16th, brought forward a proposition for an inner confederation, into which Austria should not be admitted, and with which its relation should be one of union merely. This measure was adopted, to the great chagrin of the Administrator and the Austrian delegates. Thereupon Prince Schwarzenberg announced without hesitation that Austria would neither let itself be expelled from the German confederation, nor let its German provinces be separated from the indivisible monarchy. When it was decided that a ruling prince should be set at the head of the German confederation, and on the 28th of March, 1849, the hereditary dignity of "Emperor of the Germans" was conferred upon the King of Prussia, not only the Emperor of Austria, but other provinces as well, declared that they would not submit to the new emperor. The King of Würtemberg significantly said, "To the House of Hohenzollern I will never submit; to the Emperor of Austria, had he been chosen, I would have submitted."

A deputation of thirty-four members brought the weighty intelligence to Berlin. April 3d, the king received them in the *Rit-*

tersaal of his palace. At first he returned an indefinite answer to the address of Simson, the president, but afterward he refused point-blank. A crown the only prerogative of which was a suspensive veto had in itself but little charm for him. Its value sunk still lower when he reflected that he would have to assert his claims by war with Austria and the four German kingdoms—perhaps also with some foreign state—and risk losing his Prussian crown for the sake of winning this one. Perhaps, notwithstanding all these obstacles, a Frederic the Great would have accepted, and brought Prussia to the front in Germany. Frederic William IV. could only accept it in case the German princes consented to his doing so, or, rather, in case they, and not the National Assembly, which he hated as revolutionary, offered it to him of their own free will; in case the imperial crown were a crown by the grace of God, and did not (as he wrote to Bunsen) "horribly pollute the bearer with the carrion smell of the revolution of 1848." The Prussian Chamber, which came together on the 26th of February, sought to exert pressure on the king; and after twenty-eight governments had signified their acceptance of the constitution and the hereditary empire of Frederic William, it voted to recommend the government to assent to the constitution, and accept the imperial dignity. April 27th, the Brandenburg ministry dissolved the Chambers, and set to work to influence the German governments by underhand means to confer the central administration on Prussia.

The Frankfort parliament was wounded in a vital part by this rebuff from the King of Prussia, and by the unpropitious attitude of his government. Its continued existence was merely an illusion. Its embarrassments increased each day. The King of Würtemberg had been induced, by a petition enforced by the threats of the mob, to accept the Frankfort constitution; but from Austria only hostility was to be expected; while Hanover and Saxony, following Prussia's example, dissolved their chambers, which were urging acceptance of the constitution; and Bavaria did not summon hers at all. The Diet responded to all this by its vote of May 4th, in which the administrations, parliaments, and municipalities—in short, the whole German people—were appealed to. If Prussia should not be represented at that Diet, the ruler of the state containing the greatest number of souls among those represented was to enter upon the rights and duties of chief of the

empire, under the title of Stadtholder of the same. This was a challenge to Prussia, and an incitement to revolt to the people in those states which had not recognized the constitution. The consequences were soon to become apparent.

In all Germany great excitement was manifested when it became evident that the opposition of a few princes was about to neutralize all that had been won by the March revolutions, and frustrate the union of the divided parts of the German fatherland. The democratic party once more resorted to desperate measures. In the month of May, 1849, there were riotous demonstrations in Crefeld, Elberfeld, Düsseldorf, Iserlohn, and other Prussian cities. But the government was strong enough not only to suppress every such movement in its own dominions, but also to assist other princes with its bayonets. In Dresden the people resolved to compel the king by force of arms to accept the German constitution, a step which he had resolutely refused to take. On the 3d of May the soldiers were attacked by the citizen guard and a number of volunteers. That night the king, with his family and ministers, fled to the fortress of Königstein; and from there application was made to the King of Prussia for help. A provisional government, under Tzschirner, Heubner, and Todt, was set up in Dresden; and Bakunin, a Russian refugee, was intrusted with the arrangements for defence. Re-enforcements came up from the country, but Prussian troops also came; and the city was taken after an obstinate resistance lasting from the 6th to the 9th. Some of the leaders escaped to the Palatinate or to Baden; Heubner and Bakunin were captured. A state of siege, military tribunals, and exceptional laws replaced the former freedom; and for many years the prison of Waldheim was peopled with the prisoners of that May.

At the same time a rebellion broke out in the Palatinate. The natives of the Palatinate are vivacious and very susceptible to political impressions. Having in any case but little sympathy with the Bavarian government, the present hostile attitude of that government toward the Frankfort constitution developed actual hatred among them. At a great popular gathering on the 1st of May separation from Bavaria and the establishment of a popular government were resolved upon. A people's guard was formed; and volunteers from all parts of the country, as well as numerous deserters from the garrisons of Landau and Germersheim, poured

in. At first Fenner von Fenneberg, a quondam Austrian officer and participant in the October revolution in Vienna, was set at the head of this guard, and later Blenker, formerly travelling clerk for a wine firm. The rebellion spread into Baden, although the government of that country exercised a liberal rule, and had accepted the constitution. The country had been too thoroughly undermined by Hecker and Struve and their like to be content with orderly freedom; a mild form of anarchy presented itself to many as the ideal of their wishes. In addition to this, the discipline of the troops was completely relaxed; and they openly declared that, in case of revolution, they would not fire on their "brothers," but on their officers. On the 11th of May the garrison of Rastatt rebelled. Hoffmann, the minister of war, hastened thither from Carlsruhe, with the troops that remained faithful; but it was with difficulty that he and the greater part of his officers escaped from the abuse of the drunken and quarrelsome soldiers. Citizen guard and regular troops fraternized. Affairs took a similar course in Lörrach, Freiburg, and Bruchsal; and in the last-named place Struve was released from prison. On the 13th of May a popular meeting at Offenburg demanded the dissolution of the Chambers, the summoning of a constitutional convention, dismissal of the Bekk ministry, and general amnesty. Brentano, a lawyer, who was at the head of the numerous popular associations, could scarcely prevent the proclamation of the republic. However, the resolutions were extreme enough as it was. The revolution was declared permanent, a national committee appointed, and, by way of recognizing the communistic ideas, a "national pension fund for citizens become incapable of work" was proposed.

On the evening of the same day a mutiny broke out in Carlsruhe. Two companies of soldiers, returning in a drunken condition from Bruchsal, gutted a barrack, demolished the dwelling of an unpopular colonel, killed Laroche, a captain of cavalry, who opposed their proceedings, together with a non-commissioned officer and a common soldier, and made an assault upon the arsenal, which was gallantly defended by the citizen guard. In the night the duke and his family, escorted by dragoons and artillery, fled to Germersheim, and then to the little town of Lauterburg, in Alsace. Thence he repaired to Frankfort; but, as the central administration could not support him with a sufficient number of

troops, he applied to the Prussian government. On condition of joining the League of the Three Kings, and accepting a ministry of Prussian tendencies, his request was granted, and the troops stationed in readiness in the neighborhood of Kreuznach were at once ordered to advance. On the evening of May 14th, after the grand-duke's departure, Brentano, with the national committee, entered Carlsruhe and took possession of the government. The Chambers were dissolved, and a constitutional convention, the composition of which was of such a character that Brentano had reason to be ashamed of it, was summoned to meet on the 10th of June. All persons between the ages of eighteen and thirty capable of bearing arms were called out, as in the wars of the first French revolution; the arsenals were opened, civil and military commissioners were appointed, and the attempt was made to supply the lack of great ideas and national feeling by the immoderate use of spirituous liquors. Adventurers came from all parts of Germany, from France, Hungary, and Poland; the revolutionary party in all Europe had a *rendezvous* in Baden. An offensive and defensive alliance was concluded with the Palatinate. The army was at first placed under the command of a quondam lieutenant, Sigel (afterward General Sigel in the American civil war), and later under that of the Polish Mieroslawski, who had within the last few months conducted unsuccessful revolutionary campaigns in Posen and Sicily. In the Palatinate a former Polish general, Sznayde, born in Poland of German parents named Schneider, was put in command. The question now was whether the conflagration could be carried over into the neighboring states, and first of all into Hesse-Darmstadt and Würtemberg. If this could not be done, then the new revolution must wear itself out. In Darmstadt the murder of Councillor Prinz, on the 24th of May, while attempting to persuade a popular meeting in Oberlaudenbach to disperse peaceably, so enraged the soldiers that, far from showing any inclination to make common cause with the Baden revolutionists, they defeated them at Heppenheim, May 30th, and drove them back to Heidelberg. The situation was different in Würtemberg, where, to the unreliable character of the troops and the general political excitement, a further and unexpected element was added.

In the mean time the national assembly in Frankfort was hastening with quick steps to its dissolution. Its impotence had re-

cently been manifested in the recall of the greater part of its members by their respective governments. The Austrian government answered its action with regard to the obligatory character of the constitution and in the choice of an emperor by recalling all its subjects among the delegates. The Prussian government took the same step when the assembly, on the 10th of May, declared the Prussian intervention in Dresden to be a grave breach of the peace of the empire. There were, also, disagreements with the Administrator. He became tired of his thankless office, and gradually fell back to his sectional stand-point. Completely abandoning the ideas of 1848, he named a ministry consisting of Grävell, Jochmus, and Detmold, a choice which was regarded as an "insult to the principle of national representation." In his stead it was decided to choose a stadtholder, whose office it should be to convene the National Assembly according to the provisions of the constitution. The right of governments to withdraw their commission from delegates chosen by the people was contested. But, even if such views with regard to rights were correct, the question still remained whether no heed was to be paid to actual conditions. Abstract rights and sentimental politics might crown their defenders with a halo, but the benefit which the country derived from them was very slight. This was the view taken by Gagern and his followers. The contending parties had reached opposite poles; an intermediate position between revolution and reaction no longer existed. Those who wished to introduce and carry through such measures as the above would have to be ready to defend them with arms. Matters having reached such a pass, more than 100 members, among them Gagern, Dahlmann, Arndt, and Welcker, resigned, on the 21st and 23d of May.

Through their withdrawal, the Left acquired the upper hand; but the ranks of the Assembly were so thinned that the number requisite to constitute a quorum had to be reduced to 100. The Bavarian government and several others recalled the representatives from their states, and adjournment seemed inevitable. But instead of that a removal was determined upon. In the hope of raising a general tempest in behalf of the constitution among the south German people, the rump parliament left Frankfort, which was too decidedly within the sphere of activity of the Prussian troops, and migrated to Stuttgart, 100 and odd strong. On May 30th they said farewell to St. Paul's Church, and on June 6th

they held their first session in Stuttgart. A regency of five members—Raveaux, Vogt, Henry Simon of Breslau, Schüler, and Becher—was appointed, the Administrator deposed, the rebellion in Baden and the Palatinate approved of, and men and money demanded from the Würtemberg government. A few days' delay and there would be the same state of affairs in Würtemberg as in Baden. The popular associations were trying to bring this about; the public meeting at Reutlingen, May 27th, would fain have imitated the part played by that of Offenburg; and the republican Fickler, Hecker's friend, was despatched from Carlsruhe to Stuttgart with considerable money to be expended among the soldiers. That the country might not be exposed to danger by the acts of an assembly which no longer represented the will of the German people, but merely the sentiments of a party, the government gave notice to the rump parliament that the hospitality of Würtemberg was withdrawn, and called upon it to remove to some other place. As no attention was paid to this, Römer, the soul of the ministry, a man firm of hand and hard of head, took the bold step of barring the riding-school, where they met, June 18th, and dispersing with infantry and cavalry the delegates, who were repairing thither in procession. Among these were his father-in-law, Schott, and his friend Uhland. It was a tragic provision of fate that a man who had done so much toward summoning the parliament, who had sat in the Committee of Seven and the preliminary parliament, should give the death-blow to his work, and subject himself to life-long reproach from the adherents of his old party for having dispersed the parliament he helped to summon. Representatives from other states received the command to leave Würtemberg at once; some of them went to Baden, and others to Switzerland. Fickler was arrested and sent to the fortress of Asberg, and the troops were retained in their allegiance.

Accordingly, the revolt in Baden and the Palatinate found no support in the neighboring states, and had to meet by itself the attack of the Prussians who had been called in. While the troops of the Confederation under General Peuker, the former minister of war, strengthened by a Prussian division under General Gröben, advanced along the *Bergstrasse*, the Prince of Prussia, who commanded the main body, marched from the Nahe into the Palatinate, drove the volunteers back across the Rhine with little difficulty, and relieved the fortresses of Landau, and Germersheim,

which had been almost stripped of troops. After the reduction of the Palatinate, which was at once reoccupied by Bavarian troops under Prince Taxis, the Prussians crossed the Rhine at Philippsburg, and on the 20th of June defeated the Badish army, 15,000 strong, at Waghäusel. Mieroslawski was again defeated at Durlach, and finally, on the 29th and 30th of June, on the Murg. Notwithstanding all their bravery, there was no further hope for the rebels, and they had to retreat, 10,000 strong, into Swiss territory. The fortress of Rastatt, which held out in vain hopes of the success of the red republic in France, and of a victory in Hungary, surrendered at discretion on the 29th of July. The whole land was in the power of the victors. The court-martials held on the captured leaders were no more merciful than in Vienna. Several were shot; among others von Trützschler, a member of the Frankfort parliament; Tiedemann, governor of Rastatt; Elsenhaus, editor of the *Festungsboten;* and Böning, a veteran of the Greek war for freedom. Gottfried Kinkel, the poet, who had taken part in the storming of the arsenal in Siegburg, was captured on Badish soil, and condemned to imprisonment, with hard labor, for life. Through the brave assistance of his friend Carl Schurz, he escaped to England, after a year of physical and mental torture. At the invitation of the Provisional Government, Hecker had returned from America, to inspire the people to great deeds by the magic of his name. He arrived in Strasburg on the 16th of July, only to hear that all was lost, whereupon he journeyed back to his transatlantic farm. Brentano, Struve, Sigel, and others followed the same road, while the non-commissioned officers and soldiers who had taken refuge in Switzerland returned after a time to their homes. Until the Badish army was reorganized the country was occupied by the Prussians. The recovery of the country from the wounds inflicted upon it by this revolution was very slow. As for Grand-duke Leopold, he received such a shock from his late experiences that he shortly fell ill, and his death ensued on the 24th of April, 1852.

It was not without jealousy that Austria saw Prussia carry its victorious eagle up the Rhine to Constance, and set firm foot in south Germany by the acquisition of the Hohenzollern lands and the family castle, which the related princes of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen and Hechingen made over by the treaty of succession of December 7th, 1849. But the Prince of Prussia did not allow

himself to be dislodged by the energetic Schwarzenberg, and the latter was at that very moment occupied with the final struggles in Hungary. The disputes between Hungary and the Vienna cabinet were of ancient date. Hungary aimed at the greatest possible independence from Austria—at a mere personal union in which even the army and the revenue should be dependent on the good-will of the Hungarian parliament. The Vienna cabinet, seeing in this the beginning of the dismemberment of the polyglot empire, sought, as far as possible, to evade the consequences of the Hungarian constitution. Louis Kossuth was regarded as the soul of the new opposition—a lawyer and journalist, who shone neither by reason of vast knowledge nor special endowments as a statesman, but, that which is of most weight in times of excitement, by the possession of an irresistible eloquence. Kossuth had been the chief agitator in the matter of the protective-union, by which the use of Austrian manufactures was interdicted for the benefit of native industry, so that even the richest families went clothed in coarse material. His importance increased when he was elected to parliament in 1846. There his position was like that of an officer in command of his regiment. On the 12th of November, 1847, Emperor Ferdinand opened the last parliament in Presburg with a speech from the throne in the Hungarian tongue, therein making a concession to the decision of the parliament that Hungarian was to be used as the official language instead of Latin. Out of gratitude Archduke Stephen was chosen Palatinus (viceroy) of Hungary by the parliament in place of his father, Joseph, recently deceased. After the February revolution the tone of the parliament became constantly bolder. Kossuth's speech of March 3d, calling for a constitution for all the various Austrian lands, suggested the immediate aim of the Vienna revolution of March 13th; and when, on the 15th, a Hungarian deputation came to Vienna to lay before the emperor an address embodying the demands of the parliament, Kossuth was the lion of the day. As others have done under the same circumstances, the emperor promised everything. August 10th he closed the parliament in person, confirming its decisions with regard to a separate ministry, universal suffrage in the election of delegates, union of Hungary and Transylvania, abolition of the freedom from taxation enjoyed by the nobility, and abrogation of all feudal burdens.

The new Hungarian ministry, in which Count Louis Batthyani

presided and Kossuth administered the finances, established itself in Pesth, where from that time the sessions of the Hungarian *Reichstag* were held. The first one held at that place was opened by Archduke Stephen, as sovereign representative of the emperor, July 5th, 1848. It consisted of the Table of Magnates, which was now called the Upper House, and the Table of Estates, or Lower House. It was a necessary consequence of the prevailing spirit that the first of these, formerly of overweening importance, should sink into insignificance, while the latter came to the front, or rather was pushed into that position by the Pesth students and the youth in general. These gentlemen, as was the case in Vienna, dictated the policy to be pursued, and already acted as though for them Austria no longer existed. They refused to assume a part of the Austrian national debt, and treated the Hungarian dependencies — Croatia, Slavonia, and the Military Frontier, with Transylvania — with the same disregard to their wishes which they had indignantly complained of in their own treatment by the Austrian government. This bore its fruit. A deputation of Magyars in Vienna demanded and obtained the union of these provinces with Hungary to form one great kingdom; but at the same time, in order to avert this threatened evil, a Croatian deputation was besieging the imperial cabinet with entreaties for complete separation from Hungary, and for the erection into a triple kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia, with the Military Frontier. This would at the same time have given these countries greater independence with reference to Austria. This jealousy of the various nationalities was used by the Austrian government for the purpose of checking, waging war upon, and puting down one by means of the other. Baron Jellachich, a Magyar hater, who was very popular at court, was named *Banus* of Croatia, and the government supported him in his preparations against Hungary. Although it removed him at the complaint of the Hungarian ministry, yet it restored him to office when the court espoused his cause. Jellachich set himself at the head of his troops and marched into Hungary as the champion of a united Austria, while in the south-east, in the Banate, the Servians and Frontiers-men were skirmishing with the Hungarian soldiers. To make head against present and prospective dangers, Kossuth carried through the *Reichstag* a levy of 200,000 national troops (*honveds*), and the issue of 42,000,000 *gulden* ($21,000,000) paper-

money (Kossuth-notes). Matters had become so complicated on all sides that only the sword could loose the knot. Archduke Stephen's attempts at mediation were vain. He laid down his office as *Palatinus*, and withdrew into a sort of voluntary exile on his hereditary estate of Schaumburg, on the Lahn. Batthyani left the ministry, and all the power was in the hands of Kossuth and the war party. To avoid hostilities, the court intrusted Count Lamberg, Batthyani's friend, with the chief command of all the Hungarian and Croatian forces, provisionally superseding Jellachich. When Lamberg reached Pesth he learned that the *Reichstag* had protested against his appointment. The populace suspected treason on the part of Austria, and on the 27th of September Lamberg was hacked to death by the mob with axes and clubs on the bridge of boats across the Danube.

This revolting murder and the feeble prosecution of the murderers called forth the imperial manifesto of October 3d, dissolving the *Reichstag*, pronouncing its acts invalid, except in so far as they had been confirmed by the emperor, placing all Hungary under martial law, and making Jellachich governor of Hungary and commander-in-chief of the Hungarian troops. The Hungarian *Reichstag* on its part declared the manifesto illegal and invalid, and Jellachich guilty of high treason. The committee of national defence, which had been in existence since the 22d of September, now resolved itself into a provisional government, with Kossuth as dictator. Jellachich was driven back to the Austrian frontier, and Latour's endeavor to send him re-enforcements from Vienna resulted in the October revolution in that city and Latour's murder. Then Jellachich was recalled from Hungary to assist in subduing Vienna, and was placed under the command of Prince Windischgräz. The latter, the conqueror of Prague and Vienna, seemed to be the right man to reduce Hungary to subjection. His programme was the indivisible Austrian empire, with the central government in Vienna. As the Emperor Ferdinand had in the most solemn manner granted concessions to Hungary which were inconsistent with this programme, his abdication took place on the 2d of December, and Francis Joseph ascended the throne in his stead. The *Reichstag* protested, and refused to acknowledge the new emperor until he had been crowned king of Hungary and sworn to the constitution.

Windischgräz was put in command of more than 100,000

men, and on the 15th of December he began his advance with the main army along the upper Danube, while smaller divisions entered Hungary from Moravia, Galicia, Transylvania, and Styria, under Simonich, Schlick, Puchner, and Nugent respectively. The plan was to surround the Hungarians completely and make a common movement on Pesth. To carry this out a resolute advance of the main army, and exact co-operation of all the divisions, were essential. Both requisites were wanting. Windischgräz drove the Hungarians back, and took the cities of Oedenburg, Presburg, and Raab. He demanded unconditional submission, and refused even to give audience to a deputation from the *Reichstag*. January 5th, 1849, he entered Buda-Pesth. The government and the *Reichstag* had shortly before removed to Debreczin, while the army had retreated southward. Windischgräz remained three precious months at Buda, as though with the capture of the capital the campaign were as good as ended. From the other commanders came one Job's messenger after another. Schlick was repulsed by Görgei and Klapka. Puchner, with the 10,000 Russians he had called to his assistance, was chased out of Transylvania into Wallachia by the Polish Bem, who found allies in the Szeklians of Transylvania. In the Banate the Hungarians were also successful. Fortunately for the Austrians, Kossuth made a military and political blunder in appointing Dembinski, a Pole, commander-in-chief. He was not fit for the task; as a foreigner, the jealous Hungarian generals did not yield him ready obedience; and his appointment, by giving the war a new objective in Poland, might bring Russia into the conflict. He advanced on Pesth, but was defeated at Kopolna on the 26th of February; then the army demanded his removal, and Kossuth had to yield.

In contrast with this failure, Görgei, whose generalship threw that of all others into the shade, and who, with the exception of Kossuth, had the most popular name in Hungary, moved forward in the direction of Pesth with 50,000 men, and defeated Prince Windischgräz's forces between Gödöllö and Isaszegz on April 6th. The Olmütz cabinet now perceived that bombarding cities and conquering warlike nations were two wholly different matters. Windischgräz was recalled, and the command conferred on General Welden, who was not one whit more capable. He evacuated Pesth, leaving in Buda a garrison commanded by the gallant General Henzi, a Switzer. Görgei received orders to storm Buda.

Notwithstanding a courageous resistance on the part of General Henzi, who lost his life in the fight, the city was carried on the 21st of May. But the disagreement among the leaders of the revolution had already reached an alarming point. April 14th, as the Schwarzenberg ministry had published a constitution for all Austria, and so reduced Hungary to the level of the other provinces, Kossuth, against Görgei's wishes and advice, caused the *Reichstag* at Debreczin to declare "the House of Hapsburg deprived of its dominion and banished from Hungary forever." Hungary was now an independent state—a republic in the midst of the old monarchies—certain of being looked upon in any case as threatening danger to all its neighbors. Kossuth was named chief of the republic, as responsible governor-president of Hungary. He surrounded himself with a new ministry, in which the jealous Görgei was minister of war as well as commander-in-chief. The *Reichstag* was again transferred to Pesth.

It was but a brief honey-moon which the victorious Hungarians enjoyed in their regained capital. For Austria the possession of Hungary was a question of life or death, and she strained every nerve for its reconquest. The chief command was conferred upon Baron Haynau, notorious for his merciless conduct at the taking of Brescia, and Russia was applied to for assistance. There were two things which Kossuth's sentimental statesmanship had not taken into account—that Austria would become master in Italy so quickly, and that a second power might intervene. But owing to the participation of Poles in the Hungarian war for freedom, and to the neighborhood of the two countries, the latter contingency was a very probable one. No one doubted that, the independence of Hungary once achieved, Poland could no longer be held back. Hence Czar Nicholas did not hesitate for a moment to fulfil Francis Joseph's wish; and at the same time he hoped by such a service to chain the youthful monarch securely to his policy, and, when occasion offered, require from him a service in return.

With Russia's interference the matter was as good as decided. Hungary's further resistance was nothing but an heroic death-struggle. While Paskevitch with 80,000 Russians marched across the Carpathian mountains and advanced toward the upper Danube, other Russian divisions entered Transylvania from Bukovina and Wallachia, Jellachich reappeared in southern Hungary with a Servian-Croatian army, and Haynau crossed the Raab and moved on

Komorn from the west. After several days' fighting, Görgei left General Klapka behind in Komorn, and fell back across the Theiss; and on the 12th of July Haynau entered the sister cities of Buda-Pesth. For the second time Kossuth had to leave the capital. The *Reichstag* and paper-money press, the latter of which had been busily at work in the mean time, were transferred to Szegedin, on the Theiss, and finally to Arad, on the Maros. On his retreat Görgei succeeded in inflicting a defeat upon the Russians under Rüdiger at Waizen. By masterly manœuvring he carried his army safely through the midst of the Russian forces to Arad. But neither Bem nor Dembinski could succeed in making head against their opponents. The former was defeated by the Russian General Lüders at Schässburg (July 31st) and other places, and driven out of Transylvania; and Haynau, advancing rapidly, defeated the latter at Szöreg and Temesman (August 5th and 9th). The Hungarian troops were concentrated at Arad. Great indecision prevailed at head-quarters, and only a military dictatorship appeared to hold out some slight hope. Kossuth was obliged to lay down his office as governor on the 10th of August, and Görgei assumed the dictatorship. On the 30th of August, with 23,000 men and 130 guns, he surrendered to the Russian General Rüdiger at Vilagos, with the knowledge and consent of Kossuth and the government. There was nothing more to be won, yet the nation had expected a different conclusion. The hope of obtaining more favorable terms for his country, the wish, after so much had been done for military honor, to avoid useless bloodshed, dislike of the Polish generals and the republican government, which had several times been on the point of depriving him of the chief command—all these things had influenced Görgei to take this surprising step, about which he had already been for some time in negotiation with Paskevitch. Haynau's mortification that Görgei had surrendered to the Russians and not to him was not diminished by Prince Paskevitch's proud report to Czar Nicholas: "Hungary lies conquered at the feet of your majesty." Haynau could justly retort that it was the Austrian army which had in six battles brought the foe to the point of annihilation and effected the surrender of Görgei's corps. Görgei received a pardon for his own person merely, and from that time on lived for the most part in retirement at Klagenfurt.

After the catastrophe of Vilagos all the fortresses capitulated;

Komorn, where Klapka commanded, holding out until September 27th. The smaller detachments of troops surrendered, the *honveds* hurried home. Only about 5000 men, with Kossuth, Bem, Dembinski, and others, took refuge in Turkey, which afforded them an asylum in spite of the threats of Austria and Russia. Haynau inflicted a severe chastisement on those who remained behind or were captured. Courts-martial were set up in Pesth and Arad. Many of Hungary's best men were condemned to powder and lead, or to the gallows; among others Count Batthyani, the former prime-minister. The property of fugitives and condemned persons was confiscated. Many pined away in prison; several thousands were drafted into the Austrian army. The constitution was annulled, and Hungary treated like a newly-conquered country, as though it had forfeited all its former rights. Whether these acts of vengeance, which recalled the scenes of 1687, were born of political wisdom, is another question.

While Hungary was wrestling with death, another land was bleeding in the north—Schleswig-Holstein. The duchies had resigned themselves with wonderful submissiveness to the armistice of Malmö, which had given rise to the September disturbances in Frankfort; but as soon as it expired they took the field with an army of 14,000 men under General Bonin, a Prussian. The central administration at Frankfort appointed stadtholders in the place of the joint government which had been set up by Denmark and Prussia; and the choice fell on two worthy men—Count Reventlow-Preetz and William Beseler. At the same time the federal troops, consisting of Bavarians, Würtembergers, Hanoverians, and Prussians, marched in for the purpose of protecting German provinces from the unendurable process of *Danization*. On the 26th of March, 1849, the Danes brought the armistice to a close; and on the 5th of April, in the harbor of Eckernförde, a Danish ship of the line, *Christian VIII.*, was set on fire by the shore batteries of the Schleswig-Holsteiners, and the frigate *Gefion* so badly injured that it had to surrender. The Düppel trenches were carried by the federal troops on the 13th of April, and the Danes were driven back to the island of Alsen. The Schleswig-Holsteiners, under Bonin, were also victorious. On the 20th of May they took the Jutland border town of Kolding by assault; they lost it again, but retook it once more, and forced the Danes to retreat to the fortress of Fredericia. General Prittwitz,

the commander of the federal troops, now received orders to remain inactive. Taking advantage of this inactivity, the Danes, under General Rye, who were numerically superior to the Schleswig-Holsteiners, made a sally from Fredericia in the night of July 5th. The latter were worsted, but not discouraged, and would have resumed the fight, when the news arrived of the conclusion of an armistice between Denmark and Prussia (July 10th). A definitive peace between the two states, in the negotiation of which Prussia acted, at the same time in the name of the German confederation, was concluded some time later (July 2d, 1850). In consequence of this armistice the German troops had to evacuate Schleswig, the northern part of which was occupied by Swedish and the southern by Prussian soldiers. A separate administration, consisting of one Prussian and one Danish commissioner, was set up, and the Schleswig-Holstein army had to retire behind the Eider.

This was the consequence of a diplomatic intervention on the part of England and Russia. They preferred to see the sea-girt duchies in the hands of little Denmark rather than in those of Germany, or rather Prussia; and hence, in the London protocol of June 2d, they affirmed the union of Schleswig-Holstein with Denmark to be in the interests of the European balance of power. The honor of Frederic William IV. and his army was pledged to maintain the rights of the duchies; but the king's character was too peace-loving, and his horror of popular movements was still too easily excited, for him not to shrink back from a struggle which might assume European dimensions. He signed the peace, and delivered Schleswig to the Danes. It was to be separated from Holstein, and was to be distinguished from Denmark by a constitution, although politically united with it. These indefinite terms the Danes naturally took advantage of as far as they could, as the conduct of their commissioner, von Tillich, during the armistice had already shown they would do.

The stadtholders did not recognize the peace of Berlin. Determined to undertake the fight single-handed, they strengthened the Schleswig-Holstein army, and replaced General Bonin, who had been recalled, by General Willisen, also a Prussian. The choice was in so far unfortunate that Willisen had a reputation as a military writer, but not as a practical strategist, and it was to be feared that he might prove lacking in decision and in that

faculty of quick comprehension which is so necessary to a general. After the withdrawal of the Prussian troops the Danes advanced into Schleswig from Jutland and Alsen, and encountered Willisen, who had moved up from the south, between Flensburg and Schleswig. On the 25th of July, 1850, a battle was fought at Istedt between 37,000 Danes and 26,000 Schleswig-Holsteiners. The latter, after having the victory in their very hands, were finally defeated, and obliged to retreat to the fortress of Rendsburg, abandoning all Schleswig to the foe. An attack at Missunde, September 12th, and an assault on Friedrichstadt, October 4th, were both repulsed by the Danes. The stadtholders, hoping to repair their losses by a change of command, removed Willisen, and appointed in his place General von der Horst, who had distinguished himself in the battle at Istedt. But it was already too late. At the Olmütz conference the Schleswig-Holstein war was placed on a level with the rebellion in Baden and the Palatinate, and the German great powers resolved to smother this national flame.

The last act of the German revolution was at an end. Wherever the revolution had appeared in any form it had been crushed. The March ministers had been dismissed everywhere, and their places had been filled by men such as the governments would not have dared before 1848 to offer to the people. And what was to become of Germany? Under what form were the sundered members again to come together? Was no heed to be paid to the call of the German people for unity? for a central parliament? for greater freedom? Were the last two years to be erased from the political calendar of the monarchies, as the Elector of Hesse struck out the period of French rule, and reintroduced the antiquated cues? Were the old blunders to be repeated forever? Were revolutions always to be suppressed with powder and ball, and never put an end to by the introduction of rational reforms? When Prince Schwarzenberg was asked, he roundly declared that there could be no more talk of parliaments and the like, and that Germany must return to the old Diet under the presidency of Austria. Prussia struggled hard against this disgrace. She was willing to make a partial concession to the demands of the German people, and build a new Germany on the foundation of the federal constitution; and by union with the German princes she hoped to acquire the hegemony which she had refused to accept

from the German people. In this way arose the so-called League of the Three Kings of the 28th of May, 1849, between Prussia, Hanover, and Saxony, in which the first was intrusted with the military and diplomatic direction of the league. This was to be the beginning of a more closely connected federal state—the Union. Austria held aloof from the consultations on this subject, and Bavaria followed her example. The Frankfort imperial party, on the other hand, strongly approved of the plan. It brought about a meeting of those who favored it at Gotha, June 26th, and itself pronounced in its favor. In order to have some common ground in the mean time, Austria and Prussia, in the so-called *Interim*—a name of bad memory since the Reformation—undertook the administration of the central government for the German confederation until some definite arrangement was effected. On the 20th of December, 1849, the federal administrator, Archduke John, resigned his office into the hands of the *Interim* commissioners.

Prussia went still farther on the path along which she had started. The Prussian state had gained in credit with the German people by the fact that in the *Landtag*, which had assembled at Berlin in accordance with an electoral law published by the king, a constitution had been adopted, which he had sworn to on the 6th of February, 1850. This was a long step toward the union of king and people. The opposition of the princes became only the more obstinate. Bavaria, Saxony, and Würtemberg met the Prussian plan by a proposition for a new constitution, according to which Austria, the five kingdoms, and the two Hesses were to form a federal government consisting of seven members. However, the Erfurt parliament, to which Prussia had invited those states forming a closer confederation, came together on the 20th of March, 1850. This adopted the Union constitution, which had already been made the foundation of the League of the Three Kings. A princes' congress, composed of all the princes of the Union, was held in Berlin in May, and this constitution was laid before it for adoption. The congress was not pervaded by the greatest harmony, and there was scarcely unity enough to establish a college of princes as the central administration of the Union. The greater part of the German princes and almost all the small states participated in the Union, but the participation of some of them was only external. The larger states were steering under full sail

toward the Austrian banner, which, after the triumphs in Italy and Hungary, was to be unfurled once more in Frankfort. At the invitation of Austria, issued on the 26th of April, the ambassadors of thirteen governments met there and formed an "extraordinary, plenary assembly." Czar Nicholas, appealed to by both sides, gladly undertook the office of arbitrator in the German complications. In June he had a meeting with the Prince of Prussia and Prince Schwarzenberg in Warsaw, and pronounced in favor of the Austrian plan. On the 14th of August a circular despatch was issued inviting all former members of the confederation to send delegates to an old-fashioned Diet on the 1st of September. Prussia refused to take part, and in a separate memorial protested against the re-establishment of the Diet, which had been unanimously abolished in 1848. The opposing views of the Frankfort parliament were now transplanted to the cabinets. Germany was divided into two camps; Prussia with the College of Princes, and Austria with the Diet, seemed as irreconcilably opposed to one another as the republicans and the reactionists in St. Paul's church had been. Once more was heard the clang of sabres and the clink of spurs.

The news from Bregenz was of the most warlike character. On the 11th of October, Francis Joseph met the Kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg at that place, and King William said, with youthful fire, as though he had again been summoned to fight against the French: "If the emperor commands, I follow whithersoever he calls me." In Bregenz it was decided that an army composed of Austrians and Bavarians should march into Electoral Hesse on the part of the Confederation. There the elector had once more displayed the full beauty of his character. After dismissing a liberal cabinet he had called Hassenpflug to the head of a new ministry, a man who had long been hated in Hesse, while in Prussia he had even been prosecuted for forgery. His popular nickname, *Hessenfluch* (Hesse's curse), comprised a complete judgment in the briefest possible form. After dissolving two parliaments which would not sanction his illegal measures, he undertook to reign without a parliament, and levy taxes at his own pleasure. As this met with opposition from the courts, he declared the whole country under martial law, September 7th, 1850. All the officials, including even the police and army officers, refused obedience, so he persuaded the elector to flee to Frankfort,

and apply in person to the Diet for help. There the old Metternichian view was again in the ascendant—that a prince must never be abandoned, and that in a quarrel between him and his people they are always wrong—so the help of the Confederation was readily promised by a vote of September 17th. But Prussia protested. It still held fast to its Union, and had not recognized the Diet, hence it could not suffer the latter to carry out an execution in friendly territory without its consent. General von Radowitz, a highly cultivated man, who was on very friendly terms with King Frederic William IV., and who was also a decided adherent of the Union, was called into the ministry and intrusted with the management of foreign affairs. The army was put on a war footing, the *landwehr* called out, the troops stationed in Baden—which was too far advanced—recalled, and the military roads appertaining to Prussia by virtue of the Confederation occupied. Before proceeding farther, Czar Nicholas was again appealed to for his good offices. A new meeting took place in Warsaw. Emperor Francis Joseph and Prince Schwarzenberg on the Austrian side, and Count Brandenburg, minister-president, on the side of Prussia, met Nicholas at that place. Austria's conditions for a peaceable solution were, that Prussia should give up the Union and acknowledge the restored Diet—demands which Nicholas most energetically supported. The Bavarian and Austrian troops entered Hesse, and marched against Cassel. This was occupied by the Prussians, and hence a collision seemed inevitable. But on the 2d of November the peace party conquered in Berlin; Radowitz laid down his office, and Manteuffel became minister of foreign affairs. Like the Diet, he saw nothing but revolution in the resistance of the Hessians to oppression, and he dreaded a war which could result in victory only through the help of the constitutional and democratic party. The Prussian commander in Cassel, Count von der Gröben, received orders to retreat. On the 8th of November, at Bronzell, there was a slight skirmish with the Bavarian outposts, which was described by the innocent name of "military misunderstanding." Manteuffel himself went to Olmütz, to make peace with Schwarzenberg at any price. For Prussia the price was a high one. Schwarzenberg, who was far superior to the Prussian minister in boldness and diplomatic skill, won a complete victory. In the treaty of Olmütz, November 29th, 1850, it was agreed that Prussia should offer no opposition to the occu-

pation of Hesse, that peace should be dictated in Schleswig-Holstein by the two great powers, on the basis of one united Danish state, and that conferences of all the German governments should be held in Dresden to effect a final settlement with reference to the Confederation.

In Electoral Hesse, under the eyes of Austrian and Prussian commissioners, and under the protection of foreign bayonets, began a rule of caprice. Soldiers were billeted on the citizens in excessive numbers, officials were arbitrarily removed, the prisons were filled. The country—in any case poor enough—was still further impoverished, while emigration increased apace.

In Schleswig-Holstein, Schwarzenberg acted in a manner worthy of Metternich, who had admitted the right of revolution in the case of no people—not even of the Greeks. In the catechism of those high-born gentry the princes alone were always right. An Austrian and a Prussian commissioner appeared in Holstein, January 6th, 1851, and assumed the government of the country, while a detachment of Prussians and an Austrian army corps, under Field-marshal Legeditz, occupied the most important places. The stadtholders laid down their office, and the army was disbanded. The legal union of the two duchies was dissolved, and the idea of a united Danish state not merely carried out with reference to Schleswig, as the Eider-Danes had wished, but even extended to Holstein, a member of the German confederation. It was a united Denmark on the same principle as Schwarzenberg's united Austria. The German troops were withdrawn, all the military stores of the Schleswig-Holstein army were delivered to the Danes, and the government was handed over to the King of Denmark. That the question of succession might furnish no occasion for further dissensions, the female (Hessian) line and the Augustenburg line were passed over, and in the new London protocol of May 8th, 1852, all the great powers recognized Prince Christian of Glücksburg and his male descendants as heirs to the united monarchy. Neither the German Diet nor the Estates of Schleswig and Holstein assented to the protocol, but the wisdom of the cabinets never dreamed that this omission might have ulterior consequences.

No one could expect decent treatment from such a people as the Danes, but there was scarcely any one who had supposed that treaty conditions would be so set at naught as they were, that

shameless brutality would be practised toward persons of both sexes and all conditions, and that recourse would be had to such shocking means to root out everything German in Schleswig. No land in all Europe was abused and trodden underfoot with such cynical brutality as Schleswig; and every German with a spark of honor in him, while cursing a diplomacy which in the nineteenth century still treated the people like cattle, and execrating a system of government which could dispose in that wholesale way of so many German souls, blushed for shame and rage when he heard the name of Schleswig-Holstein. Such unnatural conditions must bear their fruit: the time of revenge could not be postponed forever.

The Dresden conferences lasted from the 23d of December, 1850, to the 1st of May, 1851, but were wholly without result. A number of proposals were made. Austria and Prussia wished to form a directory with full power of making peace or war; Austria also wishing to bring all her varied countries into the German confederation. Bavaria proposed a triple directory, the so-called *trias*, and Würtemberg a German parliament. With the active participation of Russia, which put a decisive veto upon the first two propositions especially, all novelties were rejected, and the old *regime* restored in its simplicity. Prussia dissolved its Union, and on the 30th of May, 1851, the Diet was re-established in the old form as the representative of the German princes. Federal constitution and fundamental rights were thrown into the waste-paper basket in the various states by which they had been recognized; constitutional changes of reactionary tendency were made; measures were taken against the Press and societies; the ultramontane party was pampered; concordats of incredible calibre were concluded or negotiated for; and the governments of the second-rate and lesser states, in their relations to the Diet, adopted the same disgraceful tactics against their own people as before.

Of all the German states, none came out of this crisis so dissatisfied as Prussia. Never before had such an opportunity presented itself. Only the answer *yes* had been needed to lift it out of its mongrel condition—less than a great power, and more than a second-rate one—and give it a commanding position in Europe. But it lacked at that time the proper persons, the great characters, the men of decision and political sagacity. That which it claimed—the political and military leadership in north Germany

—it lost through mere indecision and over-carefulness. It had to resume the old yoke. But the humiliation of Olmütz was a wound that smarted. Prussia had learned how *not* to attain its object, and that, if it were resolved to attain it, it must try another way.

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§ 18.

THE CRIMEAN WAR.

It was in general the greatest states which suffered most severely from the revolution, but Russia remained unaffected. Thanks to the bloody experiences of 1831, the Poles had ventured on no outbreak, only looking with hope toward the Hungarian insurrection, in which some of their own people took part. The final catastrophe at Vilagos condemned them to continued endurance. Nicholas's pride was all the greater. His credit as autocrat of Europe had not undergone the least diminution, but had on the contrary been much increased by the assistance he had rendered in Hungary. He felt as sure of Austria as though she had been his vassal; and his relations with the King of Prussia were so intimate that the latter shortly after dismissed General Bonin, his minister of war, because on the breaking out of the Eastern war Bonin had expressed the opinion that an alliance with Russia in that matter would be suicidal, and recalled Chevalier Bunsen from the Court of St. James because he was too much of an English partisan. France, where Louis Napoleon had recently seated himself on the imperial throne, appeared to Nicholas too much exhausted and distracted by internal feuds to be able to enter upon great and remote undertakings; and in England, which had always displayed the most lively interest in all Eastern quarrels, he had an old-time friend in the prime-minister, Lord Aberdeen, so that he made no doubt that he could readily come to an understanding with that formidable maritime power. Neither of the two Western powers was competent alone to undertake an offensive war against Russia; and that an alliance should be concluded between them appeared to Nicholas out of the question, in consideration of the deep distrust of Napoleon felt by English statesmen. The constellations seemed to favor

the resumption of the plan of Catherine II. and the seizure of "the key to the Russian house." It was noised abroad that there was an old prophecy to the effect that in the year 1853, after four hundred years of Turkish rule in Europe, that rule should cease. In his conferences with the English ambassador in St. Petersburg, Sir Hamilton Seymour, Nicholas called Turkey a "sick man" whom no doctor could help, so that it was already time to come to some definite agreement about his inheritance. According to his plan, Servia, Bulgaria, and Bosnia were to be made independent states, and, with Moldavia and Wallachia, be placed under the Russian protectorate. If England wished to appropriate Egypt and Candia, Russia had no objections. In his opinion England and Russia were the only countries concerned, as they were the only ones who had a tangible interest in Turkey, and if they were agreed about this transaction there was no need of consulting the other powers.

The English cabinet was not edified by Nicholas's opinion regarding Turkey's health, which was forwarded by its ambassador. It well knew that a Russian protectorate was only a diplomatic name for Russian dominion, and that if Russia were once in possession of Bulgaria she would soon cross the Balkans to Constantinople, and would never rest until the whole Olympian peninsula, from the Danube to Cape Matapan, had bowed beneath her sceptre. Neither England's interests in the Mediterranean nor the possession of an Asiatic empire allowed her to consent to the establishment of such a power. Moreover, the acquisition of Egypt was of very doubtful value for England, since it would be sure to involve her in a war with France. Hence, England decidedly rejected the whole project, and affirmed that the sick man had more vitality than might prove agreeable to his would-be heir. It is alleged that Nicholas then applied to Napoleon, but, notwithstanding the alluring bait of the left bank of the Rhine, did not find a favorable hearing there either. But he did not allow himself to be frightened out of his plans by this reception. He made use of the old strife between Greeks and Latins about the holy sepulchre as a pretence for advancing his designs. In 1852 a firman of the Sultan had recognized the right of the Greek church to the possession of the holy sepulchre, but had at the same time granted the Roman Catholics (Latins), who were energetically supported by Napoleon, the right to celebrate mass

in the chapel of the Mount of Olives. This the Greek Catholics regarded as prejudicial to their church. In order to maintain her privileged position, Russia demanded formal security by treaty for the rights of the Greek church. Trusting to the unconditional submission of Prussia and Austria—the latter of which, however, had just crossed the Russian designs in Montenegro by sending Count Leiningen to Constantinople—Nicholas equipped a fleet in the ports of the Black Sea, and assembled an army in the southern part of his dominions, while at the same time, in the hope of browbeating the Porte, he sent Admiral Prince Menzikoff to Constantinople to exact for Russia a religious protectorate over all Greek Christians. This would have given him the right of constant intervention in the internal affairs of the Turkish empire—a thing which interested him far more than the protection of the Greek Christians did. March 2d, 1853, Menzikoff appeared in a solemn session of the Divan in overcoat and dusty shoes, astonishing the Turkish cabinet as much by this contemptuous disregard of etiquette as by the purport of his instructions. Acquiescence in his demands was not to be thought of, for that would have made the Russian emperor co-regent of Turkey—a title which he would soon have found occasion to shorten by a syllable. So Menzikoff received a negative answer, and on the 21st of May he left Constantinople with loud threats.

The two principal measures taken by Sultan Abdul Medshid—who had in this the assistance of Redshid Pasha, his grand-vizier, a man of European education—to avoid being the defenceless prey of his powerful foe in the impending war, were a firman solemnly assuring to his Christian subjects their rights, for the sake of keeping them well-disposed, and his application for help to the Western powers. To Napoleon, who considered himself called to revenge the fall of his great uncle and tear up the treaties of 1815, the Turkish cry for help afforded a welcome opportunity for humiliating hostile Russia, and surrounding his new imperial throne with splendid trophies. Notwithstanding the scruples of Lord Aberdeen, he dragged the English cabinet along with him. The fleets were made ready, and on the 14th of June they lay at anchor in Besika Bay, at the entrance to the Dardanelles. Nicholas, who represented himself to his people as the defender of the Greek Catholics, forthwith ordered Prince Michael Gortschakoff, with two army corps, consisting of 40,000

men each, and commanded by Generals Lüders and Danneberg, to invade the Danubian principalities, and take possession of them as a material pledge until the Porte complied with his demands. The invasion took place on the 2d of July. Public money was seized, taxes imposed, soldiers levied, and both countries—Moldavia and Wallachia—treated as Russian provinces, as they had been under Potemkin, the Taurian, in 1789. The efforts of diplomacy to avoid a war, even at the last moment, were all the more zealous. The ambassadors of the great powers held conferences in Vienna, and united in a mediatory note. The Porte was to assent to Russia's demands, with the exception of the protectorate, which was not, however, to be refused, but merely to be passed over in silence. The difficulty certainly could not be settled by avoiding the real point at issue in this way. Nicholas accepted the note, but interpreted it as approving of all his claims, including the protectorate. This caused great excitement in London and Constantinople. In the House of Commons, Layard, who thoroughly understood Eastern affairs, made a violent attack on the Russophile ministry, and demanded decisive action in favor of the Turks. In Constantinople the old-Turkish party left the Sultan no other choice than abdication or the rejection of the note.

Warlike preparations were actively pushed forward in Turkey. The tributary states, Egypt and Tunis, were called upon to furnish their contingents; the taxes were collected for several years in advance; and religious enthusiasm was appealed to, just as it had been in Russia. On the 4th of October war was declared in case the Danubian principalities were not evacuated at once. Russia replied on the 1st of November by a declaration of war, and fighting began. The main force of the Turks was on the right bank of the Danube, under the command of Omer Pasha. He crossed over to the left bank at Widdin, fortified Kalafat, and on the 4th of November, in an intrenched position at Oltenizza, repulsed the attacks of the numerically superior Russian forces. But this success was more than outweighed by a disaster at sea. The Russian admiral, Nachimoff, sailing from Sebastopol, surprised a Turkish squadron under Osman Pasha at Sinope one cloudy day, November 30th, and almost completely destroyed it. The English leopard, which assumed a sort of maritime autocracy, could no longer be held back. Lord Aberdeen had to resign, and

Lord Palmerston, who stood in friendly relations with Napoleon, and who would not hesitate at war, took his place. December 5th, the Vienna conference sent another note to Russia, making a few concessions, but at the same time demanding the evacuation of the Danubian principalities. As Nicholas refused to accede to these demands, the Western powers concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Turkey, March 12th, 1854; and on the 28th declared war on Russia. If Austria and Prussia did the same Nicholas would have to yield. All depended on his keeping them neutral at the least. A meeting with Francis Joseph in Olmütz, and a journey to Berlin (1853) had that object in view. The interest of the two German great powers in this question was not equal. What took place away off in Turkey did not directly affect Prussia, while it did affect Austria; so it was the latter which exacted the promise that the Russian armies should not cross the Danube. When the Danube was crossed, in spite of this promise, Austria concluded with Prussia an offensive and defensive alliance, by which both bound themselves to make war on Russia if it incorporated the Danubian principalities or crossed the Balkans. A note was also sent to St. Petersburg demanding the immediate evacuation of the principalities. The Bamberg conference of the second-rate German states—which wanted, acting in the name of the Diet, to meddle in external politics and support Russia—not satisfied with the action of Austria and Prussia, addressed notes to those two states, but was brought without much difficulty to acquiesce in the course that had been pursued. The Austrian and Prussian notes made little impression on Nicholas, as he thought himself sure of Prussia, and reckoned with confidence on Austria's gratitude. Matters assumed a more doubtful appearance on the 14th of June, when Austria concluded a treaty with the Porte, by which she obtained the right to enter and occupy the Danubian principalities, on the very borders of which she had already concentrated an army. If this treaty were carried out, the Russian line of retreat would be threatened, and the Russians would find themselves between two fires.

Other hopes which Nicholas had entertained were also disappointed. He had counted upon the rising at his approach of all the Christian subjects of the Sultan, as well as the inhabitants of Greece, in a crusade against the Crescent. The Bosnians, Ser-

vians, and Bulgarians were partly held down by Omer Pasha and by the threatening attitude of Austria, and partly they wished to be on the safe side, and wait for decisive Russian victories. In Greece, on the other hand, great excitement prevailed. The hatred of the old oppressor was rekindled. The northern boundaries seemed more contracted than ever, now that an opportunity for extending them appeared to have arrived, and there was even talk of a resurrection of the Byzantine empire. The Western powers sent a few ships to the Piræus to repress these warlike aspirations, and French troops landed and compelled the government to join them in holding the restless elements in check. Thievish klephts made a few inroads into Thessaly and Epirus; but nothing of importance occurred, which lack of energy on King Otho's part so offended the people that a change of monarch began to be thought of.

Russia was thus thrown on her own resources, and could only console herself with the thought—More foes, greater glory. But the glory was not so easily won. The expedition against Kalafat failed, where Achmet Pasha was stationed with 16,000 men. Iskender Bey (the quondam Polish Count Jelinski), a dashing commander of cavalry, succeeded in surprising and defeating the Russians at Cetate. Prince Paskevitch was now intrusted with the chief command. He crossed the Danube and besieged Silistria, while Omer Pasha withdrew to the fortress of Shumla. But all the Russian assaults on Silistria, all the skill of General Schilder, distinguished engineer though he was, availed nothing against the gallant and prudent defence of the commandant, Mussa Pasha, assisted by Grach, a Prussian artillery officer. Mussa, Grach, and Schilder were all mortally wounded, and Paskevitch was grazed by a bullet. Despairing of the capture of the city, he finally drew off his shattered army (June 21st), and fell back, first across the Danube, and then across the Pruth; for the Western powers had already landed troops in Varna, and an Austrian army was advancing from Transylvania against the Danubian principalities, which it entered on the retreat of the Russians.

At the same time an English fleet, under Admiral Charles Napier, with some French ships, under Baraguay d'Hilliers, entered the Baltic, to induce Sweden to make common cause with the Western powers, and to carry the war, with its horrors, up the Gulf of Finland to Cronstadt and St. Petersburg. But Sweden

remained neutral, and Cronstadt, which had been made practically impregnable of late years, laughed the English naval guns to scorn. Toward autumn Napier had to turn back with his object unaccomplished. Except the capture of a few merchantmen, the bombardment of peaceful Finnish villages, and the burning of magazines of tar and wood, he had no heroic deeds to show. The French had to content themselves with the capture of the fortress of Bomarsund, on one of the Aland islands (August 16th).

The war must be decided in the south. If the Western powers wished to afford Turkey any real assistance they would have to come with a strong land-force. England shipped an army of 20,000 men, under the command of Lord Raglan, who was a companion-in-arms of Wellington, and had lost an arm at Waterloo. The French land-troops numbered about 50,000 men, most of whom had served in Algiers. They were commanded by Marshal St. Arnaud, who stood high in Napoleon's favor on account of his service in the *coup-d'état* of December 2d. The Duke of Cambridge and Prince Napoleon, a cousin of the emperor, attached themselves to the army, where the latter—Prince *Plon-plon*—became better known for his lack of courage than for great deeds. The transportation of the troops lasted several weeks, during which time the allied fleet bombarded Odessa. They took care, however, not to do too much injury to the defenceless mercantile city, where a great deal of English property lay. At last the land-troops arrived at Gallipoli, and were brought from there to Varna, partly by sea and partly by land. There they soon made the acquaintance of the cholera. A fire reduced almost the whole city to ashes, and it was with difficulty that the great powder magazine was saved. The useless march into the Dobrudsha during the burning August heat cost 2000 men. After the retreat of the Russians Varna had no further importance, and a council of war was held to decide at what point a blow could best be struck at the Russian power. The Turkish commanders wished to effect a landing in Asia, in order to drive the Russians out of the Caucasus; but St. Arnaud, who was suffering more and more from the fever he had brought with him from Marseilles, wished to illuminate the last days of his life by a brilliant deed of arms, and urged an attack on Sebastopol, the most important military post in the Crimea. As the Russian na-

val power in the Black Sea would be thereby annihilated, Lord Raglan was of the same mind.

The execution of the Crimean project progressed rapidly. Fifty-five thousand French and English and six thousand Turks landed at Eupatoria, on the west side of the peninsula, on the 14th of September, 1854; and on the 20th Prince Menzikoff, governor of the Crimea, was defeated at the river Alma. The day was won principally through the valor of General Bosquet, who with his zouaves scaled the heights occupied by the Russians. When the allies arrived before Sebastopol, on the 27th, they found the fortifications on the north side of the city too strong to be taken without siege-guns, and those must first be brought. The Russians had made entrance into the harbor impossible by sinking seven large ships of war at the mouth. The works of defence were strengthened from week to week by the restless energy of an able artillery officer, Todleben, and large re-enforcements from the interior of Russia came up over the isthmus of Perekop. Hence the allies decided upon a regular siege, and encamped south of the city, the French at the bight of Kamiesh, and the English at that of Balaklava. A sudden attack upon the northern side of the city might have succeeded, perhaps; but St. Arnaud's failing health was not favorable for energetic operations. He surrendered the command to General Canrobert, and embarked for Constantinople, but died on board ship of the cholera (September 29th).

The siege which now began was one of the most obstinate and bloody on record. In order to become masters of this stronghold before winter set in, the allies undertook a bombardment of the city, October 17th, both from the land batteries and the ships, but suffered, especially on the ships, more damage than they inflicted. This encouraged the Russians to assume the offensive. October 25th, General Liprandi attacked the English at Balaklava, and inflicted heavy losses on their cavalry. The action of November 5th, at Inkerman, where the English escaped disaster only by the timely assistance of Canrobert and Bosquet, was far more serious, but finally resulted in the defeat of the Russians, who were forced to beat a hasty retreat behind their fortifications. That ended the fighting for the year 1854, for the setting in of winter, and especially the pouring rain, rendered action in the field impossible. But the soldiers were not prepared for a winter campaign. The

English and Turks, whose commissariat system was very bad, suffered terribly, and cholera and dysentery carried off thousands. The French were better provided, and their native adaptability and cheerfulness enabled them to care for themselves better. They were light-hearted enough even to improvise a theatre in their camp.

Diplomacy made use of the winter season while war rested. The Vienna conference again came together; but Russia, which participated only in the hope of separating the allies, rejected the conditions offered it, so that on the 2d of December Austria entered into a formal offensive and defensive alliance with the Western powers, and strengthened her armies in Transylvania and Galicia. But as Prussia could not be brought to make war on Russia, and the secondary German states went no farther than to prepare for war, Austria did not dare, even if she had had any intention of doing so, to lead her armies eastward, leaving her rear exposed. While by this course she was earning no thanks from any side, was prejudicing her authority as a great power, and was bleeding herself financially by the maintenance of so many troops on a war footing, little Sardinia, by the treaty of January 26th, 1855, entered the ranks of the belligerent powers, and sent 15,000 men to the Crimea under General Lamarmora. Count Cavour's political sagacity had at once perceived the favorable opportunity which Sardinia now had. The alliance of the three Eastern powers—the Holy Alliance—was destroyed by Austria's ingratitude. France and England were placed under obligations to the King of Sardinia by the assistance of his brave soldiers. It might be foreseen that by a skilful Italian policy, for which Count Cavour was quite the man, it could readily be brought about that, in case of another war in the valley of the Po, Sardinia would have a powerful ally at her side, while Austria would stand completely isolated.

Emperor Nicholas strained the military resources of his people to the uttermost, and sent large re-enforcements of troops to the Crimea, many of whom never reached their destination, but were lost in the snow-fields of southern Russia. The command came from St. Petersburg to surprise the Turks under Omer Pasha at Eupatoria. February 17th, 1855, General Chruleff undertook the assault, but the wakeful Turks repulsed him. These numerous Job's messages so affected the health of the proud Czar that he died on the 2d of March, 1855. He was succeeded by his eldest

son, Alexander II., a mild, peace-loving monarch. The honor of Russia and the manes of his angry father imperatively demanded the continuance of the struggle, although Russia had already lost 250,000 men, the greater part by disease. Alexander recalled Prince Menzikoff, and intrusted the chief command to Prince Michael Gortschakoff. The Western powers on their part could conclude no peace before the capture of Sebastopol. Especially was this the case with Napoleon, whose first great undertaking must be victorious, if his throne were not to be endangered. Accordingly, he sent his ablest military engineer, the artillery-general Niel, to the Crimea, that he might give his counsels on the spot. He soon found the proper place for the main attack, and advanced his lines ever nearer and nearer to the southern suburb, Karabelnaya. His opponent, Todleben, met him half-way where possible. He threw up new intrenchments at this new point of attack, and made the so-called Malakoff tower almost impregnable. Day and night the battle raged above ground and below. The army of the allies had been raised to 174,000, that of the Russians to 150,000. On the 6th of April 500 shots were fired into the city, and the bombardment was continued for fourteen days without intermission. But the Russian guns did not remain silent, and Todleben rebuilt his defences as soon as they were destroyed. In the mean time the allied fleet made an expedition to the Sea of Azov, to destroy the cities of Kertsh, Yenikale, Mariopol, Taganrog, and Anapa, with their valuable depots of supplies. The expedition succeeded, but there was as little glory to be won here as in the Baltic. The conduct of the soldiers of the "most civilized nation," in not sparing Kertsh—the ancient Panticapæum, where the aged Mithridates met his death—with its valuable collection of antiquities, did not meet with the approval of the civilized world.

In Paris, where the news of victory was eagerly awaited, Canrobert's progress was not viewed with satisfaction. His relations to Lord Raglan were very strained, and that prevented cordial co-operation. Accordingly, a change of commanders seemed advisable, and Canrobert himself recommended it. General Pelissier, the perpetrator of the cave massacre in Algeria, owing to his unhesitating energy, appeared to be the right man, and General Canrobert had self-renunciation enough to serve under his successor as general of division. The consequences of the change

soon became apparent. However fast the men fell, Pelissier kept pushing his lines nearer; and on the 7th of June he carried the "green mamelon" by storm. But the general assault, which was undertaken on the 18th of June (Waterloo-day), miscarried, and cost the allies 7000 men. Lord Raglan, who had not fulfilled the expectations entertained regarding him, died of the cholera, June 28th, and in his stead General Simpson, likewise an old man, assumed the command of the British troops. The Russians also lost a leader about this time: Admiral Nachimoff, the victor of Sinope, was killed by a bullet while with his customary fearlessness inspecting the fortifications.

The allies paid another visit to the Baltic, but had as little success with the fortress of Cronstadt as in the previous summer. The bombardment of the Finnish city of Sweaborg was the only result of the expedition worth mentioning.

Before Sebastopol the siege works had been pushed so close that the Russian position was becoming critical. If the enemy kept on advancing at the same rate, the days of Sebastopol were numbered. Accordingly, on the 16th of August, General Read undertook a sortie. The siege works were to be destroyed and the thick chain of hostile forces broken. Favored by a fog, he surprised the allies; but the French and Sardinians quickly collected again, and he was repulsed, with the loss of several thousand men. Pelissier followed out his plan with mathematical inexorableness. From the 19th of August on, the rain of cannonballs was so terrible that in three days 5000 Russians were killed or wounded on the walls and in the streets. Eight hundred cannon were directed against the city. The earth quaked, and the inhabitants were stupefied. There was no more thought of repairing the works which were battered down. Against such an infernal fire even Todleben's skill could do nothing more. It was one continued thunder-clap. The Russian guns were no longer capable of answering the fire. It was decided to make a general assault on the 8th of September. At exactly mid-day the cannonade of the allies suddenly ceased along the whole line, and at the same moment the French dashed upon the Malakoff tower, while the English charged the Redan, a saw-shaped fortification. The French storming column under MacMahon's lead had quickly scaled the outer works of the Malakoff, but within they met with a stubborn resistance; and when they had overcome this they were

in danger of being blown into the air with the tower, for subterranean wires led from the powder magazine to the city. These were quickly severed, and a trench sunk. The French also carried the little Redan and the Central Bastion, but lost 7300 men in these assaults within a few hours. The English were less fortunate. Notwithstanding a terrible fire of grape-shot they forced their way into the great Redan, but were driven out again, with a loss of 2400 men. After the capture of the Malakoff Sebastopol was no longer tenable. Prince Gortschakoff, who had lost 13,000 men in this attack, blew up the remaining fortifications on the southern side, sunk the rest of his ships, fell back to the north side of the bay, and took up a strong position in the mountains to the east. Here he was in communication with Perekop and the other parts of Russia, and had for the time nothing to fear from the allies, who were embarrassed with their own losses. Enormous stores of material of war and wood for ship-building were found in the city. The siege had lasted eleven months, greatly exhausting all the belligerents. All wished for peace; and, fortunately for Russia, on the 28th of November Kars, in Asia Minor, surrendered to General Muravieff, after it had been gallantly defended for several months by the commandant, Wassif Pasha, with the assistance of Williams, an Englishman, and Kmety, a Hungarian.

Casting this victory into the scales, Emperor Alexander sent Count Orloff to the peace congress at Paris. At this congress, besides Russia, France, England, Austria, and Turkey, Sardinia also took part in the persons of Count Cavour and the Marquis of Villamarina. Prussia, too, was finally drawn in by reason of certain changes in the Vienna treaties. The Peace of Paris was signed on the 30th of March, 1856. Russia regained Sebastopol and whatever else she had lost, and had, on her part, to restore Kars, cede to Turkey a small strip of land at the mouth of the Danube, and renounce the protectorate of the Danubian principalities and the Grecian Christians in Turkey. She was to erect no more arsenals on the Black Sea, and to maintain no more ships of war there than Turkey. The passage of the Danube was declared free, the integrity of the Porte affirmed, and the Christian subjects of Turkey, whose equality with the Turks before the law had already been proclaimed, placed under the joint protection of the great powers.

By these provisions it was intended to take away from Russia the power and the opportunity to interfere in the internal affairs of Turkey. A long time would be needed to gather strength for a new blow; but, however often Russia may be unsuccessful, she will always renew the attempt until she has planted her cross on the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople. But the belief in Russia's boundless resources and invincibility, which Nicholas had contrived to spread, was gone. Germany was freed from Russian pressure. The first place, which Russia had occupied for a long time, was taken by Napoleon, who from a despised *parvenu* had suddenly become a very courteously treated *majesty*, to whose palace princes made their dutiful pilgrimages. France shone once more in her old military glory. She was the first great power. Austria and Prussia were condemned to impotence by their perpetual rivalries. The rest of Germany was treated like a baby scarcely out of long-clothes. England, which had accomplished nothing great, either at sea or on land, was regarded as on the decline. The chancellor of the Russian empire, Prince Alexander Gortschakoff, a brother of the general, in his circular of September 2d, 1856, described Russia's new programme in the words: "Russia does not repine, she collects herself" ("*La Russie ne boude pas, elle se recueille*"). Against Austria, which had "astonished the world by its ingratitude," Russia cherished a most bitter grudge, while it recognized Prussia's favorable attitude by friendly approaches.

According to the statement of his physicians, the "sick man" was once more in a thoroughly normal condition. That a part of his dominions—his Christian subjects—was placed under the guardianship of the great powers was proof of something abnormal. In the *hattisherif* of Gulhane (November 3d, 1839) Sultan Abdul Medshid had already granted all his subjects equality before the law. After the Crimean war, at the instance of the English ambassador, Lord de Redcliffe, he issued the so-called *Hat Humayun* of February 8th, 1856, by which the Christians were granted equal rights with the Turks in all respects, and all difference between the two in political life was to be removed. But if it is not infrequently the case that the performances of Christian sovereigns fail to correspond with their promises, what was to be expected from a Mohammedan, who was not even acting according to his own free-will? The terrible atrocities which the Turkish popula-

tion in Syria, and especially in Damascus, perpetrated upon the Christians in the year 1860, which gave the French occasion to occupy Syria for ten months, demonstrated the hatred of Christians cherished by the Turkish race. Abdul Medshid died, just at the end of that occupation, June 26th, 1861, having dissipated his powers in the delights of the harem. His brother Abdul Aziz succeeded him, and, after some feeble attempts to bring about a better condition of affairs, fell into the same courses. He was unable to prevent Moldavia and Wallachia, which had in 1859 chosen Colonel Alexander Cousa as their hospodar, from proclaiming their union, under the name of Roumania, on the 23d of December, 1861. This reduced the suzerainty of the Porte to a mere shadow. The caprice and extravagance of the new prince finally brought about a conspiracy, and in the night of February 23d, 1866, he was surprised in his palace and compelled to abdicate. Prince Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen was chosen in his place, and confirmed by the Porte as hereditary prince of Roumania.

Greece was very much dissatisfied with the Peace of Paris, which guaranteed the Turkish boundaries. Henceforward King Otho had a difficult position. The nation could not forgive him for having shown no enterprise or military ambition during the Crimean war; and from that time on he was regarded as wholly unfit to carry out the "great idea" of a great Greece and transfer his residence to Constantinople. When the Italian campaign of 1859 was decided in favor of the principle of nationality, and when, in 1860, Garibaldi set out upon his expedition to Sicily and Naples, and in 1862 attempted to raise the whole shore of the Adriatic Gulf for the conquest of Venice, the Hellenes asked themselves whether that which the Italians had striven after with almost complete success was to be forbidden them—whether they did not have the same right to give ear to their Grecian brothers, who were sighing under the yoke of a barbarian people, and unite into one state all the Grecian provinces of the Olympian peninsula. Italian agents, and even the Italian ambassador in Athens, stirred the fire. In February of 1862 a military insurrection broke out in Nauplice. This was put down, but the rebels found King Otho a lenient judge. In October, while the king and his wife, Amalie of Oldenburg, were visiting the Peloponnesus, the cities of Vonizza, Patras, and Athens rose against him. A pro-

visional government was formed, and Otho declared dethroned. On the news of this military conspiracy the royal pair returned to Piræus (October 23d); but they were not allowed to land. They sailed back to Salamis, and embarked on an English ship for Trieste, whence they returned to their German home. The Greeks then chose Prince Alfred, Queen Victoria's second son, to be their king; but the English cabinet declined the honor. March 30th, 1863, they made Prince George of Glücksburg king, whose father had been designated by the London protocol as the future king of Denmark. The young George I. landed in the Piræus October 30th. He had made the union of the Ionian islands with Greece a condition of acceptance, and England had consented to the union. The Greek nation regarded it as a lucky omen that the new king brought this acquisition with him as a dower, as it were, and hoped that he would satisfy the national expectations with regard to Turkey. This hope found confirmation in 1866, on occasion of the rebellion of the Candiotes against Turkey, when King George did not prevent the fitting out of expeditions to Crete, and openly took the side of the rebels.

This hostile attitude on the part of Greece and the rebellions in the Græco-Turkish provinces were greatly encouraged by Russia so long as it was a question of attacking Turkey, and not of dividing it. If it came to a division of Turkey, Greece was certain to find in Russia a very self-seeking co-heir—not merely inclined to claim for herself the whole inheritance, but even to swallow Greece itself. Indeed, Nicholas, in his conversations with Seymour, would hear nothing of the enlargement of Greece, not to speak of the re-establishment of a Byzantine empire.

Alexander II. proclaimed himself at the outset a promoter of civilization. A meeting which he had with Napoleon in Stuttgart, at the court of King William of Würtemberg (September, 1857), established friendly personal relations between the two emperors. At home he endeavored, by the construction of railroads, by commercial treaties, and by improvement of the system of instruction, to heal the wounds the country had received, and to rid Russia more and more of its Asiatic forms. His most important measure, requiring courage no less than sagacity and good intentions, inasmuch as 23,000,000 of his subjects were slaves, was the abolition of slavery. Serfs of the peasant class were to receive from their owners a certain amount of land, and in a term

of years, by a sort of redemption, consisting in money or other services, this was to become their own property. Serfs engaged in manufactures and household servants were to be freed from their obligations to their former masters within two years. Alexander set a good example: he freed all the serfs on the imperial estates, and bestowed upon them without payment the lands they farmed. Neither the opposition of the nobility, whose power was endangered, nor the risings of peasants, who found it more desirable to acquire their land without redemption, could check the Czar in the prosecution of his work of civilization. His manifesto of March 17th, 1861, clearly showed his purposes, and the execution of those purposes must inevitably work a total change in the social and political condition of Russia.

In the midst of these reform movements occurred a new Polish rebellion. Although Alexander had improved their condition considerably, both from a material and sentimental point of view, and was planning still further improvements, yet after the Italian war of 1859, where the claims of nationality had won the day, there arose a great agitation among the Poles, and they once more looked to France for help. The erection of an independent kingdom with the old boundaries as they had existed before the first division of 1772 was the aim of the agitation. From November of 1860 onward memorial mourning solemnities on a grand scale in honor of the beginning of the revolution of 1830, of the battle at Grochow, and of Prince Czartoryski, who had died in Paris, kept political passions alive. The middle classes in the cities, the students, and the Roman Catholic priesthood were the main-stays of the movement. On the death of Prince Paskevitch the Czar made Prince Gortschakoff, the defender of Sebastopol, Governor-general of Poland. The Polish margrave Wielopolski, a moderate patriot, was his coadjutor, intrusted with the administration of the department of religion and instruction. But no concessions satisfied the people. They made mourning the national color, and sung revolutionary hymns in the churches, while the nobles employed the Agricultural Society for their political ends. Before long there were collisions in Warsaw between the people and the troops. October 14th, 1861, Count Lambert declared all Poland in a state of siege; and General Lüders, who removed the state of siege, caused the arrest of several prominent men. But the government did not omit conciliatory meas-

ures. The priest Felinski was named Archbishop of Warsaw; Grand-duke Constantine, the Czar's brother, was made Governor of Poland, and Wielopolski intrusted, under him, with the civil administration. A series of national reforms began. But the population of Warsaw was under the ban of a conspiracy. Attempts on the life of General Lüders, the Grand-duke, and Wielopolski revealed the threatening abyss. In order to get rid of the revolutionary elements in the population, in the night of January 14th, 1863, the government resorted to a forcible conscription, although no conscription had taken place for several years, and all the young men in Warsaw who were regarded as suspicious were seized and forced into the army. This led to civil war. A provisional national government was formed, which summoned the people to fight for freedom, and sought to win the hitherto halting peasants by promising them the free and hereditary possession of the land they farmed, if they took part in the national battle. General Mieroslawski was named dictator, a man whose name was known from the years 1848 and 1849; but after a few days he was beaten by the Russians, and fled to Prussia. Langiewicz, of Posen, succeeded him as dictator, but held the dignity for a few days only. March 19th, he had to flee. He took refuge in Austria, and after a long confinement received permission to emigrate to Switzerland. The national government then resumed the conduct of affairs, and, like a Vehmic tribunal, side by side with the official Russian government, issued commands, levied taxes, and dealt out death. The irregular warfare in the Polish forests could not endure forever, nor could the revolutionary tribunal in Warsaw long continue to maintain itself, especially after Wielopolski was dismissed and the energetic General Berg placed at the head of the administration, October 31st, 1863. The whole land was full of Russian soldiers. In Poland, Podolia, and the Ukraine the nobles were rendered harmless by imprisonment; an extraordinary income tax was laid on the Roman Catholic clergy; and the peasants were won by bestowing their farms on them as their own private property. In Lithuania General Muravieff waged a war of extermination against the Polish element.

The insurrection was quelled at the end of the year 1863, and the Russian chancellor, Prince Alexander Gortschakoff, was able to inform the French cabinet that there was no further occasion whatever for political notes. Napoleon had endeavored to utilize

this opportunity, also, to act as arbiter of Europe. But he got no farther than identical notes (notes of identical tenor, but not presented jointly) from France, England, and Austria, to which Gortschakoff replied that the rebellion would be quelled the more quickly the more energetically those powers held down the revolutionary party in their own lands, and the less they encouraged it in others. England and Austria were not willing to engage in war with Russia on Poland's account—which would have signified for Austria the cession of Galicia—hence Napoleon attempted to extricate himself from the embarrassment by proposing a general congress, to play the part of a supreme Areopagus in all European affairs. The congress never came into existence, and the death of the King of Denmark brought quite different complications to the foreground of the political stage. Prussia had once more shown her Russian sympathies, and on February 8th, 1863, she concluded a secret treaty with Russia for the suppression of the Polish rebellion. This met with decided protests in the Prussian Chamber, as well as from foreign cabinets, and was never carried out.

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§ 19.

ITALIAN WAR.

Count Camillo Cavour, who had been minister-president in Sardinia since 1852, laid before the peace congress in Paris a memorial to the effect that Europe could not come to a lasting peace until the national demands of the Italians were fulfilled. These demands were specified as follows: that the great powers should recognize the national unity of Italy; that Austria should grant a liberal constitution in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom; that the foreign troops should be withdrawn from the States of the Church, and that the government of those states should be administered by a temporal governor under the suzerainty of the Pope; and that the arbitrary system of administration in Naples and Sicily should be brought to an end by an intervention. These demands could not be discussed at Paris, nor did they claim discussion there, but the mere mention of such a programme, the evident approval of France and England, and the malicious pleasure

which Russia scarcely concealed, all indicated that the Italian question would come up for solution as soon as the Eastern was fairly settled.

The moment was not badly chosen. Austria, the state with which battle must be done, was completely isolated. To outward appearances it had enormous power at its disposal. Its provinces had a population of 38,000,000, and inexhaustible resources. In the Diet its word was still law, and in Italy every state but Sardinia obeyed its behests. But in its internal administration, casting aside the experiences of the late revolutions, it clung to an effete system. On the 3d of December, 1851, the constitution which had been promulgated on the 4th of March, 1849, was repealed, and absolutism again resorted to. The concordat of August 18th, 1855, accorded to the Roman Catholic clergy unlimited influence over education and the Press, and sacrificed actual rights of the throne and the country to the papal stool. Religious intolerance, infringement on the rights of the non-Catholics, unwarrantable interference in the religious education of children—these were the order of the day. The light and air so essential to healthy political life were consequently excluded. Under such conditions neither the intelligence nor the self-sacrificing, enthusiastic patriotism so necessary in great political crises could exist. Austria's preponderance in the Diet was not likely to be of much service in a foreign war not directly affecting German territory; although most of the German governments certainly did seek shelter under the double eagle, and administered their affairs according to the wishes of Austria. March 27th, 1852, the constitution of Electoral Hesse, which had been adopted in 1831, was repealed by the Diet as irreconcilable with the laws of the confederation, and another constitution, reducing all popular rights to an illusion, was published by Hassenpflug without consulting the representatives of the people, and this grievance lasted until 1862, when Prussia finally entered the lists for the restoration of the constitution of 1831. In Mecklenburg, after the "fundamental law" of 1849 had been set aside, that of 1755 was raked out to satisfy the demands of the petty nobles who played at pasha there. But Austria derived no tangible advantage from these imitations and this sympathy of sentiment on the part of the secondary and lesser German states. During the Crimean war the Bamberg conference had proved that those states could agree upon no decided

course of action; and even if they could have agreed upon such a course, that was still far removed from putting their decision into effect. Everything depended upon the attitude of Prussia. Only when she was sure of Prussia could Austria command the forces of all Germany; otherwise scarce a battalion was at her disposal. Prussia was also pursuing a reactionary policy. By means of a pliant chamber, the Manteuffel ministry, despised both at home and abroad for its small-mindedness and lack of intelligence, was endeavoring in a constitutional way to alter the constitution for the worse. However, there was no lack of light in Prussia. In spite of Cultus-minister Ranmer and his school-laws, there was hardly any place where the sciences had made such progress. Such names as Alexander von Humboldt, Carl Ritter, Ranke, and Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm were among the most honored in all Europe. During the lifetime of Frederic William IV., a man at home only in peaceful pursuits, no change in the system of government was to be expected. In one matter only, in the matter of the German *Zoll-verein*, Prussia won a victory over Austria. The latter, jealous of Prussia's successful conduct of the *Zoll-verein*, demanded admission. Prussia, opposed by the governments, especially the south German ones, but supported by the tradesmen and manufacturers, refused to yield to this demand, and forced Austria to be content with the conclusion of a commercial treaty (February 19th, 1853). At the same time Prussia acquired from Oldenburg the port of Jahdebusen, which afforded a secure position on the North Sea for the creation of a navy.

On only one other occasion did King Frederic William seem in danger of becoming involved in war. September 2d, 1856, Count Frederic de Pourtalès set himself at the head of a small royalist party, planted the Hohenzollern flag on the castle of Neuchâtel, and overthrew the republican government, which had in 1848 freed the canton from Prussian suzerainty and changed the principality to a republic. But at the end of two days this royalist riot was suppressed, and the leaders imprisoned. Prussia demanded their release. Through French mediation a compromise was brought about between the two parties, who were already arming, by which the royalists were released and the King of Prussia renounced his claims on Neuchâtel (May 26th, 1857). But Frederic William's days were numbered. In that same year he was attacked by an incurable disease of the brain, and on the

23d of October, 1857, he was obliged to appoint his brother, the Prince of Prussia, as his representative. The disease became so alarming that a mere representation was no longer sufficient, and on the 7th of October, 1858, the Prince of Prussia assumed the complete direction of the administration under the title of Regent. This arrangement lasted until January 2d, 1861, on which day Frederic William IV. died at Sans Souci, and the Prince of Prussia succeeded him as King William I. The new king was not of a romantic temperament, but a practical, common-sense man, in the full vigor and freshness of mind and body. He was far from believing in his brother's system of government, especially disapproving of the overweening influence which had been accorded to certain of the persons by whom he was surrounded, and he clearly perceived what Prussia and Germany needed. Austria could not expect to find him as pliable as his brother. The "new era" in Prussia, which manifested itself under the Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen ministry in a more independent attitude in foreign politics, began with the regency. The disgrace of Bronzell and Olmütz, the insulting arrogance of Prince Schwarzenberg, whose aim had been to reduce Prussia from a great power to a second-rate German state, were deeply felt by those now in authority. They manifested in all matters a lively feeling with regard to Prussia's greatness and Germany's military position. Under the late government Austria had succeeded in defeating Prussia's plans of aggrandizement in Electoral Hesse, in Schleswig-Holstein, and in the matter of the Union, and had forced her troublesome rival back into the old Brandenburg paths; but now it was Austria's turn to tremble for her position. Frederic William might have said of his brother, quoting the words of Frederic the Great's father: "There stands one who will avenge me." After the death of Schwarzenberg, in 1852, his successor, Count Buol-Schauenstein, had pursued a more conciliatory policy. It was principally the Italian question which compelled him to adopt such a course. The more likely it became that Sardinia would have an ally in France, the more Austria strove after a Prussian alliance. In the new era that alliance could be won only by concessions in the management of German affairs.

Austria's position in Italy was not much more satisfactory. Her immediate dominion extended over the most fruitful tracts in the whole peninsula, comprising about one-fifth of the total

population; while in Tuscany and Modena the rulers were princes of the Austrian line, wont to receive their watchword from Vienna. Furthermore, Austria had garrison-right in the important fortresses of Ferrara and Piacenza, and her influence was preponderant in Parma, Rome, and Naples. But in a war for the independence of Italy these vassal states would prove more of a burden than a help, for the relations of government and people were far worse there than in the lesser German states—even worse than in Electoral Hesse. With the fall of the Austrian dominion all these thrones would not merely totter, but be altogether overturned. In some of the Italian states the condition of things was such that one might have believed himself in the midst of the densest barbarism of the Middle Ages instead of in the nineteenth century. The old Duke of Modena, Austria's faithful squire, pursued his Jesuitico-absolutist practices after the suppression of the revolution the same as before. Under Duke Charles III. of Parma, a Spanish Bourbon, who made his English equerry, Ward, minister, despotism wreaked its hatred on all men of patriotic sentiments. In 1854 the duke was murdered in the public street, and in 1859 his favorite, Count Anviti, colonel of the *gens d'armes*, fell a prey to the daggers of the exasperated populace. In Tuscany Duke Leopold's rule was as mild as formerly, but the repeal of the constitution and the influence exerted upon him by the Vienna cabinet were not forgiven by the people. Pope Pius IX., on his return from Gaeta, promised administrative reforms, but the terrors of the revolution had so affected him that he could not resolve to keep his promise. He wrapped himself more and more in the folds of his spiritual dignity, leaving the guidance of Peter's ship to Cardinal Antonelli, secretary of state, and finally fell completely into the hands of the Jesuits. The persecution of republicans was carried to the farthest extreme. In 1854 there were 13,000 political prisoners in the States of the Church, and the political fugitives from those states numbered 19,000. In Naples, King Ferdinand II., nicknamed King Bomba by the people, filled the prisons and galleys with the opponents of his despotism, shutting up together political offenders of high birth and the commonest criminals. He relied upon his Swiss mercenaries for the maintenance of his throne, and was deaf alike to the warnings of the earthquake of 1857, which destroyed 20,000 houses and buried 10,000 men; to the risings of Baron Venti-

venga (in Sicily) and of Colonel Pisacane; and to the attempt of a soldier, Milano, upon his life. From a dislike of the neighborhood of men, he lived for the most part in retirement in his well-guarded castle of Caserta, or at Gaeta. During the Crimean war he was impolitic enough to blaze abroad his sympathy with Russia, and to irritate the Western powers by a prohibition of exports. Gladstone's letters pilloried his despotism before all Europe, and made his dynasty an object of abhorrence in England.

In a war for its Italian possessions Austria would be thrown on its own resources. Lombardy and Venetia were held down by armed force, the well-to-do citizens and the rich nobles were exasperated by police regulations and imposts, and the property of emigrants was sequestrated. This occasioned difficulties with Sardinia, which protested against such sequestration, as many of the emigrants were naturalized within its borders, and was supported in its protest by the Western powers. The journey to Italy of the Emperor Francis Joseph and his wife, Elizabeth of Bavaria, and their long residence in Milan, in the winter of 1856, did not make the slightest change in the relations of government and people, notwithstanding the proclamation of amnesty and the repeal of the sequestration law. Reconciliation was wholly impossible. This perpetual friction, this constant skirmishing, this secret war, could end only with the utter destruction of one party or the other. Sardinia was working against the Austrians with all its powers, and was supported by a Press eager for war, by the agitation of Mazzini and Garibaldi, and by the National Union spread over all Italy.

Amid these wretched conditions, here revengeful reaction and there foreign rule, Sardinia formed an oasis. King Victor Emmanuel had a heart for Italy's greatness, and his policy was diametrically opposed to that of Austria in all respects. He carried out the provisions of the constitution in a liberal spirit, received all Italy's fugitive patriots into his state, and broke completely with ultramontane ideas, unconcerned at the ill-will of Rome and its bishops. His government, conducted by Cavour with boldness and sagacity, was regarded as the refuge of all liberal aspirations, and his dynasty, which, although originating in French Savoy, had been naturalized in Italy for centuries, was regarded as the only national dynasty in the peninsula. Although a state of scarcely 5,000,000 inhabitants, yet Sardinia was powerful, for all

Italy stood behind it. This was not the first time it had cherished plans of aggrandizement and nationality. At the beginning of this century, in London and St. Petersburg, the Sardinian statesmen had urged the necessity of excluding Austria from upper Italy, and erecting a strong north Italian kingdom. In 1814 the Sardinian ambassador at the Russian court, Joseph le Maistre, wrote: "Sardinia has no higher interest—and the interest of all Italy is the same—than that Austria should not possess one hand's-breadth of land in the peninsula. The king must make himself the head of the Italians; he must even call revolutionists to all civil and military posts in the capital itself." He knew no other choice for Sardinia than either to be swallowed up by Austria, or to drive Austria out of Italy and set itself in her place. If this aim had not been realized heretofore, the reason was that Sardinia had imagined it could vanquish Austria with the same system of government which Austria practised. Success was possible only in case Sardinia reformed its system from the very foundation, opposed to the Austrian principle of unchangeableness the most unshackled freedom of development, and convinced all Italy that the new war was no Sardinian war, but an Italian one; no cabinet war, but a national one; that the interests of the house of Savoy and of Italy were one and the same. Cavour was the first to enter upon this policy. Without a man like him the goal would have been unattainable. Enthusiastic for the independence and greatness of Italy, he was possessed of uncommon sagacity in developing the most carefully-spun plans and preparing for years the way to their execution; and in reference to the means he was too good an Italian and successor of Macchiavelli to be readily disturbed by conscientious scruples.

But with all this it would have been impossible even for a Cavour, depending on the resources of Sardinia alone, to have come out of the struggle with Austria victorious. Only the help of a great power and Austria's isolated position at that time could have held out a prospect of victory. The fruits of the Crimean war were ripe, and Sardinia could receive payment for the assistance she had rendered. Even under the Tory ministry of the Earl of Derby the sympathies of England might safely be relied on, for there was an almost morbid hatred manifested there toward King Bomba, the papal rule, and the whole Romish-absolutist system in Italy. At the bare thought of the Hungarian

rebellion and the Crimean war Russia fell into such a rage that it could scarcely wait for the moment to come when peace should be dictated to Austria. Although Sardinian troops had stood before Sebastopol, Russia yet displayed a sentimental friendship for Sardinia. Great Russia and little Sardinia pressed hands most affectionately on occasion of a visit of the empress dowager in Nice in 1856, and the harbor of Villafranca was even given up to the Russian fleet.

But more important than this exchange of sentiments were Sardinia's relations to France. Napoleon, delighting in his new rôle of conqueror, since the Peace of Paris the recognized arbiter of Europe, found the Austrian influence in Italy unendurable. This land above all, where, since the time of Francis I., French and Austrian influence had struggled for the mastery, where his great kinsman had won his first and most splendid triumphs, he regarded as a political domain of France. It was his expressed wish to oppose in this field his new public law to the treaties of 1815; and a beginning had already been made by the occupation of Rome in 1849. Nothing could be more opportune for him than an alliance with Sardinia, which by the conquest of Milan and Venice was to become large enough to form a dam against Austria, and yet remain so small as constantly to need the help of France. Then his plan was to unite this north Italian kingdom with the other states of the peninsula in an Italian confederation, like the powerless German one, and by means of his protégé play in Italy the part of a protector.

An unexpected event hastened the maturation of his plans. On the 14th of January, 1858, as Napoleon was driving to the Opera with his wife, three pear-shaped bombs were hurled at his carriage. A number of persons were killed or wounded, but the imperial pair were only slightly hurt. The author of this desperate deed was Felix Orsini. He had been a member of the constituent assembly in Rome, and then a prisoner in Mantua. After his escape from that place to England he had formed a conspiracy with three other refugees—Pierio, Rudio, and Gomez—to murder the emperor. Revenge was to be taken on him because he, who in 1831 had been admitted to the *Carbonaria*, had overthrown the Roman republic, and was now seeking to cast the shadow of his Napoleonic despotism over the whole continent. His person appeared to Mazzini's party the principal hinderance to Italian in-

dependence, and it was resolved that he must fall. On his trial Orsini stated that he had formerly regarded Napoleon as Italy's destined savior, and, recurring to that opinion, during his imprisonment he addressed two letters to him. In the first of these he reminded the emperor that "Italy's sons had shed their blood for his uncle," concluding with the words, "Free my country, and the blessing of 25,000,000 citizens will follow you into the next world." This letter was published in the French papers. Orsini and Pierio were executed, and the others transported. There came near being a breach between France and England on account of a fifth conspirator, a Frenchman named Bernard, who had remained behind in England, and who was acquitted by an English jury. But, as England was busy in the East Indies, and Napoleon had his Italian war on hand, a reconciliation was in the interest of both parties. This reconciliation was sealed, outwardly at least, by the personal participation of Queen Victoria at the inauguration of Cherbourg harbor (August 5th, 1858). The execution of Orsini's testament, which was published at Napoleon's desire in the *Gazetta Piemontese*, progressed rapidly. In July, 1858, Napoleon and Cavour had a meeting at the baths of Plombières, at which the plans with reference to Italy were matured, and the treaty conditions agreed upon. On his return Cavour visited William, the Prince-regent of Prussia, at Baden-Baden, in order to insure Prussia's neutrality in the coming war with Austria. The prince afterward said of him: "But he is really by no means so revolutionary as they say he is." Soon after Cavour sent Marquis Pepoli to the Prussian minister-president, Prince Hohenzollern, at Dusseldorf, to endeavor to procure a benevolent neutrality. There was the more reason why Prussia should pursue such a policy, because, as he represented, she must sooner or later be drawn into the same national current in which Sardinia then was; for Olmütz was for Prussia what Novara was for Sardinia.

On the 30th of January the marriage of Victor Emmanuel's eldest daughter, the Princess Clotilde, with Prince Napoleon Bonaparte, Jerome's son, took place. This marriage formed part of the Plombières programme, and was to make the new alliance still closer through the ties of relationship. A few weeks before—New-year's-day, 1859—on occasion of the congratulatory visits at the Tuileries, Napoleon said to the Austrian ambassador, Baron

Hübner: "I regret that our relations are not so good as I could wish to see them; but I beg you to inform the emperor that my personal feelings toward him are ever the same." At the opening of the Sardinian Chambers, January 10th, Victor Emmanuel expressed himself still more plainly. He said that, notwithstanding all his respect for treaties, he could not be insensible to the cry of distress which was borne to his ears from so many parts of Italy. In the Press of both countries much was said about the "rights of nationality" and "revision of treaties." Austria understood this language, and armed herself for war. Archduke Maximilian, brother of the emperor, who as governor-general had tried to make the hardship of foreign rule as light as possible, was recalled, the country placed under martial law, and troops upon troops despatched to upper Italy. Preparations were not wanting on the part of Sardinia; and France held her best troops in Algeria in readiness to embark at a moment's notice. Diplomacy still exerted itself to keep the swords in their sheaths. But it was to no purpose that Lord Cowley, the English ambassador in Paris, journeyed to Vienna and spoke of concessions; and Russia's proposition of a congress of the great powers in which the Italian question should be decided proved futile. Austria well knew in whose favor the question would be decided, and preferred a speedy decision by arms to a state of peace by which only her opponents, who were not yet fully armed, could profit, while she must be financially ruined. Accordingly, on the 23d of April she announced in Turin, as her ultimatum, that she would begin hostilities if the Sardinian army were not disarmed within three days. On the 25th of April Sardinia refused to comply with this demand, and on the following day Napoleon caused his ambassador in Vienna to announce that he would regard the passage of the Ticino by the Austrians as a declaration of war on France.

The Austrians crossed the Ticino on the 29th of April, and the war began. But from the very outset blunder followed blunder on their side. Radetzky, the conqueror of Novara, had died in the previous year. Count Francis Gyulai was appointed commander-in-chief in his place; but, excepting his old Hungarian patent of nobility, there was nothing to distinguish him from common mortals. In the interests of Austria there was already ground for complaint that Frederic the Great's strategy of 1756

had not been imitated, and that the Austrians had not broken into Sardinia in the middle of winter, as soon as they learned of the conspiracy of Plombières, before there was a single Frenchman in the country. As long as the Austrian government could not bring itself to adopt so bold a course, it was the part of the commander-in-chief to move rapidly on Turin, destroy whatever troops and material of war he could find, and occupy the roads to Savoy and Genoa, in order to cut off the French divisions in detail as they came up, and drive them back to their ships and to the mountains. Instead of this, Gyulai occupied the Lomellina, a fruitful tract between the Sesia and the Ticino, and, as though it were a case at law, regarded this as a security, safe in the possession of which he might quietly observe the further course of events. In the mean time some French troops, following the land route, marched over Mont Cenis and Mont Genèvre; but the greater number came by sea to Genoa, and among them Napoleon himself, with his most famous generals—MacMahon, Canrobert, and Niel. Though little more than a theorist in the art of war, Napoleon assumed the chief command of the Franco-Sardinian forces. Finally, in order to ascertain the position of the enemy, Gyulai ordered a reconnaissance in force. This brought on the engagement at Montebello, May 20th, which resulted to the disadvantage of the Austrians. Gyulai then turned his attention to his left wing. May 30th and 31st, the allies defeated his right wing at Palestro, while Garibaldi, with his Alpine rangers, pushed forward into the north of Lombardy, occupying Como, and threatening Milan.

Gyulai could no longer hold his ground. He had to abandon the Lomellina, and on the 1st of June he recrossed the Ticino at Pavia. The allies followed him closely. For a time Napoleon, with his Guard, was in great danger at the bridge of Buffalora; but the arrival of MacMahon, late though it was, decided the battle of Magenta in favor of the allies (June 4th); for which service MacMahon received the title Duke of Magenta. The Austrian soldiers fought heroically, but there was no head; no one knew who was commander; the individual corps commanders were left to themselves. This defeat was followed by the loss of Lombardy. Gyulai abandoned Milan and the other cities, blew up the fortifications of Pavia and Piacenza, recalled all the Austrian garrisons from the States of the Church, and fell back

with his whole army across the Mincio, to take up a position under cover of the fortresses of the Quadrilateral. On the 8th of June, Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel entered Milan amid the rejoicings of the populace; and the former, in a proclamation to the Italian people, declared that he had not come from selfish motives, but only to set Italy free. Central Italy rose in revolution behind the retreating Austrians. Duke Francis of Modena, the dowager Duchess Louisa of Parma, with her minor son Robert, and Grand-duke Leopold of Tuscany, had to leave their states and seek refuge in Austria and Switzerland, while provisional governments were formed behind them, and union with Sardinia proclaimed. In Bologna the papal legate had to withdraw with the Austrians, and the people proclaimed the dictatorship of Victor Emmanuel. Other cities also fell away from the States of the Church, and it was only the bloody storming of Perugia by the Swiss troops that still held a few in check.

To revive the fainting courage of his troops and restore unity among his generals, Emperor Francis Joseph joined the army and assumed the chief command. All burned with impatience to avenge the defeat of Magenta, so the emperor resolved not to remain on the defensive and undergo a tedious siege, but himself to attack the enemy. June 14th, the Austrian army was drawn up between the Mincio and Chiese in the form of a semicircle, in order to advance upon the enemy concentrically from three sides. The line was too long—twelve miles or thereabouts in extent—and the centre was too weak; further, it was not properly supported by reserve troops. A height by the village of Solferino formed the central point of the centre. Fully informed of all the enemy's arrangements, Napoleon was not taken by surprise. His main attack was directed against the weak centre of the Austrians. The French, whose long-range rifled cannon gave them an advantage, charged the heights of Solferino several times, but were beaten back each time. At length, toward evening, they were successful, just as a terrific thunder-storm burst, putting an end to the battle at most points. The Austrians retreated across the Mincio in good order, while General Benedek, on their right wing, after having twice repulsed the Sardinians at San Martino, continued the fight until about eight o'clock in the evening. On the side of the allies General Niel, who commanded the right wing, distinguished himself most, and would have considerably increased the

amount of the Austrian losses, if he had been opportunely supported by Canrobert. The Austrians lost 25,000 men in dead and wounded, 6000 prisoners, and 30 cannon. The French loss was 15,000 dead and wounded; the Sardinians lost 5000 dead and wounded, and 3000 prisoners. Part of the blame for this catastrophe must be ascribed to the wretched army administration. The negligence and peculation were disgraceful. Enormous supplies of cattle, bread, and wine were paid for and never delivered, so that the poor soldiers starved for days together, and finally went into battle exhausted. It seems almost incredible that when Emperor Francis Joseph, in order to retake the lost position at Solferino, gave the command to bring the reserve artillery into action, the answer came that the artillery and a cavalry division had marched off to the Mincio a couple of hours before. But it was not only the conduct of the Austrian army that displayed a total lack of intelligence and strategy; the French generals had scarcely given a single proof of strategical genius, and Napoleon himself was more indebted to chance than to the wisdom of his calculations for his victories. This condition of affairs did not escape the observation of the Prussian staff, where the art of war was pursued not merely as a matter of routine and mechanical dexterity, but as a science, and the years 1866 and 1870 were prepared for with tranquillity, albeit with unremitting diligence.

The allies followed the Austrians up, crossing the Mincio on the 28th of June. They were re-enforced by Prince Napoleon's corps, which he had collected in Tuscany after his landing in Livorno, principally for the purpose of winning the sympathies of that beautiful land for a French prince. But as the people did not seem in any way inclined to let their sympathies be won, he crossed the Po and joined the allied army. A French fleet appeared before Venice, and all Europe awaited the further development of the war, in which Austria seemed about to be assailed from two sides, west and south. Europe was all the more astonished by the news that a truce had been concluded at Villafranca, July 8th; and on the 11th of July the preliminaries of peace were arranged at a personal interview between Francis Joseph and Napoleon. The world did not know whether to be more surprised that Francis Joseph, after a defeat which had seriously weakened the enemy, should at once pay the price of war; or that Napo-

leon should prove untrue to his programme—"Italy free to the Adriatic"—and after two brilliant victories be content with the half instead of the whole. Yet the reasons for the action of both monarchs were tolerably clear. Napoleon required no further victories to establish his military reputation, while, on the other hand, those already won had terribly thinned the ranks of his best troops; and while each day made it harder to re-enforce and supply his army, it was becoming in the same ratio easier for the Austrians, who were approaching their base of supplies. At the same time a quite different sort of war was now about to begin, in which the impetuous charges and irregular valor of the Zouaves were not of so much consequence. The siege of the forts of the Quadrilateral would certainly have been a worthy counterpart to Sebastopol as far as the difficulty of the undertaking is concerned. There was not much to win, and that assuredly could not be won quickly, but there was a great deal to lose. The turn which Italian affairs had taken, too, was not at all to Napoleon's taste. That Sardinia should absorb the whole peninsula, and grow into a state needing neither mentor nor protector, had not been planned in Plombières; and yet that was what everything was tending toward. The agreement there made concerned Lombardy, Venice, Parma, and Modena, but nothing further. The other vacant, or soon to be vacant, thrones Napoleon wished to fill with his kinsmen Murat and Napoleon, a change which would have been of doubtful advantage for Italy. Sardinia seemed to him large enough by the acquisition of Lombardy and the prospective acquisition of the duchies, and according to his ideas French interests required that Cavour's avalanche should be commanded to halt. But even an emperor finds it hard to deal with an avalanche as he would with battalions.

There were other weighty considerations arising from the attitude of the German states, among which the political precedence assumed by France, and the embarrassment of the German imperial state, had caused great excitement. In south Germany open support of Austria was called for, and there was even talk of marching to Paris. In Berlin the temperature was considerably cooler. Francis Joseph had already several times made overtures to the prince-regent, asking for Prussia's alliance, and representing the matter as one concerning not merely the Po, but, and in a far higher degree, the Rhine as well, so that no other choice

was left to Prussia than, either in union with Austria and the rest of Germany, to fall upon France under favorable auspices, or, after an eventual defeat of Austria, to form the next objective of a Napoleonic war, and find itself in a position as isolated as that of Austria at present. The nephew had adopted the uncle's principle: "*L'un après l'autre.*" Russia had been the first to suffer, then Austria, and after that it would be Prussia's turn, and even England would come in for its share. This was as certain as that the year 1805 (Austerlitz) was followed by the year 1806 (Jena). Not until then would Leipzig and Waterloo be avenged, and the new Cæsar satisfied. Owing to the impenetrability of Napoleon's plans, his notorious ambition, and his desire, already several times manifested, to imitate his uncle in all things, these political maxims and prophecies of the Austrian cabinet had something seductive about them. Prussia's answer was not altogether unfavorable; but neither was the policy of the "free hand," on which it laid so much stress, entirely favorable, inasmuch as it contained a possibility of the most unfriendly intentions. In any case it was well for Germany to arm. Prussia mobilized its whole army, proposed to the Confederation the stationing of the seventh and eighth army corps on the upper Rhine, and asked for the supreme command over the united forces of Germany. It appeared determined under certain conditions to assist Austria in asserting her claims to her Italian possessions, not, however, as a mediæval vassal, but as a European and German great power. Those conditions concerned the internal affairs of Germany, where the Berlin cabinet, which seemed resolved to make up for the humiliation of Olmütz at one stroke, demanded a higher position in the Confederation for Prussia, and a more binding federal constitution in matters concerning war. Austria acted on a principle similar to that which an Austrian minister had propounded during the first Silesian war, in 1741, and held that it would be better to cede all its Italian possessions to the King of Sardinia than one footbreadth of land to Prussia. In Austria it was believed that the Prussian longings after the hegemony, which Schwarzenberg's imperious policy had once put down, were seeking opportunity to break out again with fresh violence, and hence Austria was ready to make concessions in Italy, in order that she might be free to force her Prussian rival back into its former modest position. She objected to Prussia's request for the chief command, and

proposed that the prince-regent should assume the office of commander of the forces of the Confederation, subject to the direction of a central council of war at Frankfort, instead of taking into his own hands, as regent of Prussia, the chief direction of the war. The essential incompatibility of the positions of the two states was most distinctly marked.

This made it all the easier for Napoleon to persuade Francis Joseph to conclude a speedy peace. By pointing out the Prussian plans, and holding before him the danger, in case he prosecuted the war in Italy, that Prussia would make use of his embarrassments to subdue the secondary and lesser German states, set herself at the head of Germany, and exclude Austria altogether, and laying on the colors with unsparing hand, he outwitted his opponent and won the game.* In point of fact Napoleon was

* In considering the causes which induced Austria to consent to the peace of Zurich it may be worth while to take into consideration Kossuth's negotiations with Napoleon, with a view to a rising in Hungary, as recounted in his memoirs. In May, 1859, he had an interview with Napoleon in Paris, in which he refused to excite a Hungarian rebellion simply as a diversion for France and Sardinia, but engaged to raise 200,000 men if France would send an army to Hungary and irretrievably commit herself and Sardinia to the cause of Hungarian independence. Napoleon objected that the English Tory cabinet, which was Austria's staunch and only friend, would be sure in that event to intervene, and Kossuth undertook to procure from the English cabinet written assurances of neutrality in case the war were extended to Hungary. Kossuth, Teleki, and Klapka constituted themselves a National Directory, and the last two went to Genoa to collect a Hungarian legion, while the former repaired to England. He was successful in his mission; the Manchester men united with the other Liberals, and the Derby government was overthrown. Kossuth joined Napoleon in Italy after the battle of Solferino, bringing with him private written assurances of neutrality—one of the conditions of union exacted by the Manchester men—from Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, and three other members of the new cabinet. In the mean time the National Directory had negotiated an alliance with Prince Couza, the hospodar elect of Moldavia and Wallachia, by which he was to receive the Bukovina in return for his assistance, and arms for himself and the Hungarians had actually been sent to him from France. Negotiations of a similar character were pending with the Prince of Servia; and efforts were being made to secure the co-operation of the Croatians. Napoleon had received from Russia assurances of neutrality in case the war spread to Hungary, but had been obliged to give counter-assurances that no thrones were to be erected for members of his family. The Hungarian legion, composed of exiles and a few Hungarian prisoners of war, now numbered 4000, and with Napoleon's approval the National Directory had prepared a manifesto, which

guilty of outrageous perfidy in making such representations. It was he who as early as 1851 had, through M. de Persigny, proposed to King Frederic William IV. a Franco-Prussian alliance for the purpose of driving the Austrians out of Italy, to the advantage of France, and organizing Germany in the national interests, according to the wishes of Prussia. And it was also he who, in February of 1859, offered Prussia Hanover, Holstein, and Electoral Hesse, and consequently the hegemony in Germany, in case she would support him in the Italian war. On both occasions his proposals were rejected. Francis Joseph listened to Napoleon's insinuations, and consented to cede Lombardy, with the exception of the fortresses of Mantua and Peschiera, to France, which was then to hand them over to Sardinia. Italy was to constitute a confederation of states under the presidency of the Pope, who was to be solicited to introduce reforms in the States of the Church. The restoration of the sovereigns of Tuscany and Modena was to depend on their formal recall by their subjects without the intervention of any foreign power. What had been provisionally agreed upon in the preliminary consultations at Villafranca was ratified by the Peace of Zurich, November 11th, 1859, and Austrian influence in Italy came to an end. Although Austria still retained Venetia and a small part of Lombardy, yet the rest of Italy was making such rapid progress in unification that on the next opportunity it would be able to claim those territories also as its property.

The Italians made no haste about carrying out those provisions of the peace of Zurich which were rather in Austria's interest. They would hear no more of a system of small states. They

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was just about to be issued, calling upon the Hungarian soldiers in the Austrian army to join the French and Sardinians and fight for Hungarian freedom. Then came the truce of Villafranca. Napoleon had made use of Kossuth to secure a benevolent neutrality on the part of England, and to frighten Austria by the bugbear of a Hungarian rebellion. It might have been convenient under certain conditions to have appeared as the champion of Hungarian liberty, but as matters stood it seemed to him that nothing was to be gained by the continuance of the war. Nice and Savoy were his in any case, and the attitude of Russia must have sealed his conviction that Europe would never consent to a kingdom of central Italy for Prince Napoleon. As was the case after the Crimean war, he sought to make friends of the Mammon of unrighteousness, and magnanimously gave the half-beaten foe terms which were calculated to win his gratitude.—*Translator.*

wished for no federal state, much less a confederation of states, but for a single state; and they foreboded little good from the presidency of the Pope, whose government in his own land was a genuine monstrosity. They were angry with Napoleon for not leading them to the Adriatic, and helped themselves all the more greedily in central and southern Italy. The National Assembly in Bologna announced, on the 6th of September, 1859, that the whole northern part of the States of the Church—the so-called Emilia—would not return to the papal rule, but would unite with Sardinia. Victor Emmanuel accepted their offer; and Napoleon recommended to the Pope the voluntary renunciation of his rights over those provinces—advice which the latter rejected. A French publication, "The Pope and the Congress," in the composition of which Napoleon was concerned, held in prospect still further cessions, for it propounded the maxim that the less land the Pope has to rule, the better Pope can he be. By the *plébiscite* of March, 1860, Tuscany, Modena, and Parma pronounced for union with Sardinia; and, to give the lie to Napoleon's professions that he did not draw the sword for an increase of territory but for an idea, a *plébiscite* was taken in Nice and in Savoy, the hereditary territory of Victor Emmanuel's house, which was intended to make the world believe that the vast majority of the population wished for union with France, the annexation of these two provinces being one of the conditions Napoleon had made at Plombières.

With such progress on the part of the national party, Naples and Sicily could not remain quiet. Ferdinand II. had died on the 22d of May, 1859, and bequeathed the government to his inexperienced son, Francis II., who was in the leading-strings of the queen-mother and the *Camarilla*. At a time when all Italy was like a Vesuvius, absolutism was retained in Naples as the system fraught with popular blessing, and all the counsels and warnings of the English and French ambassadors rejected. The ground was all the more favorable for the revolutionary attempts of the Mazzinists, and they managed, furthermore, to effect the discharge of the Swiss mercenaries, the only troops on whom the king could rely, at the very time when they were most necessary. In April, 1860, outbreaks occurred in Palermo and Messina, which were quickly suppressed. But on the 6th of May, Garibaldi, with more than 1000 volunteers, embarked at Genoa, under the very eyes of

the authorities. If his undertaking succeeded, the result would be accepted by the Sardinian government; if it failed, it would be disavowed. On the 11th of May he landed near Marsala, on the west coast of Sicily, under the protection of two English corvettes, and by re-enforcements from the island his forces were soon increased to 4000. He issued a proclamation assuming the dictatorship of Sicily in the name of Victor Emmanuel, "King of Italy." On the 27th of May he appeared before the gates of Palermo. In a few days one-half of the city had been captured; but it was bombarded by the Neapolitan general, Lanza, who had a force of 25,000 men, and partially reduced to ashes. Finally, on the 6th of June, Lanza, who had the whole population against him, had to capitulate and embark for Naples. A few weeks later Messina yielded, and all Sicily was free. Garibaldi, with 5000 men, at once crossed the Straits, in which the Neapolitan fleet was cruising, and landed safely on the main-land. He met with no resistance anywhere. All the garrisons surrendered; existing authorities laid down their offices; everything went over to him. His march through Reggio, Cosenza, and Salerno was a triumphal procession; and on the 7th of September, almost without a military following, wearing the red blouse and the felt hat, he reached Naples by special train, and was received by the people with inexpressible enthusiasm. The day before Francis II. had left his capital and embarked for Gaeta. His army, about 40,000 strong, retreated behind the Volturno to the neighborhood of Capua. Too late he had decided to yield; and after the surrender of Palermo he restored the constitution of 1848, called a liberal ministry, and proffered his alliance to Sardinia. This farce had already been so often enacted in Naples that no one would believe him, and so there was nothing left but to retreat into his fortresses before the revolution.

Garibaldi now assumed the dictatorship of Naples also. He cherished the plan of marching into the States of the Church, after defeating the Neapolitan royal troops, and planting his banner for the second time on the Capitol in Rome. Hence he did not at once proclaim the annexation of Naples and Sicily, because, as he explained, his design was to proclaim the Kingdom of Italy from the Quirinal. This aroused not merely the Pope and the Roman Catholic world, but also Napoleon. In the States of the Church everything was ripe for revolt. Where no French troops

were stationed the Pope had already ceased to rule, and yet he would hear nothing of mediation, and trusted to the effect of his excommunication of the robbers of Peter's Church, as though he lived in the age of Gregory and Innocent, and not in a century which regards such things merely from the antiquarian point of view. The clergy in all countries were ordered to agitate for the Peter's penny, and to persuade young men to enter the papal army, which was to be reorganized. The French general, Lamoricière, a friend of Merode, the minister of war, was put at the head of this army; but it was not possible even for him to accomplish the impossible. Napoleon wished to wrest the power from Garibaldi at any price, as he guessed that Mazzini and the republican party were behind him, and from them he feared the worst in case they came into possession of Rome. So on his journey through Savoy he caused Victor Emmanuel to be informed that he should have free scope to annex Le Marche and Umbria to his kingdom, and to invade Naples, in order to establish an orderly monarchical government there instead of Garibaldi's revolutionary dictatorship, provided only that he should leave Rome itself untouched and the so-called Peter's Patrimony, which the French would occupy. Thereupon Fanti, the Sardinian minister of war, occupied Umbria, and General Cialdini entered Le Marche. Notwithstanding the inferiority of his forces, Lamoricière confronted the latter at Castelfidardo on the 18th of September, but after a brief engagement had to yield to numbers. With a few followers he threw himself into Ancona, and on the 29th of September, attacked by land and sea, he and the whole garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war. A *plébiscite* in Umbria and Le Marche declared for union with Sardinia.

Victor Emmanuel arrived in Ancona on the 9th of October, assumed the chief command of his troops, and marched to Naples. Garibaldi was still there; and although he had about 25,000 men under him, he had not yet succeeded in breaking through the Volturno lines, or persuading the Neapolitan army to revolt. On Victor Emmanuel's arrival, he made a solemn entrance into Naples in his company, and, after the accession of Naples to Victor Emmanuel had been proclaimed, he surrendered his dictatorship into his hands, and scorning every mark of distinction, returned to the island of Caprera. The Sardinian king at once drove the Neapolitan army across the Garigliano into the fortress of Gaeta.

There King Francis and his wife, Maria of Bavaria, held out for three months, defending the fortress with great bravery. But when the French fleet, which had occupied the harbor, was recalled, and the Neapolitan fleet, now belonging to King Victor Emmanuel, took its place, lack of provisions and ammunition began to make themselves felt, typhus raged, and no star of hope was visible on any side; so finally, February 13th, 1861, King Francis capitulated. He embarked on a French ship for Terracina, and from there repaired to Rome. Here, as a pretender, he vainly organized little bands for the purpose of raising the Bourbon standard in Naples once more. These royalist robbers cost him a great deal of money, and the disgraceful deeds perpetrated by them soon obscured the glory of Gaeta.

On the 18th of February, 1861, Victor Emmanuel opened the first Italian parliament in Turin, and with its consent adopted the title King of Italy. That which Cavour had demanded in the peace congress at Paris, to which Napoleon had assented at Plombières, which the peace of Zurich had granted, seemed insignificant in comparison with these results of the exertions of two years. With the exception of Venetia and the districts belonging to Rome, all the provinces of Italy, diverse though they were, were united into one single state. But this unity was as yet mainly external, and the efforts of Italian statesmen must now be directed toward rendering it internal, and amalgamating the various parts into one inseparable whole. To this end it was necessary to refrain from all further undertakings for the next few years, and with energy and good-fortune make the best use of a season of peace to cleanse the old Bourbon stables, and institute a thorough reform in the army, finance, and civil administration. In this task, also, one far harder than mere conquest, Cavour displayed great skill. On one side were the raging republicans to be conciliated, on the other the angry Napoleon, who took it very much amiss that his doctrines of the principle of nationality and the right of self-determination had been put in practice against his will; and in addition to these difficulties the Pope, who showed very little appreciation of Cavour's maxim, "A free church in a free state," still had an arsenal full of thunder-bolts. On the 6th of June, 1861, while things were in this somewhat chaotic condition, Count Cavour died, worn out by his gigantic labors. Ricasoli, his successor, preserved an attitude of reserve toward France,

but in his internal policy followed in the footsteps of the great statesman. He despatched General Cialdini against the brigands in Naples, and by numerous executions and a display of merciless energy order was established there. This independent course was not to Napoleon's taste. Ricasoli, who would not consent to be a French prefect, had to retire and make room for Ratazzi. His policy was to unite all parties, which still came now and again into sharp conflict, and above all to conciliate the so-called party of action, at the head of which stood Garibaldi. He took into the army the remnant of the volunteers, who had been treated with conspicuous neglect after they had played their part, and declared the decision of parliament of March 27th, 1861, that Rome was the future capital of Italy, still in force. This set the party of action and with it all Italy in a blaze once more. "Rome and Venice!" cried the *Italianissimi;* and not content with that, they spoke of the conquest of southern Tyrol, Istria, and the Dalmatian coast. Garibaldi wished to complete his work, and applied himself first of all to the solution of the Romish question, which seemed to his patriotic impatience to have become altogether too complicated. He sailed to Sicily, collected about 3000 volunteers, and landed in Calabria, with the watchword "Rome or death!" But as the government had received from Napoleon a very decided intimation that this must be stopped, it issued a proclamation declaring his action criminal, and despatched Cialdini against him. At Aspromonte, on the 28th of August, 1862, Colonel Pallavacino encountered Garibaldi and his volunteers. An engagement resulted, several volunteers fell, and Garibaldi, dangerously wounded in the ankle-joint, had to surrender with his followers. They were soon set free again. Garibaldi lingered for some time between life and death, but the ball was at length extracted from the wound by a French physician in Pisa, and in December Garibaldi again returned to his retirement in Caprera.

The government had demonstrated that it was master in its own house, and that it would not let itself be forced into imprudent acts by any one, not even by its noblest sons. Hence it was time for France to remove a stone of stumbling, and itself to practise the principle of non-intervention which it was so ready to preach to other powers. The French occupation of Rome was a continual threat to Italy, as well as a sign of French tutelage, and hence it must be brought to an end. The treaty concluded

guilty of outrageous perfidy in making such representations. It was he who as early as 1851 had, through M. de Persigny, proposed to King Frederic William IV. a Franco-Prussian alliance for the purpose of driving the Austrians out of Italy, to the advantage of France, and organizing Germany in the national interests, according to the wishes of Prussia. And it was also he who, in February of 1859, offered Prussia Hanover, Holstein, and Electoral Hesse, and consequently the hegemony in Germany, in case she would support him in the Italian war. On both occasions his proposals were rejected. Francis Joseph listened to Napoleon's insinuations, and consented to cede Lombardy, with the exception of the fortresses of Mantua and Peschiera, to France, which was then to hand them over to Sardinia. Italy was to constitute a confederation of states under the presidency of the Pope, who was to be solicited to introduce reforms in the States of the Church. The restoration of the sovereigns of Tuscany and Modena was to depend on their formal recall by their subjects without the intervention of any foreign power. What had been provisionally agreed upon in the preliminary consultations at Villafranca was ratified by the Peace of Zurich, November 11th, 1859, and Austrian influence in Italy came to an end. Although Austria still retained Venetia and a small part of Lombardy, yet the rest of Italy was making such rapid progress in unification that on the next opportunity it would be able to claim those territories also as its property.

The Italians made no haste about carrying out those provisions of the peace of Zurich which were rather in Austria's interest. They would hear no more of a system of small states. They

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was just about to be issued, calling upon the Hungarian soldiers in the Austrian army to join the French and Sardinians and fight for Hungarian freedom. Then came the truce of Villafranca. Napoleon had made use of Kossuth to secure a benevolent neutrality on the part of England, and to frighten Austria by the bugbear of a Hungarian rebellion. It might have been convenient under certain conditions to have appeared as the champion of Hungarian liberty, but as matters stood it seemed to him that nothing was to be gained by the continuance of the war. Nice and Savoy were his in any case, and the attitude of Russia must have sealed his conviction that Europe would never consent to a kingdom of central Italy for Prince Napoleon. As was the case after the Crimean war, he sought to make friends of the Mammon of unrighteousness, and magnanimously gave the half-beaten foe terms which were calculated to win his gratitude.—*Translator.*

wished for no federal state, much less a confederation of states, but for a single state; and they foreboded little good from the presidency of the Pope, whose government in his own land was a genuine monstrosity. They were angry with Napoleon for not leading them to the Adriatic, and helped themselves all the more greedily in central and southern Italy. The National Assembly in Bologna announced, on the 6th of September, 1859, that the whole northern part of the States of the Church—the so-called Emilia—would not return to the papal rule, but would unite with Sardinia. Victor Emmanuel accepted their offer; and Napoleon recommended to the Pope the voluntary renunciation of his rights over those provinces—advice which the latter rejected. A French publication, "The Pope and the Congress," in the composition of which Napoleon was concerned, held in prospect still further cessions, for it propounded the maxim that the less land the Pope has to rule, the better Pope can he be. By the *plébiscite* of March, 1860, Tuscany, Modena, and Parma pronounced for union with Sardinia; and, to give the lie to Napoleon's professions that he did not draw the sword for an increase of territory but for an idea, a *plébiscite* was taken in Nice and in Savoy, the hereditary territory of Victor Emmanuel's house, which was intended to make the world believe that the vast majority of the population wished for union with France, the annexation of these two provinces being one of the conditions Napoleon had made at Plombières.

With such progress on the part of the national party, Naples and Sicily could not remain quiet. Ferdinand II. had died on the 22d of May, 1859, and bequeathed the government to his inexperienced son, Francis II., who was in the leading-strings of the queen-mother and the *Camarilla.* At a time when all Italy was like a Vesuvius, absolutism was retained in Naples as the system fraught with popular blessing, and all the counsels and warnings of the English and French ambassadors rejected. The ground was all the more favorable for the revolutionary attempts of the Mazzinists, and they managed, furthermore, to effect the discharge of the Swiss mercenaries, the only troops on whom the king could rely, at the very time when they were most necessary. In April, 1860, outbreaks occurred in Palermo and Messina, which were quickly suppressed. But on the 6th of May, Garibaldi, with more than 1000 volunteers, embarked at Genoa, under the very eyes of

of three months General Wilson took Delhi. General Havelock brought assistance to Lawrence, who was shut up in the citadel of Lucknow, the capital of Oude, with 400 women and children; and as their supplies were beginning to give out, both of them were relieved by the new commander-in-chief, Colin Campbell, who hurried thither from Calcutta. Campbell had too few troops to storm the city, which was defended by 50,000 Sepoys, and it was not until March 13th, 1858, after he had won other victories and received re-enforcements from Calcutta, that he took Lucknow by a three days' assault, and gave free course to the vengeance of his soldiers. Hard judgment was meted out to the rebels, and many hundreds were hanged, or bound to the cannon's mouth and blown to pieces. Nana Sahib succeeded in escaping. His companion, Tantia Topi, one of the most capable of the rebel leaders, was captured and put to death on the gallows. With the year 1858 the rebellion, in which both sides vied with one another in bloody cruelty, was at an end, and the moderation of Lord Canning, the governor-general, a son of the famous statesman, could once more have its way. In England it was felt that the task of ruling so vast an empire exceeded the powers of a private company, and hence Parliament took away the privileges of the East India Company, and decided that the English government should itself take in hand the administration of India. A special secretary of state for India was created, and a viceroy sent thither as representative of the crown. This changed the East Indies from a commercial settlement into an English province, and the question now is whether the people have gained much by the change.

The Indian Mutiny was an attempt of the natives to cast off foreign rule; the direct counterpart of that was the attempt of the French emperor to force a foreign ruler on the natives of Mexico. It was while the United States, torn by civil war, and bleeding from a thousand wounds, exerted but little influence abroad, that this genuine Napoleonic piece was enacted in Mexico. The "great uncle" had been imitated in many things—one thing only was still lacking; many a throne had been overturned by the Napoleonic idea, but none had as yet been erected, and Napoleon III., especially after his fiasco in Italy, could not deny himself the sweet satisfaction of imitating his uncle in this respect also. Spain's invitation to participate in an intervention in Mexico came very opportunely. England was also interested, and so the

London convention of October 31st, 1861, was held, and military measures for the protection of injured European interests announced, but any intention of a seizure of territory or interference in the form of government expressly repudiated. The Washington cabinet refused to take part in the convention. Benito Juarez, the president of the Mexican republic, a lawyer, of Indian extraction, had certainly been guilty of numerous infringements of the rights of Europeans. He had impressed them for military service, arrested their consuls, and postponed all payments to foreign countries for two years. In these measures he found his support among the liberals and radicals, while he had aroused the Roman Catholic clergy by the confiscation of church property, and they, with the conservatives in general, were arrayed against him. He did not yield even when a fleet of the three European powers appeared before Vera Cruz and took possession of that and other cities. Through the mediation of the Spanish general, Prim, the convention of Soledad was concluded with Juarez, on the 19th of February, 1862. According to this convention the independence of the Mexican republic was not to be molested, and a conference was to be held in Orizaba to settle the conflicting claims.

Soon after this General Almonte, who had been banished by President Juarez, appeared in the camp of the allies. He was a man in whom Napoleon had reposed his confidence, and Juarez's demand for his surrender was refused. Napoleon was already in negotiation with Maximilian, and as his plans became more and more apparent, the divergency of views and intentions on the part of the allies became more marked, and, finally, the conference of Orizaba was dissolved. The plenipotentiaries issued a manifesto to the Mexican government, the English and Spanish troops re-embarked in April, and the London convention in reality ceased to exist.

So the French alone remained behind. Napoleon, reckoning with certainty on the victory of the Confederate States, thought that he could win the game alone. In a land of such vast extent, however, the 5000 additional troops which Lorencez brought over from France could accomplish little, and Almonte's representations to the emperor, that the population would rise in crowds against Juarez, proved to be merely the product of an ultramontane imagination. The people were less ready to afford the em-

peror assistance the more evident it became that he and Almonte in their interviews had agreed to transform the republic into a monarchy. If Napoleon meant to carry out his plans he must furnish money and troops in greater abundance than even the pliant French Chambers would be willing to consent to. After an unsuccessful attack on Puebla, Lorencez led his troops to Orizaba, and there awaited the arrival of General Forey with a larger force. On his arrival, Forey assumed the chief command of the army, now about 45,000 strong. He renewed the attack on Puebla, which was bravely defended by General Ortega, and after a siege of three months succeeded in taking it on the 17th of May, 1863. About 12,000 men surrendered with Ortega. Juarez was no longer able to maintain himself in the capital, Mexico, where the conservatives were especially active, and retreated northward to San Luis Potosi. On the 10th of June, Forey and Almonte entered Mexico, at the head of 15,000 men. An assembly of notables was summoned to meet there. This assembly, consisting only of enemies of President Juarez, decided on the 12th of July to establish an hereditary constitutional monarchy, and offer the imperial throne of Mexico to Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria, with whom Napoleon had already come to an understanding. An embassy hurried across the Atlantic to the castle of Miramar, on the Adriatic Sea, and imparted this decision to the archduke. He was ready to accept the throne as soon as the whole nation should pronounce for him by a free vote. On the news that 2000 towns, the great majority of the people, had voted for him (the French are famous for understanding the manipulation of such *plébiscites*) he embarked with his wife, Marie Charlotte, daughter of the Belgian king, Leopold I., and entered Mexico on the 12th of June, 1864. He had previously concluded with Napoleon the treaty of Miramar, by which the latter pledged himself to retain 25,000 soldiers in Mexico, and not to withdraw them until Maximilian was able to organize for himself an army of natives and foreigners. On his part the new emperor had promised to pay the expenses of the French expedition (270,000,000 francs), in fixed instalments, and after the 1st of July, 1864, to maintain the French army of occupation wholly at the expense of the Mexican treasury. He had also incurred further pecuniary obligations quite surpassing the powers of Mexico at that time. It was one of those treaties which are made to be broken.

All the world wondered when it became known that a Hapsburger had accepted a throne from Napoleon. No one had believed Maximilian so short-sighted as not to perceive that in the summer of 1864 this throne had already become an impossibility, for the defeat of the Confederate States was then as good as assured, and as soon as the Union regained its old strength one of its first acts would certainly be to shatter this Mexican imperial throne. The United States would not quietly submit to the blow which Napoleon had aimed at the Monroe doctrine of 1823. According to that doctrine no European power might interfere in the internal affairs of American States, yet here was an interference which had been carried to the point of erecting a throne close to their own frontiers. Those were right who affirmed that this throne would last as long as the American civil war, and no longer, and that the chimes of Union victory would be the knell of the Mexican empire. Bazaine, who had succeeded Forey, now a marshal, in the command, forced Juarez to flee to Texas; but after the victory of the Union he returned to Mexico, supported by the United States. The north of Mexico had remained true to the president, and he had not a few friends in the south. His influence and that of his protectors increased daily, while Maximilian's position was becoming constantly more difficult. He had at first relied on the liberal party, and broken on that account with the clericals and the Pope, who, by his *nuntius Meglia*, required unconditional submission. Later he attached himself to the clericals, as the liberals gradually deserted him, but he could never wholly win them over to himself, since the restoration of the church property, which had been sold, was a demand that could no longer be complied with. The worst came from Washington and Paris. The United States government gave Napoleon plainly to understand that he had no other choice than either to withdraw his troops from Mexico or to engage in a war with the United States. Napoleon had been altogether at fault in his judgments on American affairs, and he saw more clearly each day how hated the costly Mexican expedition was in all France. Fearing for his own throne, he was more willing to abandon Maximilian to his fate than to engage in so venturesome a war on his account. On the 30th of July, 1866, he forced on Maximilian a new treaty, by which he was to cede the greater part of his revenues to the French, and be deprived in a short time of the pro-

tection of the French soldiers. This left him an almost defenceless prey to the republican troops, who had already pressed well southward. Empress Charlotte hastened from Mexico to Paris and reminded Napoleon of the treaty of Miramar; but he remained inexorable, for the Americans were becoming constantly more threatening with their "either—or," and affairs in Germany were growing critical. In despair Charlotte hastened to Rome, and from there she returned to Miramar a victim to insanity. Instead of abdicating under such circumstances and returning to Europe, Maximilian allowed himself to be persuaded by the ultramontanes, into whose hands he had surrendered himself completely, that they could raise a national army and the necessary funds, and that French help was no longer needful. Clinging to his imperial throne, he was blind enough not to see that they were deceiving themselves and him, and in a manifesto of December 1st, 1866, he announced to the Mexicans that he would make his decision dependent upon the decision of a national congress. But the summoning of a national congress was an impossibility, since the greater part of the country was already in the hands of the republicans.

January 14th, 1867, he convened a junta at Mexico, and laid before it the question of abdication or persistence. An overwhelming majority was in favor of maintaining the struggle against the republic; but they deceived both themselves and the emperor regarding the possibility of such a course. Maximilian believed that his honor would not permit him to leave his adherents in the lurch, and that with and for them he must fight out the fight with Juarez. February 19th, between the departure of the last French from the capital amid the rejoicings of the populace and their embarkation at Vera Cruz, he arrived at Queretaro with a couple of thousand men. There he was shut up by the republicans under Escobedo, into whose hands he fell on the 15th of May through the treason of Colonel Lopez. On the 13th and 14th of June he was tried before a court-martial. The issue of the decree of October 3d, 1865, which directed that all republicans found with arms in their hands should be shot within twenty-four hours, was the principal charge against him. He was condemned to death and shot at Queretaro on the 19th of June, 1867, together with generals Miramon and Mejia, who had been taken at the same time. The capital surrendered to the republicans on

the 21st of June, and Vera Cruz on the 27th. July 15th, President Juarez made his entrance into Mexico and resumed the government of the country. Maximilian's body was brought back to Austria by Rear-admiral Tegetthoff, and on the 18th of January, 1868, the imperial victim was solemnly interred in the Hapsburg vault in the Capuchin church at Vienna.

Contemporary with the latter part of Maximilian's career was the war which broke out in 1865, between Paraguay on the one side, and Brazil, La Plata, and Uruguay on the other, although the last two contributed but little toward the successful result. At first Paraguay was victorious, but in 1868 and 1869 the Brazilian troops won several victories, first under Marshal Caxias, and later under the Count of Eu, the son-in-law of the Emperor of Brazil. The death of Lopez on the 1st of March put an end to the war, Paraguay being obliged to pay the costs.

FOURTH PERIOD. 1864–1869.

PRUSSIA USURPS THE SUPREMACY IN GERMANY.

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§ 21.

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN.

BEFORE affairs in Mexico had quite assumed the form recorded in the last section they were crowded out of the foreground of history by events of great importance in Europe, and, to the surprise of the French nation, this time it was not France that set the world agog, but Germany; yet not that Germany which in Eschenheimer Lane, in Frankfort, busied itself with trifles and absurdities and called them politics, but the new and progressive Germany whose centre was Berlin. The desire for unity, political importance, and a development of power commensurate with its external possibilities and its internal resources, had not been expelled from the German system spite of the numerous unpalatable concoctions which Austrian and Prussian court quacks, or second and third class doctors, had prescribed for it to swallow since 1849. Then the movement had failed because precious time had been dreamed away in painting the fresco of freedom before the building of unity had been erected; now an opposite principle was about to be adopted—unity was to be forced upon the German people at the cannon's mouth, however loudly some tribunes of the people might complain of loss of freedom. As at the close of 1849, it was again the two German great powers which, like gigantic gladiators, confronted one another in the German arena. The words which Maria Theresa had used with reference to Frederic the Great, "the bad man," charging him with endeavoring to usurp the rank in Germany that belonged of right to the Austrian house, received in these latter years many

confirmative illustrations. Austria's supremacy in Germany had certainly been most seriously threatened since the time of the second Hohenzollern Frederic, and the more the house of Hapsburg basked beneath the blue Italian heaven, or buried itself in the mediæval lore of papal jurisprudence, the greater the danger became. Nothing in recent times had wrought such injury to Austria as the concordat with Rome, by which it had been reduced almost to a level with Spain and Turkey. Let any one look about and ask himself which states in Europe show the greatest youthful vigor; his answer must surely be—not those which still continue to hold the papal stirrup.

After the peace of Villafranca it was hoped that a total change of system would supervene in Austria, for it was not so much the brave soldiers of the empire that had been beaten at Solferino as its theocratical and absolutist system, the existence of which three centuries after the Reformation was a vicious anachronism. Either that antique mode of government must be abolished or new Solferinos must ensue. Only the removal of the corner-stone of priestcraft and despotism could save the Austrian structure from overthrow. Necessary as other reforms might be, their necessity was secondary; this one great radical reformation was vital.

A few reforms were exacted by the disorder of the finances and the unending strife with Hungary. A feeble beginning of these was made in 1860, when the "strengthened *Reichsrath*" was convened, in which the nobles and clergy had an overwhelming majority. As enemies of centralization, they pronounced for the historical rights of the separate crown lands, and so on the 20th of October, 1860, appeared the so-called "October diploma," which gave a modernized constitution to the lands pertaining to the Hungarian crown, and to the other provinces separate parliaments, so constituted, however, that feudalism should again hold sway. Common interests were to be considered in a common *Reichsrath*. No one was charmed by such a "diploma" excepting the gentry of antiquity. The Hungarians longed for their old constitution of 1848, and cursed this innovation. The other countries would gladly have accepted a new deal, provided only they were freed from the rule of clerical long-coats and knightly spurs. The universal discontent led to a new change of front; Chevalier von Schmerling was made minister of state, and cen-

tralization received another trial. February 26th, 1861, appeared the so-called "February patent," which created an inner *Reichsrath* side by side with the general or outer one. In the former the common interests of the German and Slavonic provinces were to be dealt with; in the latter, which was developed into a complete parliament, consisting of House of Lords and House of Representatives, the affairs of the whole empire were to be discussed, and hence the Hungarians as well as Germans and Slavonians would have to send representatives thither. But not only did Hungary refuse to send representatives, and protest against the validity of the measures of the *Reichsrath*, so far as Hungarian affairs were concerned, it even demanded the recognition of the constitution of 1848 as the primary condition of its participation. As that meant personal union, and would have made Austria dependent upon the good-will of the Hungarian parliament, the demand was refused, and it was announced that the "continuity of the Hungarian kingdom," insisted upon by the Hungarians, had been forfeited by the revolution, and that in a conquered country new laws might be introduced by right of conquest. So the Hungarian parliament was dissolved, Chevalier von Schmerling confidently remarking, "We can wait."

These words could become more than a mere phrase only in case government and *Reichsrath* travelled together the road of freedom; in case the Vienna court was in earnest with the new constitutional system, and by abolishing feudalism gave free play to the principles of the nineteenth century. By adopting such a course as this it might enable the western half of the empire to exert a powerful attraction on the eastern. But nothing of all this occurred. The government employed the *Reichsrath* principally as an assistant in the task of extricating itself from its financial difficulties, and showed no inclination whatever to speak with voice of thunder into the darkness of old Austria's political and religious condition the creative words, "Let there be light!" The dispute with Hungary continued without any step being made toward a final settlement; Hungary, for its part, not making the least sign of an intention to recognize the February constitution and send delegates to the *Reichsrath*. Even in the western half of the empire opposition to the *Reichsrath* manifested itself, the Slavs, who cherished separatist tendencies, finding the preponderance of the German element in that body objectionable. The

financial estimates of the year 1865 revealed a veritable abyss not many steps ahead. The House of Representatives was all the more urgent in its demands for economy, especially in the expenditures for army and navy, the very points on which the court circle was most sensitive. Count Moritz Esterhazy and the old noble party took advantage of this difference between court and representatives to get rid at the same time of Schmerling and the February constitution, and to make another attempt at the conciliation of Hungary. At the beginning of June, 1865, the emperor made a journey to Pesth, where he met with a brilliant reception. This afforded him an opportunity to make acquaintance with the leading men in Hungary, above all, Francis Deak. The Hungarian chancellor, Count Zichy, was dismissed, and the popular Count Mailath put in his place. Schmerling's ministry tendered its resignation, and was succeeded after a crisis of four weeks by the "ministry of the three counts," in which Count Belcredi was minister of state, and Count Larisch minister of finance, while Count Mensdorff-Pouilly (who had been minister since October 21st, 1864) continued in charge of foreign affairs. The plans of the new ministry were soon made public. The lands of St. Stephen's crown—Hungary, Transylvania, Croatia, etc. —were again to constitute one whole, the outer *Reichsrath* was to be abolished, but the inner *Reichsrath* was still to form the bond of union for the Germano-Slavonic provinces. Even this, however, was not allowed to continue long in existence. By the patent of September 20th, 1865, the whole February constitution, including both outer and inner *Reichsrath*, was suspended, the parliaments of the various lands of the Hapsburg imperial crown summoned, and the promise given to lay before them the results of the Hungarian settlement. This new *coup-d'état* re-established something very like the old absolutism, and hence in all the German provinces the "inhibition" of the constitution was protested against, and the emperor requested to restore it; but the Slavs of Bohemia, Moravia, and Carniola were jubilant. The Bohemian Czechs, who did not wish to stand second to Hungary, dreamed of a holy throne of Wenceslaus, and held a language toward the German population which recalls the Danish brutalities in Schleswig. The tendencies which in 1848 had been forced to yield to Windischgrätz's cannon were again rife, and Schmerling's successor, Belcredi, was foolish enough to encourage this Slavonic

separatism and talk of "historico-political individualities." If he and Mailath thought that the government could come out of the negotiations with Hungary so cheaply—with the abolition of the constitution—they were sorely mistaken. The Hungarians would have all or nothing. They insisted on complete independence, on the restoration of their constitution of 1848, and on the establishment of a special Hungarian ministry, and the utmost they would concede was that, as the administration of foreign affairs, finance, and the army concerned them in common with the other parts of the empire, those departments might be administered by imperial ministers. In the year 1865 the Vienna cabinet was not willing to consent to such a division of its power, but the events of the following year were about to make it more compliant.

Quite different was the course of affairs in Prussia, although there, too, collisions between government and people were not lacking. The constitution was not, indeed, "inhibited," but it was found to contain a very serious, and for the government not altogether unwelcome, "omission." From the day of his accession King William I. had bestowed his chief attention on the military administration. A soldier through and through, for him the power and glory of Prussia consisted in a well-trained, well-equipped army. He did not mean to submit to an Olmütz, as his brother had done, and from the beginning of his reign his purpose seemed to be to wipe out that disgrace and win for Prussia the position in Germany to which she was of right entitled when real power was allowed to weigh. As the existing army system did not seem to him altogether adapted to rapid mobilization, it was his wish to introduce some changes, and above all to strengthen the regular army by a longer period of service.* This reorganization of the army, his pet work, was one

* The reorganization of 1861 increased the time of service in the standing army from five years to eight, the increase being in the time of reserve service, which was raised from two years to five. The reorganized Prussian army of 1861 was in all important points similar to that of the North Confederation after 1867, with the exception that the time of service in the standing army had been reduced from eight years to seven. The following sections of the army laws of November 9th, 1867, will enable the reader to understand the essential features of the system:

§ 1. Every North German is liable to military service, and may not perform that service by proxy.

which later, under the test of war, approved itself completely; but as it would cost the country much money, besides depriving it of valuable labor, the House of Representatives, not recognizing its national aim, could not be induced to provide the means for carrying it out. Prorogations and dissolutions ensued. March

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§ 2. The armed power consists of the army, the navy, and the *landsturm*.

§ 3. The army is divided into: 1st, the standing army; 2d, the *landwehr*. The navy is divided into: 1st, the fleet; 2d, the *seewehr*. The *landsturm* consists of all persons liable to military service between the ages of seventeen and forty-two, inclusive, who belong neither to the army nor the navy.

§ 5. The *landwehr* and the *seewehr* are intended for the support of the standing army and the fleet.

§ 6. The obligation to serve in the standing army or the fleet begins with the 1st of January, in the year in which the person completes his twentieth year, and lasts seven years.

(The first three years are spent in unbroken active service. During the remaining four years the man belongs to the reserve, liable in case of war to take his place among the three-year men; in case of peace obliged, during his four years of reserve service, to take part in two "exercises," each of which shall last not more than eight weeks.)

§ 7. The duration of the period of obligatory service in the *landwehr* or *seewehr* is five years.

(The *landwehr* consists of those who have already served their time in the standing army. In case of peace they are liable to be called out only twice during the five years for periods of from eight to fourteen days; in case of war they constitute a second reserve.)

§ 10. In order in general to interfere with scientific and technical education as little as is compatible with the universal obligation to military service, each young man is permitted, on the completion of his seventeenth year, to enter the service voluntarily, provided he possess the requisite moral and physical qualifications.

§ 11. Young persons of education who clothe, arm, and maintain themselves during their time of service, and who have acquired the requisite amount of knowledge [equivalent to a diploma from a German *gymnasium*, or *realschule*], shall be transferred to the reserve after one year's active service in the standing army, reckoned from the actual commencement of such service. In proportion to their capacities and acquirements they may become officers of the reserve and *landwehr*.

(The whole period of service is not shortened by this arrangement, and hence one-year volunteers must serve six years instead of four in the reserve.)

§ 16. The *landsturm* can be called out only by the commander-in-chief of the Confederation [the King of Prussia], in case a hostile invasion occupies or threatens portions of the territory of the Confederation.

The provisions regarding service in the navy are practically the same as for the army.—*Translator's note.*

18th, 1862, the liberal ministry was dismissed. On the 23d of September the conservative Hohenlohe ministry resigned, and on the same day von Bismarck-Schönhausen assumed the *ad interim* presidency of the cabinet. On the 8th of October he became minister president with the special department of foreign affairs.

This was the man whom King William required to carry out his plans. Distinguished for the acuteness of his political diagnosis, of unbending will, an ardent enthusiast for Prussian and German greatness, at the age of forty-seven he already had a checkered career behind him. He had gathered a rich store of experience in the various posts which he had filled, had seen into the secret plans and motives of cabinets, had made the acquaintance of the ruling personages of the day, had learned to distinguish between the real and fictitious power of foreign states, and in 1860 was already regarded by those who knew him well as a statesman of the first order, who would effect the unity of Germany, even though his way of doing it might cause much offence. In the United *Landtag* of 1847 he was the leader of the extreme right, and distinguished himself by his determined opposition to a national assembly and a constitution. In 1849 he stigmatized the war in Schleswig-Holstein as "a revolution against the rightful ruler, a fight about the emperor's beard, a genuine *querelle allemande.*" He accepted for his party the nickname *Junker*, and replied to his opponents: "Be assured that we for our part will bring the name of *Junker* to respect and honor." As delegate to the Diet at Frankfort, in 1851, he had an opportunity to observe Austria's influence over the second-rate and lesser German states, and to appreciate thoroughly Prussia's false position. Hitherto, in *Junker* fashion, he had overflowed with praise of Austria, but now "there fell from his eyes as it had been scales," as he himself said, and from that time he stood forward as her open and secret adversary. That he might not be compromised by Bismarck's sympathy for the cause of Italy, the king transferred him to St. Petersburg as ambassador at the beginning of 1859. In the spring of 1862 he became ambassador at Paris, and had a chance to study his future rival, Napoleon. In political affairs his conviction was firm as granite that Prussia must regard the Confederation in its existing form as a burdensome fetter from which she ought to free herself as soon as possible, and that the total dissolution of the Confederation would be

more advantageous for her than its continued existence in its present form. Austria and the secondary states, refusing to take into consideration the real power of the various countries composing it, profited at Prussia's expense, acquiring a high position which in no way corresponded to their actual strength. Hence a revolution in the distribution of power, or the complete dissolution of the Confederation, was the goal toward which as prime-minister Bismarck drove with all his might. His words in the budget committee attracted universal attention: "Prussia must collect its strength for the favorable moment, which has already been several times allowed to pass. Prussia's borders are not adapted to sound health in the political body. It is not by speeches and resolutions of majorities that the great questions of the time are to be decided—that was the mistake of 1848 and 1849—but by blood and iron." He met the opposition of the House of Representatives, which in a short-sighted way insisted on its parliamentary rights, especially its control of the budget, by his national programme, which, however, was for the present somewhat veiled. Not understood by the liberal fractions, and repulsed by them, he abandoned all attempts at an understanding with the House of Representatives, and sought support among his former associates, the feudal party, who willingly assented to the army reorganization, and proved amenable to his wishes in every way. As the House of Representatives each year refused the money for the reorganization, which had been already carried out, and rejected the budget, which the House of Lords as regularly accepted, Bismarck announced that such a division between the two houses had not been contemplated, and that the "omission in the constitution" justified the Government in administering the finances without laws. He was equally undisturbed by the refusal of a loan, and said, with a frankness leaving nothing to be desired, that in that case he would take the money which he needed wherever he could get hold of it.

His external policy was not dissimilar in character. In the matter of Prussia's position in Germany he was resolved on energetic measures. Prussia's subordination to the Confederation with Austria as its president was to cease. Little value was set on "moral conquests in Germany," or on the political sympathies of the German people. A strong army was in Bismarck's estimation a far surer means for carrying out Prussia's wishes

and founding its relations to the other members of the Confederation on the basis of actual strength. In December of 1862, in conversation with the Austrian ambassador, Count Karolyi, Bismarck declared himself in regard to Prussia's future attitude toward Austria. "Prussia wished for better relations with Austria. Austria had the choice whether she would persist in her present hostile policy, trusting for support to a coalition of the secondary states, or whether she would enter into an honorable alliance with Prussia, involving the giving up of her anti-Prussian activity at the different German courts. By such an alliance the conduct of the Confederation would be in the hands of its two greatest states, in such a manner that no question of real importance could be submitted to its decision excepting after previous agreement of those states, nor be decided by Austria against Prussia's will simply through a majority vote. Any overstepping of the competence of the Diet by mere majority votes would be regarded by Prussia as a breach of the articles of confederation, and treated accordingly. It would be well for Austria to put away the illusion that in case of war Prussia would in any event stand by her, and she would certainly be acting for her own best interests by transferring her centre of gravity to Buda." These views did not meet with Austria's approval. The Austrian statesmen did not credit Prussia with the courage to assert her independence, and even in case she resolved upon a struggle they looked for the support of all Germany, and hoped to inflict a lasting humiliation on this aspiring rival. They believed that Austria's power in the German confederation must be strengthened, not weakened, and it was with this end in view that Francis Joseph laid his reform project before the congress of princes in Frankfort, August 16th, 1863. Instructed by Bismarck as to the significance of the project, King William took no part in the congress, and refused his consent to the Frankfort resolutions. Bismarck declared Austria's schemes of reform incompatible with the position to which the Prussian monarchy was of right entitled, and with the interests of the German people; and in an official document of September 15th, after subjecting the proposed new constitution to a destructive criticism, he put forward in contrast with it his own widely different plan. The whole scheme went to wreck on Prussia's opposition. The Diet, where Austria sought to grasp the reins more firmly than

ever, in order by that means to compel Prussia to submission, continued unchanged, and it was not long before its total lack of character was forcibly exhibited.

King Frederic VII. of Denmark died on the 15th of November, 1863. His successor was Christian IX., who had been designated as king by the London protocol of 1852. That he was king in Denmark proper no one denied, but whether he was king in the disputed duchies was another question. Neither the Estates of those duchies nor the German confederation had signified their assent to the protocol; and, although Christian had already taken possession of them, they still remained faithful to Prince Frederic of Augustenburg, who on his part protested without delay against Christian's usurpation, and assumed the title Duke of Schleswig-Holstein. Even those states which had signed the protocol—such as Austria, Prussia, and, among the secondary states, Hanover, Saxony, and Würtemberg—were under no real obligation to carry out the treaty, inasmuch as Denmark had failed to fulfil the conditions on her side. She had pledged herself to restore the provincial constitutions of the duchies, and never to incorporate Schleswig with Denmark proper; but on the 30th of March, 1863, the Eider-Dane party, which, in order to get a firmer hold on Schleswig, was willing to let Holstein go, since it belonged to the German confederation, had succeeded in carrying through the so-called March patent; and, without the consent of its Estates, Holstein (although, in accordance with the treaty, it was separated from the Danish monarchy) was converted into a tributary province, whose soldiers were commanded by Danish officers in Danish garrisons. At the same time a joint parliament for Denmark and Schleswig was convened at Copenhagen, where a common constitution, formally pronouncing the incorporation of the latter, was proposed and debated. It was adopted by the parliament on the 14th of November, and on the 15th King Frederic died. The new king had the choice of signing this constitution and setting all Germany on fire once more, or refusing his signature and being torn from his throne by the Copenhagen mob that threateningly surrounded the palace. Regarding the former as the lesser danger, and hoping for the help of England and Sweden, he signed the new constitution on the 18th of November. Under his predecessor an offensive and defensive alliance with Sweden had been arranged, but at the time of his death this

had not yet been ratified by Sweden. Of the great powers England was the one which gave herself the most trouble to avert from Denmark the threatening danger; but, as in the case of Poland shortly before, her efforts did not pass the limits of mere diplomatic intervention; and when she protested in Frankfort against a federal execution in Holstein, she was told that that was wholly a German affair, and did not concern foreign countries.

Since 1848 no such agitation had been known in Germany as that of the winter of 1863–'64. Every one felt that it was not merely a question concerning the defence of an unhappy and deserted brother race, but one involving Germany's future, and promising a speedy development of that endless drama whose final act, they hoped, would represent Germany as a united and powerful state, the peer of the mightiest great power. The rights of Schleswig-Holstein were maintained in the Press, in popular assemblies, and in parliaments with an enthusiasm that did not hesitate to challenge all Europe to arm and enter the lists against it. The higher the flood of popular excitement rose, the cooler and more reserved became the ministers of the German great powers, Bismarck and Rechberg. Both affected a violent respect for the binding character of the London protocol, and conducted themselves as though its validity would be likely to last to the end of the world. In Vienna the agitation in behalf of the duchies was very ungraciously received, and so far as possible put down. With Bismarck it met with a little more favor; not that he would set himself at the head of the German volunteers, but if the matter could be turned to account for the purpose of increasing Prussian power or enlarging the Prussian borders, then he would be quite willing to set the London protocol at defiance. If anything were to come of the whole matter, the Diet must first raise its voice. It made one step forward and half a step back. After excluding the Danish delegates from its sittings, it resolved, on the 17th of December, yielding to the pressure of the two great powers, not to occupy Holstein, as the German people wished, but only to carry out an execution there. Petitions were received from the members of the Holstein Estates, from the nobles and prelates, and from the university of Kiel, begging for the recognition and institution of their rightful duke, Frederic VIII. In addition to this, almost all the officials in Holstein refused to take the oath to King Christian.

But it was much the same whether it was occupation or execution, provided only some active measure was taken. Hanover and Saxony were intrusted with the execution, each of them furnishing 6000 men. These were to march into Holstein under the chief command of the Saxon Lieutenant-general Hacke. Austria and Prussia were each to hold 5000 men in reserve on the border, and in case of need put larger forces in the field. December 23d the troops of the Confederation crossed the Holstein frontiers, and by the end of the month they were in possession of the whole duchy as far as Kiel and Rendsberg, the Danes having retired across the Eider within the strongly fortified line of the *Danewerk*. On their departure all the towns proclaimed Frederic duke; and, although the civil commissioners of the Confederation wished to avoid any open demonstration before Frederic was recognized by the Diet, yet on the 27th of December about 20,000 Holsteiners met in the open air at Elmshorn, declared Duke Frederic their rightful sovereign, and invited him to come and rule over them. Up to this time he had been residing at Gotha, but, in accordance with their invitation, he appeared at Kiel on the 30th of the same month.

The question now was whether the German Confederation would recognize Frederic as Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, and afford him, as a prince of the Confederation, armed assistance for the conquest of Schleswig. The governments of the secondary states, partly forced into that attitude by the people, showed a willingness to recognize him; but the Augustenburg claims to the succession needed to be once more carefully investigated before any definite action could be taken. The matter was rendered somewhat doubtful by the fact that in 1852 the father of this prince had renounced his rights on receipt of 2,250,000 thalers, without protest on the part of his two sons, both of whom were then of age, and it was not until seven years later that Prince Frederic had protested. The Bavarian delegate, von der Pfordten, who had been appointed referee by the Diet, had not more than half-completed his work of investigation when Austria and Prussia took the matter out of the hands of the Confederation into their own. Prussia, not pleased that the secondary states should take the lead in this matter, persuaded her rival, Austria, to fight out the German-Danish quarrel in league with her. Bismarck neither intended to renounce the London treaty, as he

feared that that might lead to war with England and Russia, nor to set up the Prince of Augustenburg as duke, his plan being, in case Denmark persisted in a breach of the treaty, to unite Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia. If Denmark fulfilled her treaty obligations there would be no war; if she did not fulfil them then the maintenance of the London protocol afforded an excellent pretence for marching into Holstein and occupying Schleswig by way of security for their fulfilment. The Austrian alliance was welcome to Bismarck partly because it prevented her from taking part with the foreign powers, and partly because such opposition on Austria's part to the plans of the Diet would breed dissension between her and the secondary states. On the other hand, Austria accepted his invitation to joint action because she hoped by that means to curb Prussia's lust for annexation. Accordingly the two great powers announced that they would take into their hands the assertion of German rights in reference to Schleswig; and the protest of Bavaria and the other German States passed unheeded. If those states did not wish to conjure up a civil war there was nothing left but to submit to their fate. January 16th, 1864, the two powers announced in Copenhagen that if the Danish-Schleswig constitution of 1863 were not repealed within forty-eight hours, they would occupy Schleswig with their troops, and recall their ambassadors. The Eider-Dane leaders, thinking that, as in 1848, the foreign powers would not allow Germany to enter upon a war for the settlement of her own affairs, compelled the king to return an unfavorable answer.

The new allies already stood on the Holstein border. Although the Prussian House of Representatives, making a question of ministerial opposition out of a matter of foreign policy, refused their consent to a war loan of 12,000,000 thalers (about $9,000,000), and gave expression to the most decided distrust of Bismarck's policy, he did not hesitate to go forward with the execution of his plans. Toward the end of January the allied army entered Holstein; the Prussians, with 39,000 men and 110 guns, under Prince Frederic Charles; the Austrians, with 20,800 men and 48 guns, under Lieutenant Field-marshal Baron von Gablenz. The eighty-year-old Prussian Field-marshal Wrangel was commander-in-chief of both corps, and consequently Prussia had the deciding voice in this campaign. Frederic Charles was on the right wing,

Gablenz led the centre, and the Prussian Guard division, under General von der Mülbe, formed the left wing. In this order the allies advanced against the famous *Danewerk*, of which it was believed in Copenhagen that there the gallant Danish army would be as safe as in Abraham's bosom. But these thirty or forty miles of trenches, whose origin dates back to the year 808, in the time of Charlemagne, required for their defence an army of 60,000 men at least, and de Meza, the Danish commander, had not more than 30,000. The allies crossed the Eider on the 1st of February. Prince Frederic Charles occupied Eckernförde, and after an unsuccessful assault on the trenches at Missunde, on the 2d, he bridged the Schlei farther down, at Arnis, and directed his march toward Flensburg, in order to intercept the enemy's retreat. At the same time the Austrians, whose part it was to attack the enemy in front, reached the *Danewerk* proper, after engagements with the Danes at Jagel, Overselk, and Königsberg. As they were preparing to storm it they learned that it had been evacuated, and the enemy were in full retreat toward the Düppel trenches. In the night of February 5th, since General de Meza perceived that he could neither meet the superior forces of the allies in the field, nor hold the *Danewerk* against them, with the almost unanimous consent of a council of war he retreated toward the second line of intrenchments, the Düppel heights, in order to rescue for his country her army at the least. The allies followed him closely. At Oeversee, on the 6th of February, the Austrian van overtook the Danish rear and defeated it in a bloody engagement. Without a pause the allies moved northward along the whole line, Prince Frederic Charles toward Düppel, and Gablenz and Mülbe toward Northern Schleswig and Jutland. On the 19th of February Mülbe occupied Kolding, a border town in Jutland. With the exception of the islands and the Düppel lines on the peninsula of Sundewitt, all Schleswig was already in the hands of the allies. The Prussian Guards and the Austrians did not turn southward until they had chased the enemy—who were once more defeated by Gablenz at Veile—across the Lymfiord, in Northern Jutland. Part of the Guards then went to Düppel to take part in the assault, and the rest moved with the Austrians against the fortress of Fridericia. This was quietly evacuated by the Danes on the 29th of April, ten days after the capture of the Düppel lines.

The intrenchments at Düppel were so strong as to necessitate a regular siege, if too many men were not to be sacrificed, and a siege involved the bringing of siege artillery from Prussia. It was a little Sebastopol, where the subterranean work took up several weeks. On the 18th of April the assault took place, under the lead of Prince Frederic Charles. Obstinate though the defence was, the valor and devotion of the Prussian soldiers overcame all obstacles. By two o'clock in the afternoon the Düppel lines were in possession of the Prussians, and the main-land of Schleswig freed from its Danish oppressors. The Prussians lost 1188 dead and wounded, including 70 officers. The Danish loss was 110 officers and 4736 men, of whom 2600 were unwounded prisoners. The remainder of the Danish force was driven across the bridge of Sonderburg to the island of Alsen. One hundred and twenty cannon and 4000 stand of arms fell into the hands of the victors. The allies now moved northward, occupied all Jutland as far as Lymfiord, and levied a contribution on the inhabitants by way of compensation for the blockade of German ports and the capture of German merchantmen. There was also some fighting at sea, although here the former negligence of the German great powers made itself painfully sensible. March 17th, on the east side of Rügen, an engagement took place between the Prussian navy, under Rear-admiral Jachmann, and a Danish fleet superior in number, in which the Prussians conducted themselves creditably; and on the 9th of May, under Rear-admiral Tegetthoff, the two Austrian frigates *Schwarzenberg* and *Radetzky*, together with three Prussian ships, attacked a Danish squadron near Heligoland; but as the *Schwarzenberg* caught fire they had to draw off and retire to the mouth of the Elbe. This "brilliant victory" of the Danish fleet gave occasion for malicious exultation in the English parliament.

The English cabinet had done everything in its power to maintain the sanctity of the London protocol. It even called upon Napoleon to make a hostile demonstration on the Rhine for the relief of Denmark. But, popular as a Rhine campaign would have been in France, Napoleon, mindful of his uncle's fate, had no inclination to undertake such a demonstration alone—and if he had undertaken it he would not have been content to stop at a simple demonstration—so he returned answer that he could not possibly oppose by force of arms the national wishes of Germany

and Schleswig-Holstein for a closer union. It was his belief that Prussia, which he had not hitherto been able to make serviceable for the furtherance of his projects, now that she had at last stepped into the arena of great political and military measures, would soon become involved in such external and internal difficulties that she would be obliged to accede to his demands without resistance. Napoleon's position put any European intervention out of the question. The English ministers could not venture upon military intervention without allies, and at the same time they could make no consistent accusation against Austria and Prussia, inasmuch as they had themselves recognized Denmark's obligation to carry out its promises in the matter of Schleswig-Holstein's constitutional rights. The German powers had nothing whatever to fear from Russia, which welcomed this new complication as likely to draw off attention from Poland's fate. At last England, where the daughter of the Danish king, Princess Alexandra of Wales, exerted all her powers to arouse the prim old gentlemen of the cabinet to engage in a hearty tilt for her father, brought about a conference of the signers of the London protocol. This was opened in London on the 25th of April, and its first work was to arrange a cessation of hostilities from the 12th of May to the 12th of June, which was afterward prolonged to the 26th of that month. The German confederation was represented by the Saxon minister, von Beust. The German Press and associations, as well as the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, protested against the assumption on the part of this conference to act as arbiter in a matter which did not concern it. Fortunately, Germany had the best ally it could have wished for in the obstinacy of the Danish delegate. May 17th, Austria and Prussia proposed a personal union between Denmark and the duchies, but the Danes recoiled from such a possibility, and would not even consent to consider it. But that was the utmost concession which Prussia would make, and if that were refused it would offer still less. Moreover the military party, which reckoned according to the very simple system of the right of conquest, and not according to the complicated clauses of the London protocol, had gained the upper hand in the Berlin court. Prussia and Austria now openly refused to be bound by the protocol, and in the session of May 28th they demanded the complete separation of the duchies from Denmark, and their union into one state

under the rule of the hereditary prince of Augustenburg, without, however, committing themselves definitely as to his hereditary rights in the duchies. England endeavored to secure for Denmark as much of Schleswig as possible, and a long higgling ensued about a more northern or more southern boundary. The most the German powers were willing to concede was the restoration to Denmark of the most northern part of Schleswig, which was principally Danish, by way of compensation for Lauenburg. This offer the Danish delegates rejected. They also rejected von Beust's proposition to allow the population of Schleswig-Holstein to decide the matter by vote; and, finally, they rejected England's proposal to choose an arbitrator to settle the boundary line. The resources of English wit were exhausted, for there is no helping the man who will not take advice. June 25th, the conference separated without having accomplished anything. The sword must hew the Danish knot asunder. The Danes were deceived as to England's attitude as the Poles had been, for it was a diplomatic intervention only, and not a military one, on which both cabinet and Parliament were agreed.

Germany was well pleased with the position taken in the conference by its two great powers on the 28th of May, and rejoiced at the thought that the decision was again about to be referred to the cannon. Prince Frederic Charles, who had assumed the chief command in old Wrangel's place, transported his battalions across the Alsen Sound on 160 boats before daybreak of June 29th, and effected a landing on the island under the fire of the Danish batteries. General Herwarth von Bittefeld was in immediate command of the Prussian troops. The Danes were defeated at all points and driven back to the extreme corner of the island of Alsen, the peninsula of Kelenis, whence on the following day they escaped to the island of Fünen. About 3000 prisoners with a large amount of material of war fell into the hands of the victors. The Danes themselves set fire to the little town of Sonderburg. Almost at the same time with the attack on Alsen the allies began their advance in Jutland. They crossed the Lymfiord, forced the Danish army of 5000 men to embark for Zealand, and planted their banners on the northernmost point of Denmark, Cape Skagen, and on the shores of Otho's sound, where Emperor Otho had once hurled his spear far out into the waves. The Austrian ships were also finally successful in freeing the West Frisian

islands, Syl, Föhr, and the rest, from their tyrant, the Danish sea-captain Hammer, who was taken prisoner, with his boats and crews.

Violent as the rage of the Copenhagen populace had been after the evacuation of the *Danewerk*, which had cost Meza the chief command, it was pusillanimous enough now that the whole Danish monarchy consisted of a few islands. Even Copenhagen no longer felt itself safe from Prussian attacks, and called for the protection of army and fleet. King Christian took advantage of the popular despondency to dismiss the Eider-Dane ministry of Monrad, beg for a truce, and send an ambassador to Vienna to negotiate a peace. August 1st the preliminaries were arranged between Austria, Prussia, and Denmark, with total exclusion of the German Confederation, and on the 23d of October peace was concluded. By this Vienna peace the King of Denmark renounced all his rights to Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg in favor of the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia. The long injustice was righted at last; insolent, arrogant Denmark was remanded to its islands, and poor Schleswig could once more speak its mother-tongue. Three German duchies had been restored to Germany. But it might be asked: To whom in Germany? The duchies themselves, the rest of Germany, and even Austria, believed that nothing now stood in the way of the Prince of Augustenburg's inauguration as Duke of Schleswig-Holstein. But whoever studied the phraseology of the treaty more closely could scarcely entertain a doubt that it was Prussia's unalterable purpose to establish herself in the duchies; for in the peace express mention was made of the rights of King Christian, which rights Prussia by her renunciation of the London protocol had distinctly repudiated. If she now returned to the old stand-point, it was manifestly in order that she might find a way to set aside the rights of the Augustenburger, which she had maintained on the 28th of May, and acquire all rights for herself and Austria. They and no one else were to have a right to the duchies. Austria's joint possession was certainly burdensome, but Bismarck, the soul of the new policy of annexation, believed that the constant embarrassments of that state would readily furnish means to effect a dissolution of the partnership. Austria had no conceivable interest on the North Sea, and could not possibly covet this remote possession for herself.

From the beginning Austria had evidently been more inclined to favor Denmark than the Augustenburger; why should she not, then, be willing to shut her eyes while her ally of '64 either altogether appropriated provinces which had been freed principally by Prussian blood, or made them completely dependent upon itself in maritime and military matters? And if in her jealousy at the progress of this younger rival Austria should wish to inflict upon its voracious appetite the torments of Tantalus, she had herself a Hungary and an Italy, and these were a very mountain of embarrassments, which might be placed across her path in case she failed to show herself a pliant comrade. Bismarck further reasoned that if Austria proved unfriendly it would be a favorable opportunity to settle accounts with her at last, to put the German question on the carpet, and with the reorganized army and the needle-gun drive the Austrians out of Germany and form a new confederation in which the Prussian state should be the one to utter the word of command. Then and not till then would Prussia—by the acquisition of the duchies potentially a naval power—become a real great power; then and not till then would Frederic the Great's work be completed.

Immediately after the conclusion of peace sagacious politicians prophesied that the victorious allies would become involved in war about the division of the booty. Their hatred had been gathering for a hundred years. Prussia's Union in 1849 and 1850 had almost brought on a war, which Frederic William was able to avoid only by yielding; and the sting of that surrender still rankled. But King William and Bismarck would not hesitate even at a war, if Prussia's position were in danger. No other choice was left to Austria than either to abandon the duchies to Prussia or engage in a life or death struggle, for Bismarck's mind was made up on that point; and the more evident it became that he was the only man capable of carrying through the army reorganization, the higher rose his influence with the king. He viewed with unconcern the opposition of the Prussian *landtag*, while the Diet and the secondary and lesser German states were treated by him as powerless creatures, which were ready enough to set up a great outcry, but which always went quietly back to their civil duties the moment they saw any real danger. This was well exhibited at that very time in the province of the *Zollverein*. In the name of the *Zollverein* Prussia

had in 1862 concluded a commercial treaty with France, to which several of the secondary states, influenced by Austria, whose commercial interests were threatened, refused their assent. Prussia replied by notice of the eventual dissolution of the *Zollverein*, and the recalcitrant states, threatened with industrial ruin, under pressure of the mercantile and manufacturing classes gave up their customs' treaties with Austria, which state had, furthermore, offended them by the slight she put upon the Confederation in the Schleswig-Holstein war, accepted the obnoxious treaty, and sent their plenipotentiaries to the customs' conference in Berlin, September 30th, 1864. This was at the same time a blow for Austria, who now found herself excluded from all intimate relations with the *Zollverein*, and obliged to negotiate with it like any foreign state.

Prussia's course toward the commissioners and generals of the Confederation in Holstein was not a whit gentler. During the war she had not paid the least heed to them or their regulations, and "for the security and freedom of the military operations" had occupied Altona, Kiel, and Neumünster, and, on the 21st of July, the fortress of Rendsburg as well. On conclusion of the peace she declared that, as Holstein was now to be surrendered to Prussia and Austria, any further occupation of the country by troops of the Confederation was unnecessary. Hanover and Saxony did not acquiesce in this view. The Austrian troops had already for the most part left Holstein, and the Prussians from Schleswig were slowly following, when the latter were suddenly diverted from their homeward march in order to occupy all the important points in Holstein. Hanover and Saxony were summoned to withdraw their troops, and, in order to hasten their action, Prussia stationed a division at Minden, and another south of Berlin, as a threat to those two states. Hanover took the hint, but Saxony armed itself and brought the matter before the Diet. Here Austria helped its ally, and the withdrawal of the troops of the Confederation was ordered, as the execution was now at an end. December 7th, 1864, the commissioners of the Confederation surrendered Holstein and Lauenburg to the Austro-Prussian commissioners, and the homeward march of the Hanoverians and Saxons at once began. Prussia established herself in the duchies in such a way as to make it evident that she would not leave of her own free-will. Among the people, however, she met with lit-

tle encouragement. Only the Lauenburg nobility wished to see the country joined to Prussia by a personal union; in Schleswig the sentiment was cooler, and went no farther than submission to the inevitable; while Holstein held fast to the right of the Augustenburger, and declared that he must first of all be inaugurated as duke—then he would be in a position, in concert with the representatives of the people, to determine what concessions should be made to Prussia. This method did not seem to Bismarck sufficiently sure, especially as the Prince of Augustenburg during his stay in Berlin had not been willing to consent to any concessions of importance. It appeared to him far better to make the recognition of the duke dependent on a preliminary cession to the King of Prussia by prince and people of the unconditional control of the military and naval strength of the duchies. If this were not done, he would listen to no talk of an independent Schleswig-Holstein and a Duke Frederic, and the Prussians would for the present remain masters of the country. To involve matters still further, Bismarck called upon the Grand-duke of Oldenburg to prove his claims to Schleswig-Holstein, asserted similar claims on the part of the Prussian royal house, and convened the crown lawyers for a legal examination of this complicated question. Their decision was that none of the claimants was entitled to the whole, but each one to some part; that the Augustenburger had in no case more right than the others, and that, in consequence of his father's renunciation of his claims, and acceptance of a money compensation, with the constructive consent of his sons, what rights he had had were forfeited; and that Prussia and Austria, which alone had conquered the country, were not responsible to any one, not even the Diet, for any disposition which they chose to make of the ceded duchies.

Austria's proposition to surrender the duchies to the Augustenburger, as the one who had on the whole the best title, was rejected by Bismarck; and, on the 13th of December, 1864, he declared that, before pronouncing decision on the matter of the succession, the question of Prussia's future position in the duchies must first be decided, and gave Austria to understand that Prussia was thinking of annexation, naturally, however, not without payment of a money equivalent. But in the mean time a change had taken place in the Vienna cabinet. Count Rechberg, who had let himself be led by Bismarck altogether too easily, and had

forfeited the confidence of the secondary states by his conduct in the matter of the duchies, made way, on the 21st of October, 1864, for Count Mensdorff-Pouilly. The new minister did not propose to go so far as to engage in war with Prussia on account of this much-blundered question, but merely to put as many hinderances as possible between her and the attainment of her object. He had the means for such a course at his command in the fact that Austria was joint possessor and had equal rights with Prussia. It was the policy of the latter to prevent the erection of the duchies into an independent state, doing nothing for and everything against such a solution of the question. As the best means to thwart this policy, Count Mensdorff fell in with Prussia's proposition of annexation, and sent to the duchies, as civil commissioner on the part of Austria, von Halbhuber, who understood how to hold his own against the Prussian commissioner, Baron von Zedlitz, better than his predecessors had done. Mensdorff's reply to Bismarck's despatch of December 21st was to the effect that Austria could consent to the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein only in consideration of an equivalent increase of her own German territory. Thereupon Bismarck, in his despatch of February 22d, 1865, specified what Prussia demanded before she could consent to an independent Schleswig-Holstein. The essential part of her requirements was the surrender to the King of Prussia of unconditional control over the land and sea forces of the duchies. Austria, while not denying that there was some sort of justification for these demands, replied that the formation of a semi-sovereign state was not compatible with the rights of the Confederation, and on the 6th of April in the Diet gave her assent to a motion of the south German states that the administration of Holstein be at once and unconditionally made over to the Augustenburger. The motion was carried, but led to no results, owing to Prussia's opposition. An assembly of the leading men of the duchies indicated the concessions which they were willing to make; but Bismarck, who openly declared that the Schleswig-Holstein question could be settled only in connection with the German one, and who was working toward the attainment of that result, would consent to no compromise, and at once began preparations to convert Kiel into a Prussian naval station. Here the watchful von Halbhuber, without whose consent von Zedlitz could do nothing, was very much in the way. All resources were

exhausted in vain. Prussia wished to convene the Estates of Schleswig-Holstein, but Austria objected; and when, later, she withdrew her opposition, Prussia was no longer willing that they should be convened, demanding first of all the expulsion of the "pretender," on the ground that under the influence of the "Augustenburg side-government" no free expression of opinion on the part of the Estates was possible. Through dread of the public opinion of Germany, Austria was unwilling to subscribe to such a measure, nor did she find herself, furthermore, in any way hampered by the existence of this "side-government." She was not at all displeased that the 6th of April, the Augustenburger's birthday, was celebrated throughout the whole country, numerous deputations from both Holstein and Schleswig wending their way to Niedstädten, the residence of the duke, while the number of persons that celebrated the King of Prussia's birthday was noticeably small.

Each week the situation grew more critical. In July, while the king and Bismarck were in Carlsbad, the Vienna cabinet received a despatch full of bitter reproaches for its opposition in Holstein, and intimating that Prussia might be induced to proceed to violent measures without consulting Austria. With his well-known frankness Bismarck told the Duke of Gramont, the French ambassador in Vienna, that, far from fearing a war with Austria, he rather wished for one. By fair means or foul, Prussia was resolved to acquire the duchies and the first place in Germany. That weighty events were impending was shown by the cabinet council which was held while the king was on the way from Carlsbad to Gastein. July 21st all the cabinet ministers, together with the French and Austrian ambassadors, were summoned to Ratisbon, and shortly after Bismarck had a meeting in Salzburg with the Bavarian minister, von der Pfordten, in which he endeavored to impress upon the secondary states the necessity of maintaining a strict neutrality in the approaching war between Prussia and Austria. He professed unconcern as to the result of the struggle, as Austria was not prepared and had no money with which to carry on the war. At the same time he put in execution his threat of acting independently in the duchies. June 26th, without consulting the Austrian commissioner, he caused May, a Silesian by birth, an editor who was agitating in behalf of the Augustenburger, to be arrested in Altona

and taken to the fortress of Rendsburg; and a member of the Prussian parliament, Frese, who was in Kiel for the purpose of agitating against annexation to Prussia, to be expelled from Holstein. Austria did not fail to protest, but she had by no means made up her mind to go to war, for it was just at the time when the constitution had been repealed, and she was endeavoring to come to an agreement with Hungary; and furthermore her financial calamities had made a bad impression on the people. August 14th, after some negotiating, in which Austria at first maintained the rights of the Confederation, while Prussia was in favor of annexation, the Gastein convention was concluded. Without prejudice to the rights of both powers to both the duchies, the government of Schleswig was committed to Prussia, and that of Holstein to Austria, while Lauenburg was wholly ceded to Prussia, in consideration of the payment of 2,500,000 thalers to Austria. The harbor of Kiel was to belong to the Confederation, Prussia being provisionally intrusted with the military command and police administration. Rendsburg was made a fortress of the Confederation, and occupied by a mixed Austrian and Prussian garrison, the command alternating year by year; and Prussia was allowed to carry the Baltic and North Sea canal through Holstein, and to build railroads and lay telegraph wires there.

This brought Prussia somewhat nearer the attainment of her object, and on the 16th of September, as a reward for his services, the king made Bismarck a count. September 15th the joint government of the duchies was dissolved, and in its place Baron von Gablentz appeared in Kiel as Austrian stadtholder of Holstein, while Baron von Manteuffel took up his abode in Flensburg as Prussian governor of Schleswig. But there was still no prospect of a definitive settlement; Bismarck was as far from formal annexation after the Gastein convention as before it; it was merely the exchange of one provisional arrangement for another. As a result of all that had occurred, Prussia's relations to Austria were as bad as they could be without actual war, and that must inevitably break out, if one of the two did not yield to the wishes of the other. But, in view of Austria's jealousy of any increase of Prussia's strength, and the latter's determination to increase her strength and raise herself from her present contracted circumstances to the position of a dangerous and respected great power, there was not the slightest prospect of a reconcilia-

tion. If Prussia could have offered its ally any land as compensation, Austria would cheerfully have evacuated her already half-lost position in Holstein and ceded it to Prussia, as she had already ceded Lauenburg. A part of Silesia, with the fortress of Glatz, would have satisfied the Austrian cabinet, but Prussia could not part with them. She and Italy were already on the way toward a mutual understanding. The conclusion of a commercial treaty between Italy and the German *Zollverein* contributed greatly to this result. Prussia had proceeded as energetically here as in the negotiations for a similar treaty with France, and there was nothing left for the secondary German states but to sign (end of 1865 and beginning of 1866), and by that act formally recognize the kingdom of Italy. This naturally made the latter favorably disposed toward an alliance with Prussia.

From France Bismarck thought that he had nothing to fear in case of a war with Austria. At his meeting with Napoleon in Biarritz late in the autumn of 1865 he had frankly said to him that Prussia could not continue in her present position, but that she must round out her territory. Napoleon acquiesced, but at the same time spoke of "compensation." It is probable that Bismarck left him in the belief that in case of a victory over Austria he should receive from Prussia some sort of compensation for his neutrality or other services; but it is certain that Bismarck did not make him the slightest promise, although on his part he was able to carry away with him the impression that he might depend upon the neutrality of France, and would not be under the necessity of occupying the Rhine frontier. Notwithstanding the Gastein convention, Bismarck was firmly resolved on war, as the only way in which he could hope to gain both his Prussian and German objects at one blow; for, much as he desired to gain possession of Schleswig-Holstein, which was an absolute necessity if Prussia was to become a great power, yet this was not everything. Prussia's false position toward Austria and the secondary states, in matters pertaining to the Confederation, would be the same after that acquisition as before it, unless the Schleswig-Holstein question were regarded as only one member of a larger whole, as a part of the German question. The solution of the former did not necessarily involve the solution of the latter, but the solution of the latter carried with it that of the former. In order to bring the German question to a final settlement, to en-

large Prussia, and set it at the head of Germany, and thus convert despised Germany into the first power in Europe—this was the grand and national, if dangerous and audacious, plan of Count Bismarck. But he had great difficulties to contend with at home. The queen as well as the crown prince and princess were decidedly opposed to a war, and the last two expressed themselves very emphatically in favor of the rights of the Augustenburger, and did not conceal their dislike of the minister-president. Nevertheless, he won the king more and more to his plans, and imbued him with something of his own confidence in the successful result of the war. But there were, of course, times of wavering. One plan, to which Bismarck was not at all favorably inclined, was to persuade Austria to yield in the Schleswig-Holstein matter by guaranteeing to her the possession of Venetia. In addition to the fact that there were many undertakings in which such a guarantee might prove a serious hinderance, the German question would still be left unsettled. At one time, when the king could not be brought to venture upon a war, Bismarck advised him, if he were resolved upon a peaceful policy, to proclaim the German constitution, enter upon the path of moral conquests, and seek to unite the different German peoples under the black, red, and gold banner. But in that case, he explained, he would have to retire from office, even if his retirement were only temporary, since by reason of his antecedents he was not the right man for such a task. The men of the liberal era would have to appear upon the stage once more. This was what thousands of patriotic Germans had been asking of Prussia in the latter years. Whether such a course would lead to a speedy result or to any result at all was, however, very questionable at the least.

§ 22.

WAR IN GERMANY AND ITALY.—AUSTRIA'S EXIT FROM GERMANY.—DISSOLUTION OF THE GERMAN CONFEDERATION.—FORMATION OF A NORTH GERMAN CONFEDERATION UNDER PRUSSIAN SUPREMACY.

THE year 1866 began under unfavorable auspices. January 23d nineteen members of the Holstein gentry presented an address to Count Bismarck praying for the personal union of the duchies with Prussia; but on the same day, in Altona, an assembly of three or four thousand persons out of both duchies, without adopting formal resolutions, demanded that the Schleswig-Holstein Estates be convened, and cheered their "rightful and beloved prince, Duke Frederic." This occasioned Count Bismarck's despatch of January 26th, in which he attacked, from a political point of view, Austria's whole system of government in Holstein, pronouncing it detrimental to conservative interests, expressed his regret that "revolutionary tendencies of a character hostile to every throne" should be allowed to develop under the protection of the Austrian double eagle, and threatened a breach of the existing alliance. In his answer of February 7th Count Mensdorff denied the charges made against Austria's policy in Holstein, closing with the remark that the emperor was determined to persist in that policy even at the risk of a breach with Prussia. It had become necessary to look the possibility of impending war fairly in the face. In recognition of this fact the council of marshals was summoned to meet in Vienna, and remained in session from the 7th of March to the 13th, the emperor presiding, while troops were ordered from Hungary and other provinces to Bohemia in numbers for which the persecution of the Jews, that had broken out in a few Bohemian towns, could afford no adequate pretext. On her part, Prussia put her Saxon and Silesian fortresses in readiness for war, and entered into negotiations with General Govone, the Italian ambassador, who reached Berlin on the 10th of March, with reference to a Prussian-Italian alliance against Austria, a measure for which Bismarck had been

preparing the way ever since he entered the ministry. On the 10th of April a treaty between the two states was concluded, Italy pledging herself to stand by Prussia in case, within three months, the latter became involved in war on account of her reform measures; while in the like event Prussia promised the King of Italy her assistance in the acquisition of Venetia. Bismarck would not consent to the further demand of the Italian minister-president, Lamarmora, that the Trentino should be annexed to Italy, since that involved the cession of territory belonging to the German Confederation. These negotiations were conducted with Napoleon's full cognizance, neither Victor Emmanuel nor Lamarmora taking a single step without first obtaining his consent.

After the conclusion of this treaty both states energetically pushed forward their military preparations. The secondary states, which were for the most part arrayed on the Austrian side, also prepared for war, especially Saxony, whose royal family was on terms of close friendship with Francis Joseph, while its minister-president, von Beust, was a bitter enemy of Count Bismarck. In the mean time the latter had freed himself from the inconvenience of parliamentary opposition by closing, on the 23d of February, the session which had opened on the 15th of January. The opposition, although thus ignominiously sent home, possessed so much national spirit that only eight members of the Prussian parliament took part in the general parliamentary gathering (*Abgeordnetentag*) at Frankfort on the 20th of May; and Twesten, a leader of the opposition, said in his letter of refusal that he must take into consideration not alone the right of popular self-determination, and the rights of the people over against the government, but, in addition to that, the position of his country with reference to other states, and that he would never give his consent to any measures which would result to the disadvantage of Prussia, since there was no other power that could do anything for Germany. This was the prevalent sentiment among an overwhelming majority of the Prussian people; and hence, although in general disinclined toward war, they cheerfully ranged themselves beneath the unfurled banners of their country; and even when the *landwehr* was called out there were but few disturbances—a thing greatly to the credit of both their patriotism and their discipline.

Both great powers sought to secure the good-will of the secon-

dary states, with a view to the impending war, Austria directing her efforts toward an actual alliance, Prussia's utmost hope, at least with regard to the south German states, being to persuade them to remain neutral. In a confidential circular of March 16th Austria imparted to the governments with which she was on friendly terms her proposed plan of operations with regard to Prussia. She would absolve herself from her pledge to settle the Schleswig-Holstein question in concert with that state, and commit its settlement to the Confederation. If this led to Prussia's taking up arms, she was to be met by the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th army corps of the Confederation, in conjunction with the Austrian army, and hence immediate mobilization was necessary. On his side, Bismarck, in a circular to the German governments, issued on the 24th of March, propounded the question whether and to what extent he might rely upon their support in case of war with Austria. At the same time he called their attention to the necessity of a reform which would bring the relations of the different members of the Confederation into conformity with their real power, and prophesied for Germany Poland's fate in case Prussia were defeated. Repulsed by most of the governments, Prussia moved in the Diet on the 9th of April that a German parliament be convened, on the basis of universal suffrage and direct election by the people, to consider the revision of the existing constitution of the Confederation in accordance with propositions to be laid before it by the respective governments. The Prussian official organ attributed the proposed reform to Prussia's desire to unite about herself in a practical manner the military strength of northern and central Germany. This sounded to the sovereigns too much like mediatization. Neither people nor princes showed any enthusiasm for a parliament; the former, altogether in the dark as to Prussia's aims, were unwilling to repose any confidence in such an uncertain ally, while the latter since 1848 stood in the greatest dread of a German parliament. After a meeting of plenipotentiaries from nine of the secondary states in Augsburg to discuss their common interests, a simultaneous disarmament of all the members of the Confederation was moved in the Diet on the 19th of May, and carried by a unanimous vote. But, inasmuch as Austria and Prussia assumed the right of naming the conditions upon which they would disarm, this unanimity proved useless.

Eager to play the rôle of "prince of peace," on the 28th of May, Napoleon, in conjunction with the cabinets of London and St. Petersburg, extended in Vienna, Florence, Berlin, and Frankfort invitations to a peace conference to take place in Paris. This conference was to consider the burning questions of the moment, namely, the disposition to be made of the Elbe duchies, the Italian claims on Venetia and Trentino, and, in so far as it concerned the European balance of power, the reorganization of the German Confederation. Prussia, Italy, and the Diet accepted the invitation. Austria was willing to accept only on condition that every combination looking to the enlargement of the territory or the increase of the power of any one of the invited states be excluded from the discussions. England and France declared the conference impossible under those conditions, and the plan was abandoned.

The diplomatic game which Napoleon was playing was full of the most perfidious double-dealing. A war between Prussia and Austria was very welcome to him. He hoped that it would be of long duration, greatly weakening both parties, and that it would result in driving Prussia, of whose defeat he made no doubt, into his arms, and disposing her to accede to his plans of conquest. It was in this hope that he urged Prussia into war, assuring her of his benevolent neutrality, and giving his express consent to the Prussian-Italian alliance, which was to tear Venetia from Austria, and keep a part of the Austrian army busy on the Mincio. He also negotiated directly with Bismarck, who in his circular of July 29th, 1870, forming part of the famous disclosures so compromising to Napoleon, says, with regard to these negotiations, that as early as the year 1862, while he was still ambassador in Paris, the French Government made overtures to him with a view to carrying out its designs on Belgium and the Rhine frontier by means of Prussian assistance. In the German-Danish war France had remained neutral only in the hope of winning over Prussia to its plans, and hence the treaty of Gastein was very ill-received in Paris through fear that a permanent understanding between Austria and Prussia might deprive the cabinet of the Tuileries of the fruits of its non-intervention. But in 1865, as soon as the relations between those two states began to be manifestly inharmonious, France, counting with certainty on a war, again of her own accord made friendly advances

in Berlin. Before the outbreak of the war propositions were made to Bismarck, partly by relatives of the emperor (Prince Napoleon), partly by confidential agents, looking to the conclusion of a treaty for mutual increase of territory, the emperor sometimes speaking of Luxemburg, or the boundaries of 1814 with Landau and Saarlouis, sometimes suggesting the annexation of French Switzerland and broaching the question of the proper language-boundary in Piedmont. In May of 1866 all these informal suggestions were comprised in the formal draught of an offensive and defensive alliance, the main provisions of which were that, in case of a congress, the two allies should direct their efforts toward the acquisition of Venetia for Italy and Schleswig-Holstein for Prussia; that, in case no congress were convened, Prussia, ten days after the signature of the treaty, should declare war upon Austria; and that, after the commencement of hostilities, France should do the same, assisting her ally with an army of 300,000 men. Peace was to be concluded by France and Prussia under the following conditions: Venetia to be ceded to Italy; Prussia to receive German territory—location to suit herself—with a population of seven or eight millions, and liberty to reorganize the German Confederation in accordance with her own wishes; France to take the territory between the Mosel and the Rhine, with the exclusion of Coblenz and Mayence, *i. e.*, a piece of Rhenish Prussia, Rhenish Bavaria, Birkenfeld, Homburg, and Rhenish Hesse.

In spite of several almost threatening admonitions Bismarck definitely rejected this plan of alliance, although, in order to secure Napoleon's neutrality, he held out some hopes of later concessions in case of victory. As soon as the French emperor perceived that his proposals were not favorably entertained he directed his efforts toward securing Prussia's defeat, as a means of rendering her more amenable to his demands. For this purpose he endeavored to undermine the Italian alliance, confirm Austria in her warlike mood, and obtain from her the most favorable terms possible for France. The negotiations with Austria were carried on almost at the same time as those with Prussia. In 1865 Italy had sent an agent to Vienna with an offer of very considerable financial, economical, and political advantages, in consideration of the cession of Venetia, but met with a refusal, Austria replying that her military honor would not admit of

such a course. But now, at the instigation of France, May 5th, 1866, Austria, unsolicited, offered the Italian cabinet Venetia free of compensation, on the sole condition that Italy should remain neutral in the approaching struggle. The temptation was great, but the breach of treaty was too flagrant; furthermore, the Italian ministers believed that a victorious Austria would be a constant menace to the kingdom of Italy, and so the offer was rejected, and the alliance with Prussia remained unbroken. But Napoleon did not give up his plans. The alliance might be rendered useless through the failure of Italy to carry on the war with the necessary energy. The president of the Italian cabinet, Lamarmora, an unconditional admirer of Napoleon, was readily accessible to such counsels. At the same time negotiations were in progress elsewhere resulting in the French-Austrian treaty of June 9th, by which Emperor Francis Joseph was to cede Venetia to France for the benefit of Italy, and receive Silesia as compensation. It is uncertain what Napoleon was to acquire in accordance with this carefully guarded treaty, but it is not likely that Austria, which has not scrupled in times gone by to sacrifice German territory, would have hesitated to cede the left bank of the Rhine, if by doing so she could defeat her hated rival. Napoleon now felt sure of success. On the 11th of June, three days after the conclusion of this secret treaty, he wrote a letter to his minister of foreign affairs, Drouin de Lhuys, in which he expressed himself very openly: "The conflict that has arisen is attributable to three causes: Prussia's unsatisfactory geographical position, the wish of Germany for a political organization more in conformity with the wants of its people, and the necessity on Italy's part of securing her national independence. So far as we are concerned, we should have wished for the minor states of the German Confederation a closer union, a more powerful organization, and a more important rôle; for Prussia, an increase of territory and military strength in the north; for Austria, the maintenance of her influential position in Germany. Further, we should have wished the cession of Venetia to Italy in return for a moderate compensation, for if Austria in common with Prussia, disregarding the treaty of 1852, could wage war against Denmark in the name of German nationality, it appears to us that the same principle should be recognized in Italy, and the independence of the peninsula completed." Napoleon's plan

would not have abated the rivalry between Austria and Prussia, which was crippling Germany's power. Prussia was to receive the Elbe duchies, and perhaps Hanover or Hesse Cassel, as compensation for Silesia, while it was hoped that the secondary and lesser states would be ripe for a renewal of the Confederation of the Rhine. For France the immediate result of these political changes would have been the annexation of Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine.

Something of how matters stood with regard to the cession of Venetia and the proposed compensation for Austria became known in Berlin in the early part of May. The Duke of Coburg, who had gone thither to work for peace, cautioned the Prussian ministers against Napoleon's double-dealing, and pronounced Italy's friendship unreliable. As his words found little credit, he exhibited a letter which he had received from the Austrian minister, Count Mensdorff, in which he expressed his confidence of victory, and added that, if Prussia went to war, she would have to deal not only with Austria, but with France as well, since Francis Joseph had come to a complete understanding with Napoleon, had ceded Venetia to him to dispose of according to his pleasure, and had received his assurance that he would offer no objection in case Austria indemnified herself by the annexation of Silesia. If Italy made war upon Austria she would be appeased by Napoleon, who would deprive her of all occasion for hostility by the present of Venetia. This would break up the Prussian-Italian alliance, and Austria and her confederates would be at liberty to direct all their strength against isolated Prussia. For reasons easy to be understood, no mention was made in this letter of the compensation required by Napoleon—whether or not Austria had offered him Rhenish Bavaria, Rhenish Hesse, and Luxemburg.

All sorts of negotiations and mediations had failed to maintain the peace. Charles Cohen, a step-son of Blind, one of the refugees from Baden, sought to secure its maintenance in a totally different manner. This gallant but fanatical young man, who had spent his time of late in the study of agriculture at Hohenheim, and on the Bläsiberg, near Tübingen, came to Berlin for the purpose of murdering Bismarck. The attempt was made on the 7th of May, and miscarried, Bismarck escaping unwounded. Cohen put an end to his own life while awaiting trial.

By this time Austria, Prussia, and Italy had about completed their armaments. The two latter complained that they had been forced to arm because Austria had done so, and when disarmament was proposed insisted that Austria should take the initiative. Austria, on the other hand, solemnly averred that she would never assault Prussia, and represented herself as obliged to maintain her army on a war-footing on account of Italy, which wished to conquer Venetia. On the 26th of April Austria had made still another attempt to come to an understanding with Prussia, regarding Schleswig-Holstein *within* the limits of the legal rights of the Confederation, but without a single concession to the demands which Bismarck had formulated two months previous. As Prussia would not agree to this, and, indeed, could not, unless she wished to pave the way to a second Olmütz, Austria, on the 1st of June, according to the notice she had already given, submitted the Schleswig-Holstein question to the decision of the Confederation, pledging herself to yield the readiest submission to that decision. At the same time she announced that the imperial stadtholder in Holstein had been authorized to convene the Estates of that duchy, since the wishes and views of the country itself would have an important influence on its fate. On the following day Gablenz issued a summons to the Estates of Holstein to meet at Itzehoe on the 11th of June. Prussia pronounced the transfer of the quarrel to the Diet a breach of the Gastein convention, and Manteuffel received orders to enter Holstein with his troops, and form, in conjunction with the Austrian stadtholder, a joint government for the two duchies, as had been the case before that convention. Gablenz refused to co-operate with Manteuffel; and when, on the 7th of June, 20,000 Prussians crossed the Eider and occupied Kiel, Rendsburg, and Itzehoe, he, with the Kalik brigade, consisting of about 3000 men, accompanied by Prince Frederic, who had spent two years and a half in vain waiting for his dukedom, and the members of the government, retired to Altona. On the 10th of June Manteuffel dissolved the existing government, and appointed Baron von Scheel-Plessen first president of the two duchies. On the following day he resorted to force to prevent the Estates from meeting in Itzehoe. On the 12th, Gablenz, who could not in such a distant outpost undertake a contest with a force six times as large as his own, crossed the Elbe into Hanover, whence he continued

his march, by way of Cassel and Frankfort, to Bohemia, hoping to carry the Austrian flag to victory on a more convenient battle-ground. A few weeks previous Austria had entertained the plan of strengthening her forces in Holstein, uniting them with the Hanoverian army, and concentrating the combined forces, under the command of Gablenz, at Stade, to be used as a sort of partisan corps in the rear of the Prussian main army. But this plan failed, owing to Hanover's irresolution.

The alliance of 1864 had resulted in the separation from one another as foes of the armies which had entered Schleswig-Holstein as brothers in arms. The war, which had been undertaken for the liberation of the duchies, had developed into a struggle for the leadership in Germany. Both questions, that of the duchies, and that of reorganization of the German Confederation, were to be settled at one stroke; and to these two had been added further the Italian question. Count Bismarck now took in hand what the German National Union had been striving since 1859 to accomplish, and proposed to make Prussia the military and political director of Germany; for nothing else than this was meant by the "outlines of a new constitution for the Confederation," which was submitted to the German governments, with the exception of Austria, on the 10th of June. The question was put whether, in case of a dissolution of the old confederation, they would unite with Prussia in forming on the basis of this proposed constitution a new confederation, from which the Austrian and Netherlandish members were to be excluded. The aim of this constitution was to concentrate the power of all Germany in the hands of military Prussia, exacting from the German sovereigns only such sacrifices as were necessary in the interests of unity, and dividing the land forces of the Confederation into a northern and a southern army, the former under the chief command of the King of Prussia, the latter under that of the King of Bavaria. This proposition drove those sovereigns who were still wavering, like the King of Hanover and the Elector of Hesse, and who dreamed of nothing less than sovereignty and independence, completely over to the side of Austria, under whose double eagle they thought to sway a less hampered sceptre.

On the 11th of June Austria moved in the Diet the prompt mobilization of the entire army of the Confederation, with the exception of the Prussian contingent, on the ground that Prussia

by its invasion of Holstein was guilty of an act of forcible expropriation, which by articles 18, 19, and 20 of the Vienna *Schlussakte* of 1820 the Confederation was bound to prevent. This meant a declaration of war on Prussia, to which Savigny, the Prussian delegate, with right objected that the law of the Confederation knew no declaration of war, but only a process of execution according to certain set forms. Without paying any attention to such formal provisions the Diet resolved on the 14th of June, by a vote of nine to six, to mobilize the troops of the Confederation against Prussia. Among these nine votes was one, that of the 16th *curia*, which was with justice challenged. Upon the announcement of this result the Prussian delegate declared that Prussia regarded the former treaty of confederation as no longer binding, laid before the Diet the draught of a new treaty—involving also a German parliament—which had already been communicated to the individual governments, and then withdrew. The states which had voted with Prussia—Luxemburg, Mecklenburg, Oldenburg, the Saxon duchies, and the free cities, with the exception of Frankfort—followed her example and recalled their delegates from Frankfort within the next few weeks. The representatives of the other states declared Prussia's withdrawal from the Confederation illegal, and continued to regard themselves as the German Diet, whose right it was to force refractory members into obedience. The relation of the majority to the minority was compared to that of the Northern States of the American Union to the Confederate States, or with that of the Swiss *Tagsatzung* to the *Sonderbund*, and with considerable justice. But when war has once broken out, the question ceases to be one of right and becomes one of might. In point of numbers the might was decidedly on the side of the majority. Austria alone, it was said, could put in the field at once from six to eight hundred thousand men, a number which reassured her credulous allies, but which did not impose on Prussia, where it was believed to be too large by half. But spirit and energy, which outweigh mere numbers, were on the side of the minority. Austria was so confident of victory that in the session of June 16th the presiding delegate announced that the imperial government expressly guaranteed to all who remained faithful to the Confederation their territories, little thinking that it would be well if some one could guarantee to the Austrian imperial state its own territory.

Prussia showed no lack of energy and decision. In order to remove the theatre of war as far as possible from Brandenburg and Berlin, and not to allow the connection between the Rhine province and the eastern half of the kingdom to be sundered, it was necessary to make sure of Saxony on the one side, and Hanover and Electoral Hesse on the other. These three states had voted against Prussia on the 14th of June. On the 15th they, and Nassau as well, received an ultimatum from Prussia requiring them to remain neutral, to disband their armies, and to consent to the reorganization of the Confederation, at the same time guaranteeing the integrity of their territory and the preservation of their sovereign rights. Refusals were returned on the same day, and, as it had been announced beforehand that a refusal would be treated as a declaration of war, Prussian soldiers entered those states on the 16th. In the west, under the chief command of General Vogel von Falckenstein, were the two divisions of Göben and Beyer, numbering in all about 36,000 men, and Manteuffel's division of 14,000, which had been ordered to enter Hanover from Holstein and join the force already with Falckenstein. While this division was marching down from the north, Falckenstein, with Göben's division, set out from Minden, and on the 17th was in the Hanoverian capital, king and crown prince having beat a hasty retreat southward with the army. June 18th the little fortress of Stade was surprised, and by the 22d all Hanover had been occupied, with the exception of Göttingen, whither the Hanoverian army had retreated. Valuable military stores also fell into the hands of the Prussians.

June 17th the south German contingents, the 7th (Bavaria) and 8th (Würtemberg, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt) army corps, assembled, the former on the Main, in Lower Franconia, and the latter at Frankfort. Prince Alexander of Hesse, who had won some military reputation in the Italian campaign, where he had served as an Austrian general, was appointed commander of the 8th army corps. The 7th was commanded by the aged Prince Charles of Bavaria, to whom was also intrusted the chief command of the whole south German contingent, with the proviso that he should carry out the plan of operations agreed upon with Benedek, the Austrian commander-in-chief. This was the agreement which had been concluded between Austria and Bavaria at Olmütz on the 14th of June. According to that treaty Austria

pledged herself to negotiate no peace without the consent and participation of Bavaria, and if territorial changes became necessary to exert all her powers to prevent Bavaria from undergoing any loss, securing her compensation in case a cession of territory should prove necessary. Whether this compensation was to be in Baden, which was too favorably inclined toward Prussia, or where it was to be, was not mentioned in the official document. (Prussia had also opened negotiations with Bavaria at the same time, offering her a prominent position in New Germany in case she would remain neutral; but these negotiations came to nothing owing to the Austrian tendencies of von der Pfordten, the Bavarian minister.) Not much could be expected from this military arrangement between Austria and Bavaria. It was too complicated, requiring at least a couple of weeks to be set up and put in order. Counting upon this slowness, the Prussians pushed forward the execution of their plan of occupation at the expense of temporarily stripping some important posts of troops. Leaving Wetzlar on the 16th, and marching through Giessen and Marburg, Beyer entered Cassel on the 19th with 17,000 men. The elector's army had left for Fulda by rail on the 16th for the purpose of joining the 8th army corps—the Nassau contingent pursuing a similar course—but he himself still remained at his residence at Wilhelmshöhe. On the 24th, as he persisted in his refusal of the Prussian demands, he was carried to Stettin as a prisoner of state.

The fate of the Hanoverian army, eighteen or nineteen thousand strong, with a well-equipped and numerous force of cavalry, and fifty-two guns, was soon decided. The occupation of Cassel by the Prussians had blocked the road to Frankfort; and so, after having lingered too long in Göttingen, they at length turned south-eastward with the intention of forcing a passage to Bavaria by way of Gotha. On the 21st of June, encumbered by an endless train of baggage-wagons and carriages of state, and loaded with untold plate, they crossed the Prussian border, passed through Heiligenstadt, Mühlhausen, and Langensalza, and on the 24th had reached a point midway between Eisenach and Gotha. That night Onno Klopp, Councillor of the Archives, was despatched to the Bavarian head-quarters at Bamberg to urge a speedy advance to the assistance of the Hanoverians. But Prince Charles could not be prevailed upon to abandon his defensive attitude, and ex-

pressed the opinion that an army of 19,000 men ought to be able to fight its own way through. At the same time negotiations had been opened with the King of Prussia, both through the medium of the Duke of Coburg and directly. June 25th Prussia again offered King George alliance on the same conditions which had been offered on the 15th; but he refused the offer, and demanded unmolested passage to Bavaria. On the 26th the Prussians, who had been joined by the Coburg troops, were strong enough to render any farther advance impracticable; and accordingly the Hanoverians retraced their steps to Langensalza, aimlessly marching northward. General Falckenstein, who had followed them from Hanover with the divisions of Göben and Manteuffel—while Beyer had advanced from Cassel to Eisenach—had orders from Berlin to remain at Gotha and await the Bavarians there. But he waited in vain; for, beyond a brigade of cavalry which was pushed forward as far as Meiningen on the 26th, no Bavarians appeared. Falckenstein's plan was to attack the Hanoverians at once, in case the Bavarians advanced and endeavored to form a junction with them, otherwise to wait until all the approaching Prussian columns were on the spot, and an attack could be made from all sides with the certainty of victory. Accordingly, General Flies, who, with 9000 men of Manteuffel's division, stood nearest to the enemy, received orders on the 26th not to attack them, but in case of retreat to follow close upon their heels. On the 27th Falckenstein went to Cassel on a political mission, and in his absence a despatch arrived from Berlin commanding him to attack the Hanoverians under any circumstances and compel their immediate capitulation. In consequence of these commands Flies attacked them at 10 o'clock in the morning of June 27th. He had but 9000 men and very little artillery to oppose to their 18,000 men and 52 guns, and the attack was too premature for him to reckon on any assistance from the other divisions. After a sharp struggle the Hanoverian van was driven back through Langensalza; Flies followed them, and endeavored to carry the heights of Merxleben by storm, but was met by a hot fire of grape. Confronted by the whole force of the enemy, he was obliged to retreat, the squares of his infantry gallantly repulsing the attacks of the Hanoverian cavalry. The Prussian loss was 41 officers, 800 men, and two cannon; that of the Hanoverians, 1400 men. The former had in so far the advantage that the

enemy was prevented from leaving Langensalza. The net was constantly being drawn tighter. About 40,000 Prussians and Coburgers were ready to dispute every step, and the only choice was to fight to the last man or capitulate. King George chose the latter, and surrendered to the Prussians on the 29th of June. The common soldiers were disarmed and sent home; the officers gave their word of honor not to bear arms against Prussia before the close of this war. All the military stores, including 500 excellent horses, fell into the hands of the Prussians. The king and crown prince—having received permission on the guarantee of their private property to take up their residence wherever they pleased, provided only it was not in Hanover—travelled to Vienna, with their suites. From the North Sea to the Main all opposition had been overcome. There could be no farther hope of the co-operation of the Austrian allies in the Bohemian campaign, and Prussia was at liberty to turn all her strength against Austria and the south German states.

Prussia's ally, the King of Italy, had less success to boast of. The proffer of Venetia exerted a crippling influence on his conduct of the war; in addition to which, France did not weary of impressing upon him the fact that energetic military action on the part of Italy was entirely superfluous; that it was a mere military duel with Austria which she was fighting, and not a serious war. Accordingly, Lamarmora said that he went into the field with Venetia in his pocket. A mere duel did not accord with Prussia's interests, and was not a satisfaction of the duties of an ally; and hence Count Usedom, the Prussian ambassador in Florence, addressed a letter to Lamarmora on the 17th of June, in which he sought to convince him that the approaching campaign must be a thorough one (*guerra a fondo*). Italy must not be content with advancing to the northern boundary of Venetia; she must break her way through to the Danube and meet Prussia at the central point of the Austrian Empire—in other words, she must march on Vienna. To secure to Italy the permanent possession of Venetia, the Austrian power must first be wounded to the heart. While the main army was thus marching on Vienna, Garibaldi's volunteers, on its right flank, should force their way into Hungary, there to join hands with the Prusso-Hungarian corps, which was to enter that province from Silesia. According to all reports, these partisan flying columns would

meet with an enthusiastic reception among the Hungarians and Slavs. This bold and brilliant plan, which marked out Vienna as the point of junction of the Prussian and Italian armies, and proposed revolutionizing Hungary, as an auxiliary to the complete overthrow of Austria, was not at all to the taste of the mentor of the Italian cabinet, Napoleon. He represented to Lamarmora and the king that the maintenance of a strong Austria within its natural limits was far more to the advantage of Italy than the establishment, under Prussian guidance, of a German empire stretching from the Baltic Sea to Trieste. The docile scholars followed their French teaching. Lamarmora took not the least notice of Usedom's letter, communicated it to none of his colleagues, and never made it public until July of 1868, when, long after he had ceased to be minister, he complained in the Italian Parliament of the way he had been handled in the report of the Prussian staff. Instead of the plan recommended in this letter he proceeded to carry out his own, substituting, in the old style of military tactics, isolated for combined action, and uselessly battering his horns against the walls of fortresses. Victor Emmanuel declared war on the 20th of June. On the 22d he crossed the Mincio with two army corps, leaving a third aimlessly idle at Goito; while Cialdini, with a fourth corps, stronger than the rest, was to cross the lower Po and push forward to the Adige. At the same time Garibaldi was to enter the Tyrol with his volunteers. The Italians had a field army of 218,000 men; the Austrian field army numbered only 85,000, but had behind it the support of the strongly fortified Quadrilateral. Archduke Albert, a son of the Archduke Charles, who defeated Napoleon at Aspern, held the chief command, and had in General John an able chief of staff. His head-quarters were at Verona, and the greater part of his army were in and about that place. The Italians, advancing in an incomprehensibly careless manner, neglected to occupy the barrier of hills north-west of Custozza. The Austrians, perceiving this omission, hastened to occupy that important position, and on the 24th of June, the anniversary of Solferino, the battle of Custozza was fought at the same place where, fourteen years before, old Radetzky had won a glorious victory over the Piedmontese. The battle lasted all day beneath a burning sun. At seven o'clock in the evening the Italian army, notwithstanding all its bravery, was defeated. It was driven back across the

Mincio, and did not re-form until the Oglio had been passed. The Italians lost 8250 men, including 4350 prisoners; the Austrian loss was 7850, of whom 2000 were taken prisoners. After this defeat the right wing, under Cialdini, could not carry out its proposed operations on the Po, and retired toward Bologna. Archduke Albert made no farther use of his victory. He could not pursue the defeated enemy, for, in the secret treaty with France, Austria had pledged herself in case of victory not to cross the Mincio, and to leave Lombardy untouched. Accordingly, he waited in Verona for Victor Emmanuel to recover himself and make another attack. Practically, it was a fourteen days' truce which now ensued, during which time the Prussian army in Bohemia was hastening from victory to victory, and conquering for Italy the province which her own strength did not suffice to win.

As in Hanover and Hesse-Cassel, on the 16th of June the Prussians entered Saxony, on the borders of which they concentrated enormous masses of troops, in order to fight out the war with Austria rapidly and thoroughly. There had been no formal declaration of war against that State; but as Saxony's application to the Diet for speedy assistance against Prussia's violence had been granted on the 16th of June, by a vote of ten to five, and the Austrian presiding delegate had announced that Austria would oppose Prussia with her whole military strength, it was believed in Berlin that there was no need of waiting for anything farther. Three great armies were put in the field. On the right wing was the army of the Elbe, consisting of 40,000 men, under General Herwarth von Bittenfeld, who had commanded at the passage of the Alsen Sound on the 29th of June, 1864; in the centre was the 1st army, 100,000, under Prince Frederic Charles; and on the left wing, in Silesia, the 2d army, 116,000 men, under the crown prince of Prussia. In addition to these forces there was a reserve of 24,000 *landwehr* troops, so that the whole army amounted to 280,000 men, with 800 cannon. Of these the reserve corps was left behind in Saxony, and a force of 100,000 men in Silesia, so that there remained 246,000 men (according to others, 255,000 or 260,000) for the invasion of Bohemia. The army of the Elbe and the 1st army entered Saxony on the 16th of June. Herwarth occupied Dresden on the 18th, and Leipzig on the 19th; while, at the same time, Frederic

Charles took possession of Bautzen and Zittau. On the 20th all Saxony, with the exception of the fortress of Königstein, was in the hands of the Prussians.

Contrary to all expectation Austria made no attempt to anticipate her opponent in the occupation of a territory strategically so important. The Saxons, numbering 23,000 men, with sixty guns, abandoned their country, and, under the command of the crown-prince, accompanied their king to Bohemia, in order there to form a junction with the Austrian army. This consisted of 230,000 men, with 750 cannon and seven rocket-batteries, so that the combined Austrian-Saxon northern army numbered about 250,000. The Austrians were divided into seven army corps, commanded by the Archdukes Ernest and Leopold, Counts Clam-Gallas, Thun, and Festetics, and Lieutenant Field-marshals von Gablenz and von Ramming. Master of Ordnance, Chevalier von Benedek, who had distinguished himself by his conduct on the left wing at the battle of Solferino, was commander-in-chief. Army and people wished to see him at the head of the troops, and so the emperor had intrusted him with the chief command, putting everything into his hands. But, excellent though Benedek was as a division commander, it was questionable whether he possessed the quickness of comprehension needful to plan and execute bold and skilful strategy, and it was also questionable whether his corps commanders were fit for their positions, and whether they would yield obedience to their chief. Benedek did not belong to the high Austrian nobility, and he was a Protestant, two serious defects in Austrian eyes; and it is commonly believed that the archdukes and counts did not distinguish themselves by prompt obedience in this campaign. Benedek needed to exert his utmost strength against the opponents who had taken the field with a force about equal to his own. Although the Prussians had no recent campaigns behind them, with the exception of that in Schleswig and one against the Badish rebels in 1849, they had, nevertheless, known how to appropriate the very best in all branches of the service. They had an excellent organizer in General von Roon, the Minister of War, while in von Moltke they possessed an incomparable chief of staff and a strategist at once bold and cautious. Among the common soldiers, thanks to the system of general compulsory service, the grade of intelligence was high, and among the officers a far higher average of

education prevailed than in any other army. The needle-gun, with which they were able to shoot some six times as fast as the Austrians, gave them an enormous advantage, against which the impetuous onset of the latter, adopted into their system from the French since the battle of Solferino, proved of little use, for before a battalion could come to close quarters its ranks were terribly thinned by the rapid and deadly fire of the Prussians. Moreover, the Austrians were at a disadvantage through the fact that the greater part of their infantry had served only one year, and had a very feeble sense of personal honor, while the lack of acquaintance with military science and the weakness of morale displayed by the officers was astounding. The Seven Years' War and the two Silesian wars offer many interesting analogies to this one both in conditions and events—the substitution of the iron ramrod for the wooden, the masterly strategy of the Prussians, the occupation of Saxony, the union of the Saxon army with the Austrian, the repeated inroads into Bohemia through the passes of the Erzgebirge and the Sudetes. Naturally those who were not intimately acquainted with the internal conditions of both parties surrendered themselves to expectations of the most extravagant character; and so it was that south Germany reckoned with confidence on the victory of Austria, while North Germany counted with equal certainty on that of Prussia.

Benedek, whose army extended in a bow-shaped line from Cracow to the left bank of the Elbe, thought himself too weak to assume the offensive. He felt obliged to await the invasion of Moravia or Bohemia by his opponents. When the designs of the Prussian generals became apparent he transferred his headquarters from Olmütz to Josephstadt, in which neighborhood most of his army was at once concentrated. Even if it had been necessary to maintain the defensive at the outset, there was now nothing to prevent him from passing over at once to an energetic offensive, meeting the divided Prussian armies with overwhelming force, rendering their union impossible, and attacking and defeating them in detail one after the other. Instead of this he sent Clam-Gallas, with only 6000 men, including the Saxons, against the 140,000 of the Elbe and 1st armies; while to the Silesian army, as it emerged from the mountain passes, he thought it necessary to oppose an Austrian army corps for each Prussian one, as though it were a play at fence, and not a strug-

gle between half a million of men. Such tactics could not but result in disaster.

Early in the morning of June 23d, in the best of spirits, the Elbe and 1st armies crossed the Bohemian border, one on the road to Rumburg, the other to Reichenberg. The latter place was occupied on the 24th, and the Zittau-Reichenberg railroad, so far as it had been made impracticable, was quickly repaired by the skilled workmen who accompanied the army for that special purpose. June 26th the troops of Count Clam-Gallas were defeated by Herwarth's advanced guard at Hünewasser, and on the same night by Prince Frederic Charles's advanced guard at Liebenau and Podol. This compelled Clam-Gallas to withdraw all his troops from the right bank of the Iser, and suffer the Elbe army to join that of Prince Frederic Charles. On the 28th both armies, advancing in company, forced the passage of the Iser after severe fighting, and obliged Clam-Gallas, with a loss of about 1800 men, to abandon the whole line of that river, and take up a stronger position fourteen miles away in the hilly country at Gitschin. On the 29th he was again defeated by two divisions of Prince Frederic Charles's army, and Gitschin, which was occupied by the Saxons, was taken by assault the same night. This one day, on which 14,000 Prussians were pitted against 22,000 Austrians and Saxons, cost the former 1020 dead and wounded, while the loss of the enemy was 5000 men, including 2000 prisoners. Clam-Gallas, with his disheartened and exhausted troops, fell back to Königgrätz. Frederic Charles allowed his army to rest at Gitschin, and awaited the arrival of the Silesian army, that being the appointed rendezvous.

Between the 20th and 23d of June, in order to mask his march through the passes of the Reisengebirge, the crown prince, who was in command of the 2d army, sent flying columns from Neisse toward the border, to delude the enemy into the belief that the whole army was advancing through Austrian Silesia into Moravia. There was some insignificant cavalry skirmishing, and the ruse was so far successful that the sudden appearance of this army in Bohemia was a great surprise to Benedek. On the morning of June 27th, leaving 10,000 men to defend Silesia, the 2d army crossed the border in three columns. The 1st army corps, under General Bonin, was to set out from Landshut, marching by way of Trantenau; the Guard corps, under Prince August

of Würtemberg, from Brannau by way of Eypel; the 5th army corps, under General Steinmetz, forming the left wing, from Reinerg by way of Nachod and Skalitz; while the 6th, under General Mutins, was to follow the 5th. To oppose this new foe Benedek had the four army corps of Gablenz, Ramming, Festetics, and Leopold. Of these he despatched the first two to Trantenau and Nachod, retaining the last two as a reserve. Accordingly, Gablenz had to encounter Bonin and the Guards, while Ramming was to measure swords with Steinmetz, supported by Mutins.

June 27th Bonin, with the 1st army corps, drove the Austrians out of Trantenau and pushed them back to Kapellenberg. Toward evening Gablenz, having received a re-enforcement of two brigades, resumed the fight, attacking the Prussians, who were exhausted by the march, the heat, and the battle, with such vehemence that they were obliged to retreat across the Aupa to Schömberg, whence they had set out that morning. Their loss was 1208 dead, wounded, and missing, but no cannon; while the Austrians lost 5730 men, half of whom were taken prisoners. On the 28th the Guard corps, whose assistance Bonin had refused as unnecessary on the previous morning, attacked the Austrians at Burgersdorf and Soor, near Trantenau, with such success that Gablenz lost about 4000 dead and wounded, 4500 prisoners, and 10 cannon, and had to retreat to Königinhof, his soldiers worn out by two days of hard fighting. On the 29th Königinhof was taken by the Guards, and the bridge over the Elbe at that place occupied, thus removing all obstacles to a junction with Prince Frederic Charles,

The 3d army corps, under Steinmetz, had the most difficult task. June 27th, as it was advancing along the narrow road toward Nachod in a line at least nine miles long, it encountered the 6th Austrian corps, under Ramming, who for a short time at the outset had the advantage; but, not exerting himself sufficiently to prevent the enemy from concentrating his forces, he was ultimately so badly beaten that on the following day his troops were not fit to resume the battle, and had to be relieved by Archduke Leopold. Twenty-five hundred prisoners and six guns were captured, the total loss of the Austrians being about 5000 men, while only 1200 Prussians were killed and wounded. June 28th Steinmetz gathered new laurels at Skalitz, where he

defeated Archduke Leopold, taking 2500 prisoners and five guns. The next day, on his march toward Königinhof, he met and defeated the 4th Austrian corps, under Count Festetics, at Schweinschädel (Jarowirz), carrying the pursuit up to the very walls of Josephstadt. On the 30th at Gradlitz he formed a junction with the other divisions of the crown prince's army. Rendered complete by the arrival of General Mutins, this army now held the line of the Elbe from Arnau to Josephstadt. Having in the last few days captured 10,000 prisoners, 20 cannon, five colors, and two standards, it was natural that they should look forward with confidence to a decisive battle.

Within a few days Benedek had lost about 35,000 men. Of his seven army corps five had been beaten, only one of them having won an advantage on the first day. He now concentrated his army, still numbering 200,000, but weakened and discouraged by this series of isolated encounters, at Königgrätz, and made ready for a general engagement. He himself had but little desire to hazard a battle; but his report that, after so many disasters, the army was neither in the proper mood nor condition for a decisive action, had been answered by a direct command from the emperor to engage the enemy at once. Battle being inevitable, he took up his position between the Elbe and the little stream of Bistritz, with a front six or seven miles in length, and occupied the most favorable heights with his 500 rifled cannon. This position was objectionable, inasmuch as his flanks were not protected except by his own troops, while a possible retreat across the Elbe with such numbers was no trifling undertaking. As for his soldiers, their spirits had risen a little at the prospect of wiping out recent blunders by victory.

On the evening of July 2d, as soon as Prince Frederic Charles received news of this movement, he reported it to Prussian headquarters at Gitschin. King William, who had left Berlin on the 29th of June, had just arrived there, accompanied by Bismarck, Roon, and Moltke, and assumed the chief command over all the Prussian armies. He received the news shortly before midnight, and at Moltke's advice resolved to adopt the prince's proposition and attack on the following day with his whole force. Adjutants at once bore the order to advance to Herwarth and the crown prince. The former received the order at 1 o'clock, and the latter, who was at Königinhof, at 4 o'clock in the morning, and

both set out for Königgrätz with as little delay as possible. But the crown prince's troops were at a considerable distance from the field of battle, two and a half army corps being more than twelve miles away. The plan was for Prince Frederic Charles, who was nearest to the enemy, to occupy him in front until Herwarth, who was at Smidar, seven or eight miles distant on the right, and the crown prince's army, which formed the left wing, could attack the enemy on both flanks. If everything worked as it had been planned at head-quarters, it was hoped not merely to defeat but to annihilate Benedek's army.

The Prussians numbered 200,000; but of these only about 150,000 actually took part in the battle, as several divisions of the crown prince's army did not arrive in time. At 8 o'clock, at the village of Dub, the king, attended by the Duke of Coburg, Roon, Moltke, and Bismarck, joined the advance-guard of Prince Frederic Charles, which was already in action, and assumed command in person. During the whole forenoon the 1st army had to bear alone the brunt of the severe fighting at Sadowa and the Bistritz fords—three army corps against six for four or five hours, some divisions suffering terribly from the Austrian artillery and chasseurs. On the enemy's left, where the Saxons obstinately defended the village of Ober-Prim and the heights of Proclus, Herwarth found more resistance than he had expected, and it was not until 3 o'clock in the afternoon that he was sufficiently master of the situation to unite with the army of Prince Frederic Charles. On the enemy's right Fransecky's division in the woods before the heights of Chlum, exposed for four hours, from 9 to 1, to a terrible fire of grape-shot and to the impetuous charges of the Austrians, far superior in point of number, fought with unconquerable bravery, and, in spite of the loss of a full quarter of their infantry, covered the left wing of the Prussian line until the first columns of the crown prince's army came in sight, bringing the much-needed succor. Those had been moments of suspense, as the Prussian generals anxiously strained their eyes in the direction from which the crown prince's army was expected to arrive. If that army delayed, the battle was lost, and only retreat could save the Prussian centre from destruction. It was a repetition of Wellington at the battle of Waterloo anxiously awaiting Blücher's arrival. It had already been proposed to draw off the infantry, when, like Blücher, at

the last moment the crown prince appeared, and the battle was won.

The crown prince's army, especially the artillery, was seriously retarded in its march by the hilly nature of the country, and the soft condition of the roads owing to the recent rains, so that it was not until almost 10 o'clock that one division of the Guards reached the scene. This was followed by the 6th army corps, then by the 1st, and, finally, the second division of the Guards arrived, each entering into action as it came up. The Austrian right wing, which had been inflicting terrible damage with its artillery on Prince Frederic Charles's left, was obliged to turn about and begin a new battle with the Guards and the 6th army corps (Mutins). In their first onslaught the latter took the villages of Horeniowes and Ratschitz. The space between Maslowed, Cistowes, and Chlum, where Fransecky's division was still fighting, had been almost stripped of defenders. Into this gap pressed General Hiller with the first division of the Guards, and in face of a murderous artillery fire succeeded in taking the heights of Chlum, the key to the whole Austrian position, and the village of Rozberitz. This turned the Austrian position on the heights of Lipa, whence death and destruction had been hurled into the Prussian lines the whole morning. Shortly before 3 o'clock Benedek, who had taken up his station at that point, learned what had been happening in his rear during the last half-hour, but could scarcely believe it possible until he saw it with his own eyes. From the beginning of the campaign it had been his mistake and infatuation to disregard the crown prince's army, and attribute no importance to its movements. In the disposition of his forces at Königgrätz he had acted exactly as if no such army existed to threaten him with destruction by an attack in flank and rear. Now that he realized the situation, he lost no time in hurling his reserves against Hiller's division, in order to recover the lost positions at any price. Rozberitz was retaken, but on the heights of Chlum Hiller received re-enforcements of cavalry and infantry, the first columns of the second division of the Guard corps and the 1st army corps (Bonin) coming to his assistance. For a full hour the battle raged furiously about this point. The gallant Hiller himself was laid low by a bombshell. At half-past 4 the battalions of the 1st army corps, which had just reached the heights of Chlum, repulsed the last attack of the Austrians, and

dashed forward against Rozberitz, sweeping everything before them, while the advance-guard of the second Guard division carried the heights of Lipa. The most important positions had been won, and victory was in the hands of the Prussians.

Benedek gave the order to retreat. All the cavalry of Prince Frederic Charles's army set themselves in pursuit. A division of Mutins's corps seized the reserve cannon, which had been stationed at Swietj to cover the line of retreat, and bombarded the retiring Austrians from the heights at that place; then, pushing forward to the Königgrätz road, compelled the enemy to swerve off toward the south-west. The Austrian reserve cavalry took up its position at Streselitz, south of Chlum, for the purpose of rendering the retreat of the infantry and artillery easier, but was unable to withstand the attack of the Prussian horse. The retreat degenerated more and more into wild flight, some taking refuge under the guns of Königgrätz, the rest making their way to Pardubitz. The Austrian loss was enormous—about 42,000 men—of whom 4600 were killed, 14,000 wounded, 20,000 captured, and 4000 missing. In addition to this, 174 cannon and 11 colors were left in the hands of the enemy. That some at least of Benedek's soldiers had fought well was shown by the fact that the Prussians had 1840 dead and 6688 wounded, in addition to which there were 278 missing, making a total loss in round numbers of 8800 men. No cannon were lost on the Prussian side. At half-past two o'clock in the afternoon of July 3d the commandant of Josephstadt telegraphed an Austrian victory to Vienna; on the 4th the Austrian papers announced, "Our northern army no longer exists."

The battle of Königgrätz decided the campaign. The northern army, which had met with nothing but disasters in the last eight days, was so shattered that the emperor could not venture another battle, especially against an enemy who, besides his other advantages, had confidence of victory, and after his recent successes felt equal to any undertaking. Gaps were filled up, and fresh strength added to the Prussian army by bringing up a part of Mülbe's reserve corps, which had been left behind in Saxony. As the capture of an Austrian field post revealed Benedek's intention of retiring to the strongly fortified Olmütz—in the conviction that the Prussians would not dare to march against Vienna if they were threatened in flank and rear by a numerous

army—only sending Gablenz's corps and the greater part of the cavalry to the capital by way of Brünn, King William determined to detail the crown prince's army to keep the enemy prisoner in Olmütz, while Prince Frederic Charles moved on Vienna by way of Brünn, and Herwarth pursued the direct road through Iglau. The truce which Gablenz, at Benedek's direction, attempted to negotiate in Prussian head-quarters on the 4th of July and again on the 10th was not granted for very evident reasons. The failure to pursue the foe energetically, as Gneisenau had done after the battle of Waterloo, had already detracted quite enough from the military and political advantages of the great victory that had been won. On the 6th of July the whole Prussian army set out from Pardubitz southward, leaving only a corps of observation before the fortresses of Königgrätz and Josephstadt. On the 8th General Rosenberg-Gruszinsky with a division of the *gardelandwehr* occupied Prague, which had been evacuated by the Austrians.

In Vienna the threatening danger was fully appreciated. The specie in the bank was at once transported to the Hungarian fortress of Komorn; and, notwithstanding the Florisdorf trenches, north of the capital, which were being strengthened and put in order with feverish haste, every one prepared for the capture of the city. The emperor could think of no more skilful means to check the victorious advance of the enemy than the cession to Napoleon, before all the world, of the province of Venetia, which had already been ceded secretly, and the use of his intervention for the restoration of peace. Accordingly, on the 5th of July the cession of Venetia to France was made public. The emperor reasoned that if by this means Venetia became a French province, Victor Emmanuel could win it only by yielding to Napoleon's wishes, and Austria would thus have its whole southern army, the conquerors of Custozza, free to hurl against the Prussians. At the same time he secretly hoped that Napoleon, jealous of Prussia's new trophies, would command an instant halt, and dictate an imperative *either* —— *or*, leaving no other choice than the acceptance of his conditions, or a war on the Rhine in addition to that on the Danube. As Lombardy had been surrendered in 1859, so Venetia was surrendered in 1866, in order to check Prussia and maintain Austria's position in Germany. Napoleon and his statesmen were "filled with patriotic anxiety

by the improbable and unexpected occurrence of the victory of Königgrätz," as Rouher, then Minister of State, said in the Legislative Assembly in March of 1867. They had calmly looked on at the commencement of the war in the expectation that it would be of the most stubborn description, and that both Prussia and Austria would come out of it so weakened that Napoleon might step between as arbitrator whenever he chose, re-model Europe according to his plan of June 11th, and, by way of compensation for his trouble, secure for himself the coveted left bank of the Rhine. Like Austria and the German secondary states, he had undervalued the capabilities of the Prussian army, and paid too little attention to the certainty and precision of its operations during the Danish war. This only made his consternation at the victory of Königgrätz, and his fear of the consequences, greater. His plans were at once readjusted; for it was plain that henceforward not Austria but Prussia would hold the place of influence in Germany, and that the increase of strength and territory in the north, which he had indicated as desirable, had already overstepped the wishes and supposed interests of France. It was necessary now to direct his efforts toward restraining Prussia's victorious career as much as possible, and depriving her so far as might be of the fruits of her victory.

This result could, of course, have been most readily attained by military intervention; but, to Napoleon's intense grief, the French army had been reduced to such a wretched plight in consequence of the Mexican expedition, that intervention was at that time an utter impossibility. Randon, the then minister of war, unwilling constantly to ask for new appropriations for the Mexican expedition from a chamber so discontented with that enterprise, allowed not only the army but also all the reserve stores, arsenals, armories, and magazines to fall into such a state of utter decay, that on the 3d of July, 1866, France was unable to equip and put in the field even 50,000 men. Such a state of affairs was not adapted to armed intervention, and consequently no other course remained than to play the more modest and less dangerous rôle of officious monitor and adviser. By the offer of Venetia he endeavored to dissuade Italy from the further prosecution of the war, and hoped, in any event, to induce both Italy and Prussia to conclude an immediate truce. But neither of the allies accepted his propositions. King William definitely an-

nounced that he would gladly meet Napoleon's efforts half-way, at least so far as a truce was concerned, as soon as Francis Joseph was ready to accept his main conditions; but in the mean time he would not allow his military action to be interfered with. So the Austrian project was in the main frustrated, Venetia lost, and nothing gained by it in Germany. The 80,000 men which Francis Joseph transferred from Italy, where the strictest defensive was to be observed, to the Danube, were not strong enough, in conjunction with the fragments of the shattered northern army, to make head against the Prussians; and, furthermore, they could not all be collected in the neighborhood of Vienna before the 22d or even the 26th of July, and by that time the capital might be already taken. July 13th Archduke Albert, who had been recalled from Italy, assumed the chief command of all the Austrian armies, Benedek being deprived of his office, but remaining in service temporarily as subordinate to the archduke. Generals Clam-Gallas, Henikstein (chief of staff), and Krismanic (quartermaster-general), had been removed on the 3d of July, before the beginning of the battle. Later they were tried before a court-martial, but acquitted.

King William remained with the army of Prince Frederic Charles, which was to march on Vienna by way of Brünn. The latter place was entered on the 13th with no other resistance on the part of the Austrians than an insignificant cavalry engagement at Saar on the 10th. On the 16th Lundenburg, on the Thaya, was occupied, which made the Prussians masters of the railroad between Olmütz and Vienna. On the 18th the royal head-quarters were in Nicholsburg, forty-five miles from Vienna, while the advanced posts had been pushed forward within eighteen miles of that city. In the mean time General Herwarth, who, with the army of the Elbe, formed the right wing, marching by way of Iglav and Znaym, defeated a cavalry brigade at Jetzelsdorf on the 14th, and occupied Hollebrunn on the 16th, his advanced posts being not more than fourteen miles from Vienna. Archduke Albert held the presence of the northern army to be absolutely necessary for the protection of the threatened capital. Shortly after his arrival at Olmütz, Benedek had despatched the 3d army corps and the greater part of the Saxon troops to Vienna by rail, but he still retained in his intrenched camp five infantry corps and one cavalry division. His plan was to attack

the army of the crown prince with these forces and prevent his junction with the two other armies; but on the 12th and 13th he received imperative commands to set out for Vienna at once with all his troops. As the direct road by way of Brünn and Nicholsburg was already closed, he was obliged to have recourse to the Olmütz-Presburg railroad. This had been cut at Lundenburg, and could be used only part of the way, the remainder of the distance being accomplished on foot, from the valley of the March across the lesser Carpathians to the valley of the Waag, and thence to Presburg. The greater part of his troops reached that city on the 26th, one corps only—the 2d, commanded by Thun—arriving as early as the 22d. To reconnoitre Benedek's march from Olmütz, and inflict as much damage as possible, the crown prince sent out Hartman's cavalry corps and one of Bonin's divisions. At Tabitschau they drove back one army corps of the enemy, making over six hundred prisoners, and capturing eighteen guns. The light horse advanced as far as the railroad station at Prerau, but after a brief encounter were obliged to retreat before superior numbers. Leaving Bonin's corps—which was shortly reduced to a single division of that corps—to watch the fortress of Olmütz, the crown prince marched southward, and joined Prince Frederic Charles on the 19th at Nicholsburg and Lundenburg, forming the reserve of his army.

The whole Prussian army, increased to 240,000 by the addition of reserves, was again united. Its extreme left wing was only half a day's march from Presburg; its extreme right was in Krems, where the Austrians had blown up the bridge over the Danube. Before them the blue river mirrored the towers of Presburg and Vienna, and by night the foremost troops saw the lighted windows in the Austrian capital. Notwithstanding hardships and cholera, all burnt with eagerness for the attack, anticipating the triumphal entrance that would follow. July 20th the advanced posts were only six and three-quarter miles from the Florisdorf trenches. One quick stroke, and Vienna was taken. Not more than 130,000 defenders stood before the city; but, in addition to these, 110,000 men of the northern army were expected at Presburg between the 22d and the 26th. On the 21st Prince Frederic Charles sent Fransecky against that city with two divisions of cavalry and one of infantry. On the 22d Fransecky attacked Thun's corps, which was just arriving, and Mondl's brigade, which

was stationed at Blumenau. Ordering Bose's brigade to pass around to the left across the spurs of the lesser Carpathians, and take Mondl in the rear, he maintained the fight in front, chiefly at artillery distance. About 11 o'clock he charged the enemy, and forced his left wing to yield ground. It was 12 o'clock when he received news from Bose that the manœuvre had been successfully carried out; that he had scattered several battalions of Thun's corps, and was already at the Jägermühle, on the road between Presburg and Blumenau. The annihilation of Mondl's brigade and Thun's fatigued and scattered troops, and the consequent capture of Presburg, would have been the certain results of the day, but at that very moment an Austrian officer appeared under a flag of truce to inform Fransecky that a five days' armistice had been concluded, to take effect at mid-day on the 22d. All hostilities were therefore forthwith suspended. General Bose had the satisfaction of bivouacking for twenty-four hours in the position which he had won, thus making Mondl's troops pass in front of him on their march to Presburg, by way of showing how certain a Prussian victory would have been. The engagement at Blumenau closed the fighting between Prussia and Austria, and diplomacy began its battles.

Napoleon made every exertion to prevent the Prussians from entering Vienna, as that might tend to obscure his uncle's fame. The activity of his diplomats was unremitting. At his command Benedetti, the French ambassador in Berlin, arrived at Prussian head-quarters on the 14th of July, while at the same time the Duke of Gramont was busily at work in Vienna. The former was to dissuade from excessive demands, the latter persuade to greater concessions. To Bismarck the diplomatic intervention of France was so unwelcome that, in order to spare Napoleon farther trouble, he made direct overtures to the Vienna cabinet through Giskra, the burgomaster of Brünn. Austria was at liberty to enter into relations with south Germany, which was to remain mistress of its own destiny, but only on condition that all French intervention or mediation should be excluded. The negotiator was detained in Vienna so long that on his return to Nicholsburg French intervention was already a *fait accompli*. On the 14th of July Napoleon laid before the two cabinets six propositions, which, after being modified by Count Bismarck into a shape far more favorable to Prussia, formed the basis for the preliminaries

of peace later adopted. It was to the advantage of Prussia to protract the negotiations, in order that she might be able to throw the military successes of the next few days into the scale. As preliminary conditions to any negotiation the King of Prussia demanded Austria's withdrawal from the German Confederation, free scope to round out the Prussian boundaries and organize a new confederation in north Germany, and finally the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein; and announced that until Austria accepted these conditions any truce or negotiations with reference to peace were impossible. The king was more concerned about the increase of territory, Bismarck about the formation of a new confederation; but it proved quite possible to harmonize the two points of view. If Napoleon did not wish to become involved in war with Prussia, or perhaps with Germany, there was nothing left but to assent to the Prussian programme, which he did, in a despatch of July 19th, with remarkable modesty. The only cession of territory exacted from Austria was Venetia, which she had long since resolved to cede. To withdraw from Germany was a severe blow for all Austria, but especially for the Hapsburg dynasty, and it was only the pressure of iron necessity that extracted from Francis Joseph his consent. July 20th, the most important points having been agreed upon, negotiations for a temporary suspension of hostilities commenced. This took effect, as above mentioned, at mid-day of the 22d, and was to last five days. During that time negotiations were conducted in the Prussian head-quarters at Nicholsburg with reference to a formal truce and the preliminaries of peace, the Austrian Counts Carolyi and Degenfeld, and the Italian Count Barral meeting the Prussian plenipotentiaries in the presence of the aged king. The Bavarian minister, von der Pfordten, appeared, uninvited, to negotiate in the name of the south German states; but as he had no credentials from Würtemburg, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt, which were not themselves represented, he could not be admitted. On the 27th of July a formal truce and the preliminaries of peace were signed. To gain time for Italy's consent, the existing suspension of hostilities was prolonged to the 2d of August, at which date a formal truce of four weeks was to begin. On the 28th of July a truce for three weeks, to commence on the 2d of August, was concluded with Bavaria also, her request for an immediate cessation of hostilities on the Main not being granted.

With reference to the other three south German states, a promise was given that they should be treated the same as Bavaria, in case they made express application to that effect.

In the preliminaries of Nicholsburg, Francis Joseph recognized the dissolution of the existing Confederation, and gave his consent to a reorganization of Germany with Austria left out. Similarly in Art. 4 he promised to recognize the more closely united confederation which the King of Prussia proposed to establish north of the line of the Main. The states lying south of that line were to be at liberty to form a separate union, the connection of which with the North German Confederation was to be defined by agreement of the two parties. The Austrian emperor ceded to Prussia his rights in the Elbe duchies—by Art. 5 the northern districts of Schleswig were to decide by a free vote whether they would be re-united to Denmark or not—paid about $15,000,000 (20,000,000 thalers) war indemnity, and consented to the territorial changes which Prussia proposed to make in north Germany. In exchange for this Prussia left Saxony in full possession of its former territory, and undertook to settle the position of that state in the North German Confederation by a treaty of peace. Prussia also engaged to procure the King of Italy's consent to the truce and the preliminaries as soon as Napoleon surrendered Venetia. Until a definitive peace was concluded the Prussian troops were to occupy almost the whole of Bohemia and Moravia. August 23d the preliminaries agreed upon at Nicholsburg were finally ratified by the peace of Prague.

Napoleon, anxious that the re-organization of Germany should begin with a schism, did not wish to see the states south of the Main—Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt—subject to Prussia, and so the words "and which shall have an international, independent existence" were appended to Art. 4, the article treating of south Germany. It was not in the interests of Austria, but of France, that Napoleon wished to see this Main line drawn, and an independent position accorded to those states. He hoped by this means to rescue at least some part of his programme of June 11th, and expected that south Germany would seek a protector in the French emperor, as it had done in 1806, and become in political and military matters the ally of France against the new and dangerously strengthened Prussia. But this was not enough to satisfy him. His ambassador, Count Bene-

detti, had been excluded from the conferences with the Austrian plenipotentiaries in Nicholsburg, and first learned from Bismarck, on the 26th of July, that the preliminaries had been agreed upon. In answer to his question as to what compensation France was to receive on the left bank of the Rhine, he was informed that after such a brilliant campaign it would be impossible to persuade the king to surrender Rhenish territory. Benedetti reported this to the emperor, and on the 5th of August received from him from Vichy the draught of a treaty by which France was to acquire Rhenish Bavaria and Rhenish Hesse, including the fortress of Mayence—the boundaries of 1814—the existing relation between Luxemburg and the German Confederation was to be dissolved, and the Prussian right of garrison in the fortress of Luxemburg renounced. This document was at once communicated to Bismarck, who, together with the king, had reached Berlin on the 4th, and on the 6th Benedetti had a personal interview with him. In this interview he announced that in case these demands were not granted France would declare war. He added, furthermore, that he should recommend the emperor to insist on these conditions, since the failure to obtain compensation might endanger his very throne. Bismarck's reply was simple: "Good; then it is war." With this answer Benedetti took his departure for Paris. But Napoleon concluded to think twice before casting away through a declaration of war the line of the Main, which it had been so hard to win, and himself assisting in the unification of Germany. Accordingly Bismarck was informed that the demand for a cession of territory and the threat of war had been wrung from the emperor during his illness; and by way of proving this Drouyn, the minister of foreign affairs, was dismissed. The idea of the left bank of the Rhine was given up, and Napoleon turned his eyes toward Luxemburg and Belgium.

In the mean time the Italians had again assumed the offensive. In the diplomatic negotiations of July 5th their behavior had been unexceptionable, but in military matters the case was different, and neither at sea nor on land did they achieve any success. They were very proud of their fleet, which had been considerably strengthened in the last few years, and felt certain that in the event of a naval encounter the Austrians must be annihilated. On the 17th of July Admiral Persano sailed out of the harbor of Ancona with twenty-three ships, ten of them iron-clads, and 2200

landing troops, for the purpose of possessing himself of the island of Lissa, which was of great importance for the control of those waters. The bombardment of the forts began on the 19th, and Persano was just about to land his troops on the 20th, when Rear-admiral Tegetthoff appeared upon the scene with twenty-two ships, only seven of which were iron-clads. In a sharp fight of four hours' duration the Austrians gave a most brilliant proof of their superiority in point of manœuvring. The large Italian iron-clad *King of Italy* was run down by the armored ram *Archduke Max*, and the armored gun-boat *Palestro* set on fire and blown up. The Austrian *Kaiser*, although a wooden ship, succeeded by its well-directed fire in repulsing all the attacks of the Italian iron-clads. Persano was compelled to return to Ancona. He was later court-martialed and found guilty, although on his trial he attempted to lay the blame upon the administration of the navy, which he accused of fitting out the fleet poorly, and then forcing him into battle against his will.

The war on land presented no great difficulties after Austria had drawn off 80,000 men to the Danube. Victor Emmanuel did not recognize the cession of Venetia to Napoleon; and the latter, unable, on account of the Prussian-Italian alliance, to turn the Austrian gift to account in the way he had intended, let matters take their own course. The Austrians, vacating the open country, shut themselves up in the Quadrilateral—which Lamarmora needlessly watched with a force of six or seven divisions —so that Cialdini's march with eight divisions across the Po, Adige, Brenta, and Tagliamento was nothing more than a military promenade. The only deed of arms was the capture of the important barbacan of Borgoforte, on the Po, where the works were so battered by the Italian artillery that the garrison evacuated them (July 17th), and retreated to Mantua. Garibaldi, with his volunteers, accomplished less in the Tyrol than had been expected of him. He made his way into the valley of Judicaria, west of Lake Garda, but could do nothing against the practised Tyrolese sharpshooters, especially as he was suffering from a wound received in an engagement on the 3d of July. The campaign dragged on for four weeks in a series of petty skirmishes. It seemed about to take a more favorable turn for Garibaldi when General Medici, whom Cialdini had sent with one division against Trento, succeeded, after a few victorious encounters, in

making his way to within a few miles of that town; but just then the suspension of hostilities agreed upon in Nicholsburg put an end to the fighting in the Tyrol, as it had already done elsewhere. It was published in Italy on the 25th of July; but as Victor Emmanuel, claiming for Italy the Italian-speaking southern Tyrol, as well as Venetia, announced that he would continue to occupy the part of the former which he had already taken, the war seemed in danger of breaking out afresh. Austria would not surrender a single village in southern Tyrol. Prussia's treaty with Italy mentioned Venetia only, and she felt no desire to assist her ally to this additional acquisition. Napoleon, on his part, wished to keep the new kingdom within modest limits. Matters looked critical when Austria, her hands once more free upon the Danube, transferred large bodies of troops to Italy, collecting a strong army at Isonzo, and massing a reserve force at Villach. Victor Emmanuel ran a great risk in case he engaged single-handed in a war with Austria; and, comprehending how great that risk was, he at length yielded to the counsels of Napoleon and King William, and, choosing the certain in preference to the uncertain, withdrew his claims. On the 11th of August he concluded a truce for four weeks, which was immediately followed by the evacuation of all southern Tyrol. A peace between Austria and Italy was signed in Vienna on the 3d of October, and the iron crown of Lombardy was at length handed over to the latter. Italy was obliged to receive Venetia from the hands of France, and it was not to be surrendered until the wishes of the people had been expressed by a *plébiscite*. The Austrian troops began to evacuate the Quadrilateral on the 9th of October. On the 16th Venice was evacuated, and on the 18th Napoleon, through General Lebœuf, surrendered the city to a committee of the common council, and the Italian troops marched in.

The vote upon the union of Venetia with the kingdom of Italy took place on the 21st and 22d of October, and resulted in 651,758 votes in favor of union, and 69 against it. November 4th this result was communicated to the king in Turin by a Venetian deputation. In his reply the king said: "To-day the foreign rule has come to an end. Italy is created, but not yet completed. The Italians must defend it and make it great." The decree of annexation was signed at once, and on the 7th of November Victor Emmanuel made his entrance into Venice amid

the greatest rejoicings. The dream of the old *Carbonari* of a united Italy had almost reached its fulfilment. In spite of all conventions isolated Rome could not much longer hold out against the march of the century, with its tendency to unite things homogeneous. It was to the victors of Sadowa that Italy owed the acquisition of a province without a single victory, after her army and her navy had suffered complete defeats at Custozza and at Lissa; and the history of war affords no second example of such success in disaster.

The war had already come to an end in Bohemia and Italy when it was just beginning on the Main. To the right, at Bamberg, was stationed the Bavarian army, at first 42,000 strong, but later raised to 50,000, under Prince Charles, who, at the age of seventy-one, found himself for the first time at the head of an army. To the left, at Frankfort, stood the 8th army corps of the Confederation, to which Würtemburg contributed 14,000 men, Baden 10,000—under Prince William—Hesse-Darmstadt 9000, Hesse-Cassel 8000, Nassau 4000, and Austria 12,000. Of these the greater part of the contingent from Hesse-Cassel remained in or by the fortress of Mayence, so that the force actually in the field numbered a little more than 50,000 men. Prince Alexander of Hesse commanded this corps, and had a hard task to perform, with six generals under him who were mostly unacquainted with him or one another. With the exception of a few aimless marches, and the occupation for a couple of days of Giessen and the Prussian town of Wetzlar, this division remained at Frankfort, in order to protect the Diet from attack. In accordance with a decision of that body of the 25th of June, a battalion of Würtemburgers had already occupied Hohenzollern in the name of the Confederation, as indemnity for the territory which had been occupied by Prussia.

Opposed to these two armies stood General Vogel von Falckenstein, with three divisions of Göben, Beyer, and Manteuffel, numbering about 45,000 in all, inclusive of a contingent of 3000 from Saxe-Coburg and Lippe-Detmold. Although this army was no stronger than either one of the south German armies, its energetic leader determined, like his colleagues in Bohemia, to assume the offensive. His immediate plan was to prevent the union of the two hostile armies, and drive them back across the Main one after the other. After the capitulation of the Han-

overians, he concentrated his forces at Eisenach on the 2d of July, and set out for Frankfort by way of Fulda and Hanau. In order to bring assistance to the Hanoverians, the Bavarians had advanced as far as Coburg and Meiningen; but after the capitulation of the former they turned westward, and attempted to unite with the 8th army corps. This brought them into collision with the Prussian troops, and in a series of engagements beginning on the 4th of July they were driven back to the Saale, the 8th army corps, which was only eight or ten miles away, making no effort to come to their assistance, while the conduct of the Bavarians themselves was not altogether creditable. Falckenstein crossed the Bavarian boundary at Brückenau on the 9th, and after more fighting forced the passage of the Saale on the 10th. Defeated at all points, the Bavarians abandoned the line of that river to the Prussians, and crossed the Main at Schweinfurth. Falckenstein now turned westward. Sending Beyer's division northward to the Gelnhausen pass, he marched down the Saale, and set out on the 13th with the other two divisions across the Spessart to seize Aschaffenburg and take his adversary on the flank. If this succeeded the line of the Main was lost, and Frankfort must be abandoned. Recognizing the danger, Prince Alexander sent the Hesse-Darmstadt troops from Frankfort to Aschaffenburg by rail on the 12th, with orders to venture no engagement until re-enforcements should arrive. But the Hessian general, Perglas, not wishing to lose the favorable opportunity of falling upon the Prussians as they emerged from the Spessart, attacked them on the 13th, was defeated by Göben at Laufach and Frohnhofen, and driven back on Aschaffenburg. The promised re-enforcements, consisting of Austrian and Hessian troops under General Neipperg, arrived on the evening of the same day. Göben attacked them on the 14th, took the city after some insignificant street-fighting, and captured the bridge over the Main. Fifteen hundred prisoners, chiefly Austrians, fell into his hands. Prince Alexander now evacuated Hanau and Frankfort, and on the 14th of July led his whole army across the Main, with the intention of marching to Würzburg by way of Mittenberg, and there forming a junction with Prince Charles.

The Diet and its military commission applied about $90,000 (180,000 fl.) to the erection of intrenchments in the neighborhood of Frankfort, displayed the German colors, planting a red,

black, and gold flag on their palace, summoned *landwehr* and volunteers into the field, and made every effort in the hour of danger to call armies out of the ground. But it was too late, and, like the "rump parliament" of 1849, with a foreboding of its approaching end, the Diet left Frankfort on the 14th, and migrated to Augsburg, there to take up its quarters in the Three Moors, an inn famous for its excellent wines.

On the 16th Falckenstein marched into Hanau with Göben's division, entering Frankfort the same evening, and taking possession of that city, upper Hesse, and Nassau—which latter had already been occupied by troops of the Prussian *landwehr* under Prince Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen—in the name of his king. He was able to report: "The countries north of the Main now lie at your royal majesty's feet." On account of its too great sympathy with Austria, a contribution of 6,000,000 gulden (about $3,000,000) was levied on the city of Frankfort. On the 19th a second contribution of 19,000,000 was demanded by Manteuffel, but never exacted. July 17th Falckenstein received an order, dated the 12th, directing him to surrender the command of the army of the Main to Manteuffel, and appointing him governor of Bohemia. Apparently the intention was to give him the command of a new army, which was to invade Bavaria from the east; but this plan was abandoned, and minor operations only were undertaken on that side under the conduct of the Grand-duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. This latter, setting out from Leipzig with a reserve corps of about 21,000 men on the 20th, reached the Bavarian town of Hof on the 23d. As the Bavarians could put only four poorly equipped reserve battalions in the field against him, his progress, like that of Cialdini in Italy, was a mere military promenade. He entered Baireuth on the 29th, and after one insignificant skirmish reached Nuremburg on the 31st.

Manteuffel allowed his soldiers to rest five days in Frankfort. The Oldenburg-Hanseatic brigade—from Oldenburg, Hamburg, Lubeck, and Bremen—a Schwarzburg battalion—from Waldeck and Sondershausen—and some newly-formed Prussian battalions, raised his forces to 66,000. Leaving 6000 of these in and near Frankfort, with 60,000 he again assumed the offensive. The ensuing campaign was a series of petty victories for the Prussians. On the 20th General Göben occupied Darmstadt, and set out

across the Odenwald for the Tauber, while General Flies, who commanded Manteuffel's former division, marched from Aschaffenburg along the left bank of the Main to Mittenberg, Beyer following him as reserve. The enemy fell back across the Tauber. Manteuffel followed, and on the 24th forced the passage of that river at Wertheim, Werbach, and Bischofsheim. The defeated 8th army corps directed its march toward Würzburg, halting on the heights of Gerchsheim, where, after five weeks of vain manœuvring, it finally formed a junction with the Bavarians, but too late to be of much use. The generalship of the south Germans had been weak from the outset; there was a complete lack of punctual co-operation on the part of the separate divisions; and the presence of three princes had certainly not been advantageous. On the 25th Manteuffel began an attack on the combined armies. On the following day, after an obstinate and bloody battle, he drove back the Bavarians at Uettingen and Rossbrunn. Thereupon, leaving a detachment in the fortress of Marienberg, on the left bank of the Main, the south German army crossed the river at Würzburg, occupying that city, and taking up a position at Rottendorff and Kitzingen. July 27th the army of the Main appeared before Würzburg, and began the bombardment of the fortress. Negotiations for its surrender had already been opened when news arrived of the conclusion of a truce.

The position of the south German states was desperate. From Bohemia General Mülbe was advancing on Amberg with a Prussian division, while from Saxony Anhalt and Brunswick troops were marching in to re-enforce the reserve corps, which, as well as the army of the Main, stood in the very heart of Bavaria. The 7th and 8th army corps, which were on the right bank of the Main, were cut off, and only a brilliant victory could open them a way home. The capitals lay open to the foe, and jewels, treasure-chests, and valuable papers had already been sent across Lake Constance, while many a hot head which had inspired too sharp a pen found a change of air on the lake or among the Alps absolutely necessary for the sake of health. After the preliminaries of Nicholsburg, farther resistance was quite impossible. All clamored for peace and the recall of the troops. July 27th Prince Charles received a telegram from von der Pfordten with reference to a suspension of hostilities until the commencement of the truce. Negotiations were at once entered into with Manteuffel;

but as he was without instructions, they could lead to no definite result. In point of fact, no suspension of hostilities before the 2d of August had been arranged, but a convention had been concluded between Count Bismarck and von der Pfordten providing for a three weeks' truce between Prussia and Bavaria—and, in case they asked for it, the other three south German states—to begin on the 2d of August, during which negotiations for a peace were to be opened in Berlin. However, Manteuffel consented to a provisional suspension of hostilities along the whole line of the Main, and on the 1st of August concluded with Prince Charles a truce which left the Bavarians in possession of Marienberg, while the Prussians occupied Würzburg. Similar truces were concluded with Würtemberg, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt, each state being obliged to negotiate separately. Baden, where a complete change of system had taken place, Edelsheim having been dismissed and Mathy appointed minister of state, had already recalled its troops on the 29th of July. Until the conclusion of peace, the whole of Hesse-Darmstadt and the northern parts of the other three states were to be occupied by the Prussians at the cost of those states. To be freed from this expense as soon as possible, the south German governments hastened to conclude a definitive peace. They were obliged to accept the provisions of the Nicholsburg treaty, and to pay in addition special penalties for their hostile attitude. The *Zollverein* continued in existence, but with the proviso that it might be dissolved on six months' notice, which gave Prussians a means of exerting powerful pressure on the south German states. Würtemberg and Baden, which concluded peace in Berlin on the 13th and 17th of August respectively, lost no territory, but the former had to pay eight and the latter six million gulden as war indemnity. Hesse-Darmstadt, which concluded peace on the 3d of September, was fined 3,000,000 gulden; Homburg, Meisenheim, and some parts of upper Hesse—the remainder of upper Hesse escaped annexation only by becoming a member of the North German Confederation—were ceded to Prussia, and the right of garrison in Mayence, formerly a federal fortress, was confined to that state. At first it was intended to inflict a severe punishment on Bavaria, against which the Olmütz convention between it and Austria would have proved of no avail. In the face of that convention Bavaria found herself completely deserted by Austria in the negotiations at Nicholsburg, and then accused

by the latter of having left her in the lurch. Count Bismarck spoke of 20,000,000 thalers, and the cession of territory in the northern Palatinate and Franconia containing at least 500,000 souls, Bavaria to receive partial compensation in Würtemberg and Baden; and he furthermore reminded von der Pfordten that at the beginning of the century Ansbach and Baireuth had belonged to Prussia. These propositions alarmed the Bavarian minister so much that he and the other south German cabinets, with the exception of Baden, applied to Napoleon for his good offices.

Such an appeal for mediation was very welcome to the latter, and Benedetti was at once instructed to make representations in Berlin on behalf of the three southern states. Thereupon Bismarck acquainted von der Pfordten with the astonishing fact that his French champion had claimed the whole Bavarian Palatinate as his reward for the war which he had not waged. To wean Bavaria from the dependence upon France to which, unhappily, she had been for centuries accustomed, and attach her to Prussia by bonds of gratitude, Bismarck receded from his original demands, and on the 22d of August Bavaria ceded to Prussia two little districts in the Spessart and Rhöngebirge, Orb and Gersfeld, with a population of 33,900, and paid an indemnity of 20,000,000 thalers. A farther reason why the conditions of peace for the southern states were more favorable than their hostility and Prussia's overwhelming victory gave cause to expect, lay in the offensive and defensive alliances which they proposed in connection with the peace negotiations. Such alliances were contracted with Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden at the same time that peace was concluded, it being provided in each case that the contracting parties should mutually guarantee the integrity of one another's territory, and that in case of war each should place its whole military force at the disposition of the other for that purpose, the chief command being intrusted to the King of Prussia. These treaties, provisionally kept secret, were first published on the 19th of March, 1867, when the Luxemburg question threatened to assume a dangerous form. An offensive and defensive alliance was concluded with Hesse-Darmstadt on the 11th of April, 1867, a military convention having been entered into on the 7th of that month, by which all the Hessian troops, reorganized after the Prussian pattern, were to form a special division in the 11th

army corps of the Prussian army, and both in peace and war be subject to the command of the Prussian king. Peace with Saxony was signed on the 21st of October. This state in particular Prussia had intended to annex, in order to complete the work of 1815, and push her frontier forward to the strong line of the Erzgebirge; but Austria, which had found in Saxony a trusty ally during the whole campaign, held herself bound to insist as firmly upon the integrity of that state as upon her own, and expressed herself to that effect in the negotiations for the Nicholsburg treaty. Napoleon, always ready to interfere, if by so doing he might prevent Prussia from getting too much, and mindful, moreover, of the service Saxony had rendered his uncle in 1813, also spoke strongly in her behalf. At first he meditated proposing to Prussia the annexation of Saxony, and the indemnification of King John from the Roman Catholic provinces on the left bank of the Rhine, by which means he hoped to secure a more convenient neighbor for his Luxemburg-Belgian designs. He afterward abandoned this idea, and insisted instead on the maintenance of the Saxon kingdom. Accordingly the project of annexation was abandoned; but Saxony was obliged to pay a war indemnity of 10,000,000 thalers, join the North German Confederation, place her troops under the command of the King of Prussia, and convey her postal and telegraph system to the Prussian crown. By this means Prussia obtained essentially what she wanted. Baron von Beust, the former director of the Saxon policy, had been dismissed on the 13th of August, Bismarck refusing to negotiate with him.

The Diet at the Three Moors, in Augsburg, shrank to an absurdly small number, after the defeats in Bohemia and on the Main. One state after another recalled its delegates, until there remained, on the 24th of August, only four of the nine delegates who, by their vote on the 14th of June, had brought on the war with Prussia. By the Nicholsburg treaty, and the accompanying events, the Confederation had in point of fact already been dissolved. The only question now was how to give it a decent burial. Baron von Kübeck, the presiding delegate, came on from Vienna for that purpose, and delivered the funeral oration in presence of the delegates from Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Würtemberg, the two Hesses, Nassau, and Lichtenstein. June 8th, 1815, the German Confederation had been established by the

diplomats assembled at the Vienna Congress; November 5th, 1816, the Diet had been opened in Frankfort by Count Buol-Schauenstein; and August 24th, 1866, at the Three Moors, in Augsburg, through the mouth of the Austrian delegate, the Confederation was declared dissolved. It had very little in the way of great measures to show as the result of its fifty years of existence, and no small part of the blame for this resultlessness must be attributed to the presiding power, Austria, which was unwilling to abandon the Metternichian conception, that the Confederation was to be utilized merely for its own dynastic and political purposes. In its place appeared the North German Confederation, under the lead of Prussia.

The formal dissolution of the old confederation was preceded, in point of time, by certain annexations. The Prussian *Landtag* was opened on the 5th of August. The speech from the throne announced the formation of a new confederation, and the convening of a representative assembly of the people in the states belonging to that confederation. The king also asked indemnity for administering the finances and levying taxes without the consent of parliament, in order that the existing conflict might be set at rest for all time. August 17th Count Bismarck read in the Prussian House of Representatives a royal message announcing the annexation of Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and Frankfort to the Prussian monarchy; and by a patent of January 12th, 1867, Schleswig-Holstein, with the exception of a small district ceded to Oldenburg, was also annexed. The newly-annexed territory, together with Lauenberg and the districts ceded by Bavaria and Hesse-Darmstadt, gave Prussia an increase of 28,034 square miles, containing a population of 4,815,700, making her total area 137,066 square miles, with a population of 23,590,000 souls. But, in addition to this acquisition of territory—which was purely German, and for the most part Protestant—she gained the farther great advantage that her possessions, no longer divided into two parts by a wedge of hostile states, now formed one united, well-rounded whole. The Prussian *Landtag* approved of the annexations, and also, at the motion of the government, voted donations to Count Bismarck and Generals Roon, Moltke, Herwarth von Bittenfeld, Steinmetz, and Vogel von Falckenstein.

Prussia received a farther increase of power through its north German allies, who intrusted the conduct of their whole military

establishments to the King of Prussia. All the princes and free states from the North Sea to the Main united with Prussia in the North German Confederation, giving that state a practical increase of six or seven million subjects, and raising the total number at her disposal to about 30,000,000. August 4th the Prussian government invited all the north German states to conclude a treaty of confederation, and communicated a plan of organization based upon the Prussian propositions laid before the Diet on the 10th of June. This plan was approved of by all the states excepting Meiningen and Reuss (elder line). December 15th their plenipotentiaries met in Berlin to discuss the constitution proposed by the Prussian government. February 9th, 1867, they reached a conclusion, which was next subjected to the farther consideration of the north German *Reichstag*. This was elected on the 12th of February, on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot, and was opened by the King of Prussia in the palace at Berlin on the 24th with a speech full of German patriotism and self-assertion, which attracted much attention in all Europe as the proclamation of a great Germany. After a discussion of not quite two months the proposed constitution, with a few changes, was adopted by the *Reichstag*. It conferred upon the representatives of the people powers of the greatest importance in the control of the finances and the framing of legislation, while it made a firm and harmonious administration of the military and naval establishments, commercial relations, and the like, possible on the part of the central government. April 17th Count Bismarck announced the acceptance of the constitution of the North German Confederation by the *Reichstag* and the respective governments, and the king dissolved the assembly. An old dream of former Prussian monarchs was at last fulfilled. In great part, at least, the union of Germany, which Frederic the Great sought to effect by his confederation of princes in 1785, which was the aim of the north German *Reichsbund* that Frederic William III. attempted to organize in 1806, in opposition to Napoleon's Confederation of the Rhine—which Frederic William IV. hoped to bring about in 1850 by the formation of the Union, and which they all failed to accomplish—had been at length successfully achieved by King William I.

§ 23.

THE LUXEMBURG NEGOTIATIONS.—FRENCH PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.—THE NORTH GERMAN CONFEDERATION AND THE SOUTH GERMAN STATES.

The enormous successes which had raised Prussia at one stroke from her former position of comparative insignificance into the first rank of great powers, if not to the very first position among those powers, excited the astonishment of the whole world. While some countries, and above all England and the United States, were loud in their expressions of pleasure and admiration, others, like France, Holland, Denmark, and the States of the Church, could not conceal their envy and vexation. "The world is coming to an end!" was Cardinal Antonelli's exclamation on hearing of the battle of Sadowa. Napoleon, whose policy in the last few years had encountered such serious rebuffs in Mexico and Italy, was uneasy in the knowledge that the disunion which had so long entailed weakness upon Germany was now almost healed. A powerful rival had sprung up in the North German Confederation, with its strongly organized presiding power. The period of undivided French supremacy was at an end. Napoleon's attempt to annex a slice of Germany, as he had annexed Savoy and Nice, failed utterly. Defeated Austria could not give him the promised compensation, and victorious Prussia roundly refused all his demands. But his anxiety to satisfy his jealous Frenchmen with a portion of the booty from the re-distribution of his neighbors' territory was such, especially as the opposition Press quoted almost daily the words Thiers had spoken in the Chamber—"France has sunk to the third rank"—that he once more opened negotiations with Bismarck, while at the same time treating with the King of Holland. Benedetti was instructed to propose to Count Bismarck an offensive and defensive alliance between France and Prussia, by which the latter was to support the emperor in his acquisition by purchase of Luxemburg, and assist him with her whole land and naval force in case circumstances compelled him

to march his soldiers into Belgium for the conquest of that state. In return for this assistance in the acquisition of Luxemburg and Belgium, with a population of about 5,000,000, Napoleon promised to recognize the Prussian annexations of 1866, and offer no opposition to the absorption of the south German states in the North German Confederation. This proposition, which was repeated in 1870, was treated by Bismarck in a "dilatory manner," decision put off, and no promise ever given.

King William of Holland proved more amenable. In his fear that Prussia might compel him to enter the North German Confederation, and spurred on by the Prussophobists by whom he was surrounded—especially by the queen, who ascribed to Prussia the design of uniting all Teutonic peoples into one confederation, without scrupling at any sort of violence—he inquired of the emperor whether he might rely on French assistance in case Prussia should attempt to force him into an alliance. Napoleon was delighted at this application, and through his ambassador at the Hague asked the king (February 28th, 1867) whether he were inclined to cede the grand-duchy of Luxemburg to France for a reasonable compensation in money. The king, who was very much in debt, expressed his willingness, and on the 22d of March the treaty of cession was drawn up, it being provided that the ratification on the part of France should take place not later than the 5th of April, and that the negotiations with Prussia, which had the right of garrison in the fortress of Luxemburg, should be conducted exclusively by Napoleon. It was furthermore agreed that complete secrecy should be observed; but on the 26th of March the king, who feared Prussia fully as much as he hated her, communicated the negotiations to the Prussian ambassador, and asked whether his government would consent to the transfer of Dutch sovereignty in Luxemburg to France. He was directed to reply that the Prussian government would never give its consent to the cession or sale of Luxemburg, and on the 1st of April the north German *Reichstag* took most decided ground against the surrender of a German province. If Luxemburg, with its strong fortress, in which Prussia maintained a garrison by virtue of the treaties of 1815, 1816, and 1817, were in French possession, the independence of Belgium and the safety of the Rhine provinces would be most seriously endangered, and, in addition to that, Prussia would occupy a far less favorable posi-

tion from a military point of view in case war should break out between France and Germany. Accordingly Prussia called in the powers which had signed the treaty of 1839 dividing Luxemburg between Belgium and Holland. As soon as Napoleon perceived that Luxemburg was not to be thus easily secured he issued a circular despatch offering to renounce his designs, provided Prussia would relinquish her right of garrison. This right had lost its justification, it was claimed, since the events of 1866 had dissolved the German Confederation, and thereby severed Luxemburg from Germany. Serious objections might have been made to this assertion from the side of international law as well as from that of nationality. In Berlin opinions were divided. One party, with Moltke at its head, would hear nothing of concessions, but wished to take advantage of the unprepared condition of the intriguing emperor, and leave him no other choice than to abandon his claims altogether, or engage in a dangerous war with the well-prepared Prussian armies. The other party, following Bismarck's lead, not willing to stake all on one throw, and expose the acquisitions of 1866 to a new war before they had become well consolidated, preferred a peaceful solution, so far as that was compatible with Prussian honor. The latter view was the one which met with the king's approval. At Russia's proposition, the ambassadors of those powers which had signed the treaty of 1839, with the addition of the Italian ambassador, met in London and drew up a new treaty (May 11th). This treaty provided that Luxemburg should remain in the possession of the house of Orange-Nassau and constitute a neutral state, its neutrality to be guaranteed by the signatory powers. The Prussian troops were to evacuate the fortress, which was to be razed to the ground by the King of Holland. Limburg was to be separated from Germany and constitute an integral part of the kingdom of Holland, but Luxemburg retained its connection with the German *Zollverein.*

Napoleon would certainly not have consented to recede from his position if he had had a large and well prepared army. "Herr von Bismarck has made me his dupe! An Emperor of the French can be no one's dupe!" was his exclamation of indignation at the course events had taken. Accordingly his exertions to create a strong army in the shortest possible time were redoubled. The new minister of war, Marshal Niel, was the right man to execute such a project. A bill for the reorganiza-

tion of the army was laid before the Chambers, a new breech-loading arm, the *chassepot*, introduced in imitation of the Prussian needle-gun; *mitrailleuses* constructed, horses purchased, and the arsenals and magazines filled with ammunition and equipments. The official Press teemed with rodomontade and bravado of a sort calculated to excite a hostile and warlike spirit toward Prussia. The French government could not refrain from annoying interference at every opportunity. In consequence of the 5th article of the Peace of Prague, Prussia had opened negotiations with Denmark regarding the northern districts of Schleswig, first announcing, however, that, as a preliminary to any farther steps, Denmark must give the requisite guarantees for the protection of German subjects inhabiting the territory about to be ceded. A despatch from the French cabinet, in July of 1867, took up the Danish question, justly averring that such guarantees could not be given without affording Prussia opportunity for constant interference in the internal affairs of Denmark. The answer was returned that Prussia most earnestly deprecated French participation or interference in the negotiations with reference to the execution of Art. 5 of the Peace of Prague. Napoleon was obliged to pocket this rebuff also, and content himself with the glory of the Paris Exposition, which was visited by almost all the sovereigns of Europe. The attempt of the Pole, Berezowski, to shoot the Emperor of Russia in the Bois de Boulogne, on the 6th of June, brought a disturbing element into the festivities. The extravagant sympathy of the Parisian populace for the would-be regicide did not tend toward inclining Emperor Alexander to look with favor on the suggestion that he should give up his intimate relations with Prussia, and enter into a closer alliance with France. A noticeable event, which was regarded as the prelude to a French-Austrian alliance, was the meeting in Salzburg in August of 1867 between Napoleon and Eugenie and the Hapsburg imperial pair. This was followed in the immediately ensuing years by negotiations between the Austrian minister, von Beust, and the French ambassador, the Duke of Gramont, on the question of a war with Prussia, the former earnestly advising the French emperor to make a non-German question the occasion of quarrel. The ostensible reason for the Salzburg meeting was Napoleon's wish, from a feeling of responsibility for Maximilian's fate, to pay a visit of condolence to his brother.

Before the date of this visit the house of Hapsburg had at last been induced to avert farther catastrophe by accommodating itself to the spirit of the times, for so much had become clear, that if the system of concordat government and suspension of the constitution were to last much longer in Austria, the so-called statesmen of that country would have but little left to govern. Solferino had not brought them to their senses, but Sadowa had proved enough to awaken the very deepest sleepers from their dreams. The sores of the empire had been exposed to the whole world. Most of the thinking men of Austria were clamoring, to use the last words of the great poet, for "more light." This was utterly impossible under the ecclesiastico-political absolutism of the existing government, and consequently a change became necessary. In October of 1866 Emperor Francis Joseph called the former Saxon minister, Baron von Beust, the oracle of the Bamberg petty state policy, and the antipode of Bismarck, into the foreign ministry in place of Count Mensdorff. February 7th, 1867, the Czechish Count Belcredi, minister of state—whose hobby was "historico-political individuality," and who would fain have transformed the empire into a confederation of several independent kingdoms—was dismissed, and Beust became minister-president. On the following day a definitive settlement with Hungary was concluded in Vienna through Francis Deak, the constitution of 1848 restored, and Count Julius Andrassy commissioned with the formation of an Hungarian ministry. This ministry, which was chosen from the men of Deak's party, took the oath to the emperor in the palace at Buda on the 15th of March, 1867, and on the 8th of June Francis Joseph was crowned King of Hungary. The dualism of the empire was thenceforward an acknowledged fact. Transylvania—and in the year 1868 Croatia also—was united to Hungary. The reform in Hungary was followed by the establishment of constitutional government in the German and Slavonic provinces (Cisleithania) as well. The *Reichsrath* was convened, and the settlement with Hungary communicated to it as an accomplished fact. The constitution of 1861 was revised, and adopted in its revised form on the 31st of December, 1867. This conferred upon the people and their representatives rights and privileges of the greatest importance—equality of all citizens before the law, freedom of the Press, right of association and meeting, complete liberty of faith and con-

science, the unrestricted right to impose taxes and levy recruits, etc. At the same time a responsible ministry was appointed for the western half of the empire—the so-called "ministry of doctors"—with Prince Carlos Auersperg at its head. As the Hungarian ministry had to deal with the *Reichsrath*, so the Cisleithan was responsible to the *Reichstag*, consisting of a house of lords and a house of representatives. A separate ministry was appointed for the consideration of matters concerning the two halves in common—foreign affairs, finances, and war—in which Chancellor von Beust took the foreign portfolio, Beke administered finances, and Lieutenant Field-marshal Kuhn was minister of war. These three ministers were to discuss the common interests of the empire with two delegations of sixty members each, chosen from the *Reichsrath* and *Reichstag* respectively, which were to meet alternately at Vienna and Pesth. It was a rather complicated state machine which had been set up, inasmuch as there were three ministries and three parliaments, not to speak of the seventeen minor parliaments of the various provinces of Cisleithania, but there seemed to be no other way of maintaining the simultaneous unity and dualism of the empire.

Peace was not established, however, by the mere adoption of a constitution. The concordat of August 18th, 1855, which was still in force, was an insupportable grievance both in church and school, exasperating all non-Catholics by its intolerant interference in the most sacred family rights. As long as this was in force the constitution did not have the least value. Indirectly it was already done away with by the provisions of the new constitution, inasmuch as it was incompatible with freedom of faith and conscience; but a direct repudiation was necessary, and both the government and the representatives of the people must have the courage to carry out those provisions to their logical consequences, and openly proclaim their breach with the concordat, before any practical results could be expected. In the year 1867 the lower house made a move in this direction, although its members were not altogether agreed as to the mode of effecting the desired result. Some demanded the abolition of the concordat outright, others were willing to content themselves for the time being with three confessional laws modifying its most obnoxious provisions. The latter were in the majority, and the ministry accordingly brought forward the proposed three laws.

The marriage law restored civil marriage to the statute-book, in so far as it introduced permissive civil marriage, depriving the clergy of all jurisdiction in the premises and conferring it upon the courts. The school law took the control of education, with the exception of religious education, away from the church and gave it to the state. The interconfessional law regulated the religious obligations of children in case of mixed marriages—by the concordat the children of one Protestant and one Roman Catholic parent must be educated in the faith of the latter, by the new law male children followed the father and female the mother—change of confession, burials, and the like.

These three measures passed the lower house, and, after meeting with violent opposition in the upper house, received the unwilling signature of the emperor. In the mean time the latter had been vainly negotiating with the Curia for a revision of the obnoxious concordat. Pius IX., yielding himself to the counsels of the Jesuits, persisted in his *non possumus*. June 22d, 1868, in a meeting of the secret consistory, he announced in his allocution that by virtue of his apostolic authority he rejected and denounced the new laws, and declared them absolutely null and void. In consequence of this most of the bishops in their pastoral letters and instructions directed the clergy and all good Catholics to disregard the new laws and hold fast to the concordat. For the first time it became clear to many persons what it was to have an aggressively arrogant and domineering ecclesiastical state superimposed upon the body politic. The government, although supported in the most unhesitating manner by popular representatives and assemblies, displayed toward this open contumacy and instigation to disobedience a patience and forbearance akin to weakness, such as it certainly would not have manifested toward other refractory subjects, and which gave occasion to well-founded suspicions of the good-will of high personages in reference to the execution of these laws.

The attempt was also made to improve the condition of Austrian finances, which had been for years proverbially bad. The load of national debt pressed all the harder on the German and Slavonic provinces because, in the settlement that had been made with Hungary, the latter had refused to assume more than 30 per cent. of the common burden, leaving 70 per cent. for Cisleithania. Bankruptcy appeared inevitable, and was openly proposed in some

quarters with cynical directness as the most convenient way out of the difficulty. Instead of this, a coupon tax was passed at the instance of the government (June 8th). Notwithstanding the desperate condition of the finances, the government brought forward a new army bill, calling for a yearly budget of 80,000,000 gulden for ten years, and fixing the strength of the army on a war footing at 800,000 men—about $400 a man. The bill passed the three parliaments without any important modification; and Beust, who had distinguished himself by his zealous advocacy of the measure, was raised to the rank of count, making him, outwardly at least, the equal of his Prussian rival. In view of the prevalent desire among the nobility to avenge Sadowa, taken together with Beust's coquetting with France, and his restless, pompous love of being concerned in mighty deeds, the 800,000 men which were intended to give force and emphasis to Austria's voice in the councils of Europe might well have been regarded as a threat to Germany. But, leaving out of view the fact that, for the present at least, this force existed only upon paper, all parties in Hungary indicated their determination not to grant the Vienna government a single kreutzer or a single soldier for the purpose of making war on that state. The Hungarians fully appreciated the fact that their settlement with Austria was wholly due to the defeat at Sadowa, and that, in case the house of Hapsburg should again win a position of power in Germany, the constitution would be liable to renewed suspensions. Hungary could not stand alone, and so the Hungarians found it to their interest to maintain in its present form the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy (which was now the official title); but they would have nothing to do with any attempts on the part of the house of Hapsburg to regain its old position by interfering between north and south Germany, and hindering the accession of the southern states to the North German Confederation. Their attitude put it out of the power of the Vienna court to oppose aggressively the formation of a new Germany.

This new Germany did not advance toward completion so speedily as many had been led to expect from the rapid progress of the first few months. By halting at the Main in 1866, Prussia had left the work of unification incomplete. For certain reasons this was not so much to be regretted; for, in view of the opposing elements in the south, Bismarck could scarcely have

hoped for the adoption of a constitution conferring sufficient power on the central administration. It was far better for Prussia to begin with the formation of a North German Confederation, and attract to herself at the outset only homogeneous elements which she could readily assimilate. The decision of the question whether and when they would by their accession make the North German Confederation German was left entirely in the hands of the four southern states, which, since the dissolution of the old confederation, occupied a far more independent position than before, and, on the whole, too independent for their own advantage. Bismarck laid down this policy in the most unmistakable manner in his famous despatch of September 7th, 1867: "The North German Confederation, either now or in the future, will meet half-way any desire on the part of the south German governments to strengthen and expand the national relations between north and south Germany; but we shall always leave to the decision of our south German allies the determination of the bounds within which these mutual advances shall be confined." This forced upon the southern states the question what position they would take up with reference to the rest of Germany. Leaving out of consideration the fact that Austria was passing through an exceedingly dangerous process of reorganization, a closer connection with that state—which had at first been speculated upon in some ultramontane circles—was rendered impossible by Art. 4 of the Peace of Prague, which provided that the reorganization of Germany should be effected without any participation on the part of the Austrian empire. It was possible for these states to attach themselves to the North German Confederation, or to form a confederation among themselves, according to the suggestion of the Peace of Prague, the national connection of which with the North German Confederation should be left to the farther agreement of the two parties. There was also a third possibility: each individual state might preserve as independent a position as possible, assuming a sort of European status, and entering into closer relations with the other states and with the North German Confederation only so far as military and commercial interests rendered it necessary.

Baden was the only one of these states in which both the government and the representatives of the people were inclined to unite with the North German Confederation; but when Mathy,

the minister of state, addressed a letter to Bismarck with this end in view (November 18th, 1867), he received an unfavorable reply. The hatred of the democratical and ultramontane elements, which had their head-quarters in Würtemberg and Bavaria respectively, rendered the accession of those two states in the immediate future highly improbable, except under pressure of extreme necessity; and, notwithstanding the fact that upper Hesse was now a member of the North German Confederation, the antipathy of the Hessian court was so intense that there seemed for the present but little chance of bringing into the Confederation the remainder of that country. The formation of a South German Confederation appeared even more unlikely. Such a confederation, embracing not more than eight or nine millions, and set in the midst between three great powers, would be unable to stand on its own feet and pursue an independent policy. It would be sure to become the sport of foreign intrigue, now begging favors in Paris or Vienna, now asking succor from Berlin, and disappearing with the first storm that swept the face of central Europe. That which most of all brought a southern confederation into discredit with the people was the over-great interest which Napoleon took in its formation. This called to mind the disgraceful story of the Confederation of the Rhine, and in doing so pronounced sentence on the proposed southern confederation. Furthermore, the cabinets of three of those states had not the least desire for such fraternization, inasmuch as a confederation would have involved their subordination to the most powerful state among them, namely, Bavaria. If they must submit to the supremacy of some state, they much preferred, as Baron von Barnbüler openly announced in the Würtemberg house of representatives, that that state should be powerful Prussia rather than Bavaria, which was more nearly their own equal.

Only the third possibility remained, namely, that each of the south German states should maintain an independent existence, connecting itself with the North German Confederation only as far as security and convenience positively required; and this was, accordingly, the actual condition of affairs after the conclusion of peace with Prussia. The first tie attaching the southern states to the confederation in the north was the offensive and defensive alliance by which in case of war they placed their troops under the command of the King of Prussia. To this bond of union was

soon added another of equal importance. By a declaration of August 24th, 1866, Prussia had reserved to herself the right of debarring from the privileges of the *Zollverein*, on six months' notice, those states which had opposed her in the late war. The existing position could be only a passing one. On the 3d and 4th of June, 1867, a conference took place in Berlin between Count Bismarck and the ministers of foreign affairs in the various south German states. In this conference Bismarck proposed that thenceforward the whole customs' legislation, the regulation of the excise duty on native sugar, salt, and tobacco, and all measures necessary for the security of the common customs' frontier should be determined by a majority vote of the North German *Bundesrath* and *Reichsrath*, in which the representatives of south Germany were to have seats for that purpose. In this new organization Prussia was to take the position of presiding power, exercising the right of veto only for the maintenance of existing institutions, in all other cases submitting, like any other government, to the majority vote of the two legislative bodies. This treaty was to remain in force until the end of December, 1877. By this arrangement the senseless power of veto by which formerly each individual member of the *Zollverein*, like the nobles in the old Polish parliament, could by its protest invalidate the decision of the majority, was taken away, and the right of the majority secured. The south German ministers assented to this plan of a customs' parliament; and after it had been submitted to specialists commissioned for that purpose, the new customs' treaty was concluded in Berlin on the 8th of July.

The next question was whether the two treaties, the customs' treaty and the treaty of alliance, would be accepted by the south German chambers. In Baden and Hesse (in the latter state the customs' treaty alone was under consideration) the matter was not attended with the slightest difficulty, but in Bavaria it seemed likely that the upper house would not consent to the former, while in Würtemberg the latter was in danger of being rejected by the house of representatives. Prussia thereupon announced that at the end of six months Bavaria and Würtemberg would be excluded from the *Zollverein*, in case the one did not accept the customs' treaty and the other the treaty of alliance. This meant bitter earnest, and at once a number of town councils and industrial associations declared in favor of accepting the Prussian

propositions. The lower house of the Bavarian parliament showed itself favorably disposed, and the obnoxious treaty was accepted by a large majority. The upper house did not give its consent until Baron von Thüngen, the leader of those who opposed the treaty, had convinced himself by an interview with Count Bismarck that the threat which had been made would prove no idle one. Similarly in Würtemberg the treaty of alliance was adopted after a hot discussion; and on the 31st of October, 1867, under the influence of the Bavarian negotiations, the customs' treaty was also accepted by the lower house.

But the mere acceptance of these treaties was not everything; the treaty of alliance involved consequences. If south Germany wished to be protected by Prussia's military power, it must contribute its share toward the increase of that power. If the southern troops were to fight by the side of the northern, under the command of the King of Prussia, they must be organized in the same way. According to the judgment of their own officers, the organization under which they had fought in 1866 could not be allowed to continue in existence without involving a most shameful sacrifice of military honor. More must be exacted from the officers, the soldiers must be subjected to far stricter drill, and, above all, universal compulsory service must be introduced. February 5th, 1867, the ministers of war of the four south German states had made the attempt in the Stuttgart conferences to agree upon a homogeneous organization of their respective armies. The sentiment was very particularistic, each state showing a marked preference for its own "justifiable race peculiarities." They were soon convinced, however, that no advance could be made in this way, and that the only way to render themselves satisfactory allies of Prussia was to introduce the well-proved Prussian system. So far as its essential features are concerned—universal compulsory service and abolition of the substitute system formerly in existence, one year's service as a volunteer or three years' service in the active army, at state expense, four years in the reserve, four to five years in the *landwehr*—this system was introduced in south Germany, but not without a sharp fight on the part of the Prussian-haters in the various parliaments. The resistance was most obstinate in Würtemberg, where a compulsory service of more than two years could not be carried through. Baden, on the other hand, adopted the Prussian system so completely that its division

could have been incorporated at any moment in the north German army as a homogeneous member. Both of these states adopted the Prussian needle-gun, which had already been introduced in Hesse, in consequence of the military convention with Prussia, but Bavaria still retained the Werder arm.

No less important were the elections for the customs' parliament. In Baden the government and the popular representatives, in the other three states the national party, were in favor of extending the somewhat too restricted competence of that body, or even transforming it into a full parliament. In other circles opinions were divided between a destructive hostility, which was urged in the Press and in public meetings, and the conservative hostility of strict adherence to the letter of the treaties. The elections took place in February and March of 1868. In addition to the 297 members of the north German *Reichstag*, the customs' parliament was to contain eighty-five representatives from the south German states—forty-eight from Bavaria, seventeen from Würtemberg, fourteen from Baden, and six from southern Hesse. There was a similar proportion in the upper house of the customs' parliament, which was composed of the plenipotentiaries of twenty-five governments, with fifty-eight votes. Of these Prussia, the presiding power, had seventeen, Bavaria six, Saxony and Würtemberg four each, and Baden and Hesse three each. The elections were attended with more excitement and bitterness of feeling than had been displayed since 1848, and another disgraceful leaf of fraternal animosity was added to the history of Germany. The particularists won the day, carrying the majority of the elections in Bavaria, and every single one in Würtemberg. This determined the programme of the parliament. The competence of that body was to be maintained in matters of the tariff, but all discussion of political questions was to be energetically repressed. The parliament was opened by the King of Prussia on the 27th of April, 1868, and from its first session until its close, on the 23d of May, this programme was punctually adhered to by the south German fraction. This fraction consisted principally of Bavarian ultramontanes and Würtemberg democrats; but, out of hatred toward the national liberals, the Prussian feudalists and the members of the *Fortschritt* party voted with the south Germans, thus enabling them to have their own way. May 18th, however, a reference

of Probst, a Würtemberg delegate, to the threatening French avalanche gave Count Bismarck the opportunity for a brief presentation of the relation toward each other of north and south Germany, and drew forth his proud words: "An appeal to fear never finds an echo in German hearts." On the 22d of May appeared a "statement to their voters," signed by thirty-one members, in which they called upon the south German states to unite their strength, inasmuch as such union would have the effect of mediating between the great powers and thus subserving the cause of European peace, while at the same time furthering their own material interests, and rendering it possible for them to fulfil their treaty obligations toward north Germany without being exposed to the danger of absorption in Prussia. This proposed a great rôle for the impossible south German confederation—for that was what it meant—and the worse that rôle was played the better it was likely to be for Germany.

The more manifest it became that important difficulties stood in the way of any national connection between north and south, the more rapidly the amalgamation of Prussia's newly-annexed provinces progressed, and the more effectual became the fusion of the twenty-two members of the North German Confederation. Thanks to the energy of the *Reichstag*, the north far outstripped the south in its commercial and industrial development. Even Frankfort, the spoiled and petted darling of the old confederation, gradually accommodated itself to its new position; and there was scarcely a place where King William met with a warmer welcome than in the Guelph city, Hanover. Since the expensive pilgrimage to the silver wedding of the royal pair at Hietzing, near Vienna (February 18th, 1868), the devotion of the Hanoverians toward their exiled king had considerably cooled. King George did all in his power to bring himself into complete discredit with friend and foe, and in February of 1868 was guilty of the combined treason and folly of sending the Guelph legionaries—about 800 men—from Switzerland to France, in order that, on the expected outbreak of war with Prussia, they might make common cause with the French in invading Germany and destroying the work of 1866. The Elector of Hesse, who had taken up his residence in Prague, likewise counted on a European war, and sent to all the different European courts a memorial, protesting against the violence which had been employed against

him. As both princes had concluded a treaty with the Prussian crown, renouncing their right to their respective thrones, and accepting a financial arrangement, the cabinet, not proposing to contribute toward hostile agitation, sequestrated the property of both, Parliament approving. All national Germany applauded Bismarck when he spoke in the house of representatives of the "reptiles" which must be followed into their holes, of the dispossessed princes "who do not concern themselves about the smoking ruins of their father-land, provided only they stand on top, and ending with the words: 'We must put an end to this criminal game, by which the holiest interests of the nation and the peace and honor of our country are endangered—this criminal, pitiable game, in which the peace of Europe is nothing in comparison with a petty dynastic interest. This is our duty toward ourselves, toward Germany, and toward Europe.'"

The north German *Reichstag* naturally sought to enlarge the limits assigned it by the constitution, and include new matter in the circle of its competency. It was with this view that, in the session of 1869, Lasker and Miguel introduced a bill bringing all the concerns of a citizen within the province of its legislative authority. The bill passed the lower house, but was rejected by the *Bundesrath*. In the same session a bill to establish a central court of trade in Leipzig passed both houses. The most noteworthy measures of the session of 1870 were the adoption of a new code of criminal law, and the appropriation of 20,000,000 toward the 85,000,000 francs which was the total sum necessary for the construction of the St. Gothard road. The customs' parliaments of these two years were not productive of results in any way corresponding to the national expectations. This was mainly the fault of the south German fraction, whose principle of action was "to spoil Bismarck's work of unification" as much as possible, and who kept most jealous watch lest the province of the customs' parliament should be extended, and that of the separate parliaments contracted. Although this fraction no longer found the same support among the Prussian conservatives as in 1868, nevertheless the activity of the customs' parliament remained confined to the consideration of commercial treaties and tariff reform.

In south Germany the opposition to union with the North German Confederation still continued. The ultramontanes and

democrats, who joined hands in this work, were unremitting in their endeavors to sow broadcast among the people the blindest and most unreasoning hatred toward Prussia, stigmatizing the treaties of alliance as a misfortune, and glorifying south Germany as the stronghold of German liberty. The publication of the Arcolay pamphlet was very opportune for them. This endeavored to show that the loss of Austria had left in the system of German defence a gulf that could not be filled, and that Prussia was not in a position to protect south Germany in case of a war with her powerful French neighbor; hence the southern states were advised to maintain a strict neutrality. These unfounded and unpatriotic assertions called forth a number of answers, showing the deficiencies of the military organization in Würtemberg and Bavaria, and that safety required the closest union with the North German Confederation. The malcontents derived much assistance from the particularistic attitude of the governments in those states. This attitude was especially observable in the deliberations of the commission on fortifications, Bavaria and Würtemberg displaying the greatest concern lest the south German commission should be expanded into a national one, under the presidency of Prussia, for the purpose of administering the collective German fortresses.

The opposition in Hesse was not so serious as in Bavaria and Würtemberg, inasmuch as part of the country had already been annexed to the North German Confederation, a military convention concluded with Prussia, and the fortress of Mayence given up to that power. But, as far as it was possible to fight against Prussian influence, Baron von Dalwigk, the Hessian minister of state, certainly did so, among other things placing the whole Roman Catholic school system in the hands of a hot-headed prelate, Bishop Ketteler of Mayence.

Baden was an honorable exception among the four south German states. Prince and parliament united in the effort to carry, as soon as political relations permitted, the idea of nationality to its ultimate consequences, and with drums beating pass over to the northern camp. After the death of Mathy, in February of 1868, Jolly, the former minister of the interior, became minister of state; and a few days later the Prussian military plenipotentiary in Carlsruhe, General von Beyer, was appointed minister of war, and at the same time lieutenant-general and aide-de-camp

of the grand-duke. The cadet school was closed, the Badish cadets entering Prussian institutions; and in May of 1869 a treaty was concluded with the North German Confederation permitting a sort of military emigration, so that subjects of both contracting parties might serve their time indifferently in the territory of either. A temporary dissatisfaction on the part of the national liberals, which found vent in the Offenburg meeting of November 8th, 1868, was in part allayed by the explanations of the ministry, and in part the action of their political adversaries of both wings forced them into harmony with the government again. In the hope of turning the conflict in the liberal ranks to their own advantage, the ultramontanes and their allies, the *Grossdeutsche*, brought about a popular petition to the grand-duke, praying for the dissolution of parliament, and the introduction of a system of direct votes and secret ballot. This had the opposite effect from that intended. Peace was quickly restored among the liberals; all the principal cities presented counter-addresses to the grand-duke, and the national party was stronger than ever.

The political condition in Würtemberg was in striking contrast with that in Baden. The elections of July 8th, 1868, gave the democrats and *Grossdeutsche* the majority in the house of representatives. Democrats and clericals united as a matter of course, and there were some who went so far in their opposition as to say, "Better France than Prussia!" They were resolved to bend Barnbüler's ministry to their wishes or to overthrow it. The ministerial policy was to evade parliament as long as possible, and accordingly, after a brief session in December of 1868—chiefly distinguished by a debate on the address, lasting for three days and accomplishing nothing—parliament was prorogued, and not re-opened until the 8th of March, 1870. The democracy made use of this long interval to cover the whole land with a net-work of popular associations, organize meetings, and secure signatures to an address to the house of representatives, demanding the repeal of the recently adopted law with reference to military service, and "the introduction of a really universal obligatory system, with military preparation of the youth, and a shorter period of active service." By means of unexampled terrorism—which the government, strangely enough, allowed to pass unnoticed—the Würtemberg democrats were able to collect 150,000

signatures. War on the military system of government and political organization represented by Prussia was openly advocated in speeches and writings, and, in contrast to this, praise was bestowed upon "the free citizens, who were resolved to stand united and firm against Prussian seductions and violence."

After such preparations forty-five democratic and *Grossdeutsche* members of the chamber of 1870 introduced a bill diminishing the time of active military service, in order to avoid the economical and financial disadvantages resulting from the law then in force. After the first reading the bill was referred to the committee on finance, but before that committee could report other events of considerable importance had effected a change in the situation. The ministers all resigned, and on the 24th of March a new ministry was formed of such a character that any agreement between the *Grossdeutsche*, ultramontanes, and democrats on the one side and the government on the other became an utter impossibility. This change of ministry, however, did not imply any abandonment of the former particularistic attitude of the Würtemberg government. At the same time with the entrance upon office of the new ministry the chamber was indefinitely prorogued. The exasperation among the members of the various anti-national parties was very great, and they at once made their preparations for a new campaign, calculating on the necessity of a speedy session of the chambers to vote the requisite appropriations. It seemed inevitable that in that event the new ministry must make place for members of the anti-national parties.

Affairs in Bavaria took a somewhat similar course, excepting that there it was not the democrats, but the clericals, who played the important part. A liberal school law had failed to pass in 1868, owing to the ill-will of the upper house. The clericals were full of hatred against the Hohenlohe ministry party, because it sought ways and means to bring about a closer connection with the North German Confederation, but still more because, in a circular of April 9th, 1869, it had called the attention of the various European powers to the danger threatened by a Vatican council, inviting at the same time common action with a view to curbing the Romish lust of conquest. The new elections took place on the 20th of May, while the impression of this circular was still fresh. The Roman Catholic clergy exerted all the means in their power to secure a victory for the clericals, Bishop Senestrey even

going so far as to threaten the overthrow of the throne. The elections resulted in the choice of seventy-five liberals and seventy-nine clericals, but contested elections reduced the actual numbers to seventy-one on each side, and when the chamber met in September it proved impossible to elect a president. Seven times the vote was taken, and each time with the same result—seventy-one for either candidate—so that finally, on the 6th of October, a dissolution took place, and writs were issued for a new election. This time eighty clericals were returned, and only seventy-four liberals. Thereupon the ministers tendered their resignations, of which the king accepted only two. January 17th, 1870, the new parliament was opened, and both houses took advantage of the debate on the address—which occupied twelve entire sittings in the lower chamber—to give the most malignant expression to their distrust of Prince Hohenlohe, the clericals, or, as they called themselves, the Patriots, being guilty of the most incredible improprieties. After the addresses had been adopted in both houses Prince Hohenlohe once more tendered his resignation, for after such proceedings it had become impossible for him to act in harmony with Parliament. This time the king accepted it, and on the 7th of March, Count Bray, the Bavarian ambassador in Vienna, was appointed minister of foreign affairs. The programme which he laid before the chamber proposed the maintenance of the treaties, but at the same time insisted on the preservation of Bavarian independence and freedom of self-determination. This meant the perpetuation of the *status quo*, and the continued separation of the south from the north. With the latter the Patriots were in full accord, but the former did not satisfy their wishes. As they could not renounce the treaty of alliance altogether, they attempted, like the anti-nationalists in Würtemberg, to render it worthless, by effecting so far as possible the diminution and deterioration of the Bavarian army. The immediate aim of their measures was a considerable reduction of the time of active service, and of the number of the troops, as well as the almost complete abolition of the cavalry arm; their ultimate purpose was to remodel the whole system, substituting, in the place of the existing army, militia bands, or, rather, armed peasants' clubs, which would render less obedience to generals and officers than to bishops and chaplains. The general debate on the military budget was ended on the fateful 15th of July, and the way was clear for

the introduction of the new measures of the clericals and the government; but by that time the political barometer promised so severe a storm that the session was abruptly terminated by an adjournment on the 18th.

The relations of Prussia to France, though outwardly courteous, were in reality as bad as well could be. In Berlin it was believed that war was inevitable, and in Paris all possible means were taken to confirm that belief. The vain and ostentatious French nation could not pardon Prussia for having cast its military glory into the shade by her victories in 1866. The trophies of Sebastopol and Solferino were consigned to oblivion by the late Prussian triumphs, and so it was that "Revenge for Sadowa!" became a patriotic cry, as though the French and not the Austrians had been beaten there. Prussia watched her neighbor's mad motions gun in hand, doing nothing to increase the excitement, but not permitting the slightest interference in German affairs, and all the time quietly perfecting her preparations for war. Utterances of persons in high position evincing a consciousness of strength were regarded in Paris as intolerable arrogance; as, for example, Moltke's words in the *Reichstag* on the 15th of June, 1868, when he gave expression to the belief that a united Germany would be strong enough to hold in check the warlike inclinations of its neighbors. Of a similar nature was the king's answer to a deputation in Kiel in September of the same year, when he allayed their apprehensions regarding the dangers of war by referring to "the here assembled representatives of the army and navy, that strength of our country which has given evidence that it will not hesitate to accept and carry through a war that is forced upon us." In the winter of 1868–'69 Moltke presented to the king from the staff a plan of campaign against France so carefully worked out even in the most minute details, that mobilization might have taken place on the very day on which it was presented. In this document the various possibilities as to the movements of the French army were taken into consideration—the participation of the south German states was not reckoned on with certainty—the region between Metz and Strasburg being regarded as the most likely place of meeting for the French forces. In that case the German army was to assemble in the Bavarian Palatinate, assume the offensive against Metz and Strasburg simultaneously, and by marching into France anticipate the

invasion of German territory. The possibility of such anticipation of the plans of the French generals was exhibited by detailed calculations of marches and movements by rail.

Niel, the French minister of war, who since 1867 had been working with unremitting energy at the re-organization of the army, had also prepared a plan of campaign. According to this plan the left wing was to enter Holland, dragging both that country and Belgium into the war; the right wing was to cross the upper Rhine and, with the help of the south German particularists, utilize the strength of that region in the formation of a new Confederation of the Rhine; while the centre was to take the road toward Hesse and Hanover, and summon the population to arms in behalf of their deposed princes. By such a division of the German forces Niel hoped to be able to dispose of Prussia without much difficulty. On the assistance of the south German states he relied with far greater certainty than Moltke did. (The democrats and clericals of the south had done nothing to forbid such confidence on the part of France, or even to weaken it. On the 17th of July, 1870, the editor of the Bavarian paper *Fatherland* telegraphed to Paris: "The patriotic party in the chamber is resolved not to vote a single kreutzer for the mobilization which has been ordered at Prussia's behest;" and in his paper he went so far as to call upon Bavaria to side with France, even daring to assert that the Bavarian soldiers had long been eager to march against Prussia.) Leaving out of consideration the serious miscalculations and the numerous improbabilities upon which the French plan was based, the death of Niel, August 13th, 1869, was of itself fatal to its execution. General Lebœuf, his successor, was not the man to carry out the reorganization with energy and intelligence, and, as is well known, finally professed himself more than ready at a time when the arrangements for mobilization were in a hopelessly bad condition.

In the mean time the internal affairs of France had been assuming a more serious character. The personal rule, which had been cheerfully endured as long as one victorious campaign followed the other and the emperor was looked upon as the dictator of Europe, had suffered a serious loss of credit through the recent miscarriages of the Napoleonic policy, especially the retreat from Mexico and the unfavorable solution of the Luxemburg question. These humiliations were regarded as altogether due to a system

of personal government no longer able to cope with circumstances, and not merely the opposition, but even the moderate members of the chambers, demanded the substitution of a parliamentary system. In the Press and public meetings, both of which had acquired their freedom by the laws of 1868, a revolutionary tone was adopted, and the overthrow of the emperor, the extermination of the still more detestable clergy, and a radical and complete revolution in all social matters, freely talked about. The middle classes, on the other hand, perceiving the abyss which yawned before them, lost all inclination for revolutionary projects. Nevertheless the emperor could not depend upon them, for their ideal was a government which should be well administered as well as strong, and Napoleon's administration of the finances, the fraudulent extravagance of which was laid bare in the session of 1869, hardly gave much hope of that. Ministerial responsibility, abandonment of the system of official candidates, free elections, effective participation of the legislative branch in the government, a well-regulated administration of the finances, complete control of governmental expenditures, and a peaceful policy—these were the rallying cries with which liberalism assailed the personal régime. Minister Lavalette's announcement that France would remain at peace with Prussia so long as the latter respected the line of the Main, and did not encroach upon the independence of the south German states, met with universal approval in the chamber. The differences with Belgium, which would not permit the sale of Belgian railroads to the French Eastern railroad company, were settled by the Parisian convention of July 10th, 1869. This matter really concerned the railroad company much less than it did the French government, which stood behind it, for by the possession of the railroads the emperor had hoped to acquire a firm footing in Belgium, and then gradually, by means of customs' treaties and treaties of alliance, pave the way to the coveted annexation.

The new elections for the legislature took place on the 23d and 24th of May, with the result that altogether 4,664,000 votes were cast for the official and 3,310,000 for the independent or opposition candidates, 199 friends of the government being returned and 93 foes, so that the latter had one-third of the whole number. In Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, and the other large cities, the fiercest opponents of the empire, so-called Irreconcilables,

were elected. If the elections of 1857, 1863, and 1869 be compared, it will be seen that there had been a large and steady increase of the opposition. In 1857 they had succeeded in electing only five of their candidates, while in 1869 ninety-three members of the opposition had seats in the chamber. The emperor still had a majority in the legislature, but the minority was numerous and dangerous, and the majority not altogether reliable. The immediate result of the elections was the removal of Rouher, the so-called "vice-emperor," who was appointed president of the senate, while Forçade, the former minister of the interior, assumed the guidance of a ministry made up from Rouher's party. This change was followed by the introduction in the senate of a bill proposing some changes in the constitution, and on the 6th of September a senatorial decree appeared increasing the authority of both senate and house of representatives, and granting in principle the responsibility of ministers. In August the emperor was taken with a serious illness, which roused for a time the fears of his friends and the hopes of his foes. After his recovery the Empress Eugenie undertook a voyage to the East, in order to be present at the opening of the Suez Canal on the 17th of November.

The speech from the throne, with which the emperor opened the new parliament on the 29th of November, spoke of the freedom combined with order which France desired, and announced some political reforms. The investigations in the matter of contested seats gave occasion for the most violent attacks on the system of official candidates, and the consequent influencing of elections. After this business was ended the ministry, finding its position no longer tenable, gave in its resignation. December 27th the emperor commissioned Ollivier, a member of the newly formed middle party in the legislature, with the formation of a "congenial ministry, which should be a true expression of the sentiment of the majority, and begged his assistance in the task of putting the constitutional system of government in practice." This first parliamentary ministry of the second empire entered upon its duties on the 2d of January, 1870. It consisted for the most part of new men, among whom Count Daru, minister of foreign affairs, and Buffet, minister of finance, are most worthy of mention. Of the former cabinet General Lebœuf still retained his post as minister of war. One of the first acts of the new

ministry was the removal of Hausmann, the prefect of the Seine, who had carried out with such relentless energy the emperor's plans for remodelling the capital, thus burdening Paris with an enormous debt. The unpunished shooting of a journalist, Victor Noir, by Prince Peter Bonaparte, to whom he, in company with another friend of Rochefort's, had conveyed a challenge, and the arrest of Rochefort, a member of the chamber, who in his paper, the *Marseillaise*, had not scrupled to call the emperor and his family a band of murderers, caused such excitement in Paris at the beginning of 1870, that barricades were erected in the streets. The rioters were not numerous, however, and the police remained masters of the situation.

To put a stop to the endless demands for changes in the constitution, the emperor laid before the senate the draught of a new fundamental law of the empire, by which a share in the framing of constitutional provisions, which had up to that time been divided between the emperor and the senate, was made over to the legislative body. The proposed constitution, while asserting the responsibility of ministers to the legislature, also made the Emperor of the French responsible to the people, and gave him the right of appealing to the country at any time. He proposed to make use of the latter provision at once, and lay the new constitution before the people for their sanction as soon as it had been accepted by the senate, without allowing the legislature an opportunity to discuss it. It was clear that such a popular vote would be regarded not merely as a judgment on the special question submitted, but also as an expression of opinion on the whole policy of the empire, so that if Napoleon received a large majority at this *plébiscite* the question between monarchy and republic would be decided in his favor for a long time to come. On the other hand, a minority, or even a feeble majority, would be in the same degree unfavorable. But of such a result there was little likelihood, for the complete state machine was working under full steam in preparation for the *plébiscite*. The question whether the emperor should in all cases have the right of appeal to the people caused a division in the ministry. Daru and Buffet, in concert with the opposition in the chamber, wished to limit that right, and, not succeeding in this, they tendered their resignations on the 14th of April. The senate adopted the proposed constitution by a unanimous vote on the 20th of April, and the

8th of May was appointed for the *plébiscite*. This resulted in a brilliant victory for the Napoleonic policy: 7,210,296 voted *yes*, and 1,530,610 *no*, to which should be added 41,213 affirmative to 19,484 negative votes in Algeria. That the larger cities cast more negative than affirmative votes was not surprising, but that in the army 46,000 and in the navy 5000 voted *no* was a more serious matter. With this exception the emperor again felt firm ground beneath him, and believed once more in the future of his dynasty. The Bonapartists pressed forward more arrogantly than ever, and the government felt strong enough to act with decision in foreign affairs. Since Daru's withdrawal Ollivier had administered his department, but on the 15th of May the foreign portfolio was intrusted to Prussia's most pronounced enemy, the Duke of Gramont, for so many years ambassador in Vienna. A few months later some chauvinists attempted to find a pretext for war with Prussia in the St. Gothard treaty, which had been entered into between France, the North German Confederation, Switzerland, and Italy. Unlimited confidence was felt in the wonderful powers of the *chassepot* and *mitrailleuse*. In his answer to an interpellation on the 20th of June the Duke of Gramont let it be plainly understood how much he regretted the impossibility of making this question furnish the desired pretext. Nevertheless, to be ready for any emergency, on the 29th of June the marine prefect of Cherbourg was asked what stores were in readiness at that place for an expedition to the North Sea and the Baltic. In the face of this Ollivier declared in the sitting of June 30th that the government had never followed a more peaceful policy, and that the peace of Europe had never been in so little danger as at that moment. Four days later Press and legislature were ringing with the discussion of the Hohenzollern candidacy.

Napoleon was urged along the slippery path he was now pursuing, not alone by his fame-seeking generals, but also by the ambitious, power-grasping Order of Jesus. The Jesuits could not endure the thought of Protestant Prussia at the head of Germany, and, like the French ministers, held it necessary to prevent at any price the accession of south Germany to the North German Confederation, the accomplishment of German unity, and the erection of a powerful German empire under a Hohenzollern ruler. The war party in Paris might reckon with certainty on the alliance of the Jesuits in Rome, and the latter had an eloquent and

influential advocate in that hot-blooded, bigoted, and devout Castilian, Empress Eugenie. In Rome the Jesuits were just about to play their highest card. If they were successful, the whole Roman Catholic world lay at their feet; Roman Catholic princes, ministers, and parliaments became their creatures; and the beginning of a crusade against heretical Germany, with faithful France to lead the van, Beust-governed Austria to form the reserve, and the Bavarian "Patriots" as a sort of home-guard, would depend upon their nod alone. The plan was bold and comprehensive, the resources at their command on the Seine and Tiber enormous, but their game failed of success. The Jesuits played their card, but it chanced that the cards in their adversary's hand were full as high as theirs.

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§ 24.

AFFAIRS IN OTHER COUNTRIES.—THE VATICAN COUNCIL.

To enter upon our section from an Occidental point of view—the relations existing between America and Europe were in general friendly. Russia professed her willingness to cede her North American possessions to the United States on payment of $7,200,000. This fell in with the American policy of excluding foreign powers from the Western continent, and Congress approved of the purchase; but Denmark was not so fortunate in her attempt to dispose of the islands of St. Thomas and St. Juan. The relations of the Union to the new Germany were of the most friendly description. The reason therefor lay partly in the fact that no country in Europe was brought into so close and reciprocal a connection with the United States by emigration as Germany, and partly it was attributable to the decided sympathy and friendship for the North which Germany had shown during the war, and the readiness with which the German people had taken up the Union loans. With England the case was quite different. The quarrel about the *Alabama*, which had been built and equipped in England under the very eyes of the authorities, and had captured within eight weeks twenty-two Northern merchantmen, dragged along until 1872. On the 14th of September of

that year the Geneva court of arbitration, to the decision of which both countries had agreed to submit, condemned England to pay $15,500,000 gold as indemnity. The English, on their side, complained of the unchecked raids into Canada of American Fenians, who aimed at the separation from England of both Canada and Ireland. To do the Irish justice, in one direction at least, and to conciliate them in some degree, Gladstone, as leader of the Liberal party in the Lower House, introduced his resolutions looking to the disestablishment of the Irish Church. It seemed a crying injustice that the Anglican Church, whose members in the sister isle numbered not more than about 700,000, should be the state church in a country where the Roman Catholic population amounted to four and a half millions, even though the latter no longer had to pay the tithes which once had been exacted. To put an end to such an abnormal state of affairs, Mr. Gladstone gave notice (March, 1868) of a series of resolutions declaring that, in the opinion of the House of Commons, it was necessary that the Established Church of Ireland should cease to exist as an establishment, and praying the Queen to put at the disposal of Parliament her interest in the temporalities of the Irish Church. The resolutions were adopted by a majority of sixty-five. Parliament was dissolved in July, and in November the new elections took place, the main issue being the disestablishment of the Irish Church. This was the first general election with the more extended suffrage and the new constituencies created by the reform bill of 1867. This reform bill was a Liberal measure, which had been used as a float by the Conservative ministry of Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli. "It enfranchised in boroughs all male householders rated for the relief of the poor, and all lodgers resident for one year, and paying not less than £10 a year rent; and in counties persons of property of the clear annual value of £5, and occupiers of lands or tenements paying £12 a year" (M'Carthy). All towns with a population less than 10,000, represented by two members in Parliament, lost one. The cities of Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Leeds each gained a third member. Where three members were to be elected from the same city the principle of minority representation was introduced, each voter voting for only two of the candidates. The University of London also gained a seat by this redistribution, and the Scotch bill of 1868 transferred to Scotland some of the seats lost by English

boroughs. The Liberals came out of the first contest after the passage of this bill with a majority of about 120 members in the house. Thereupon Disraeli resigned, and on the 3d of December Mr. Gladstone was commissioned to form a new ministry. In 1869, as prime-minister, he carried out the disestablishment of the Irish Church, protecting the life interests of those already holding positions in that church, and appropriating the fund returning to the state, after all personal interests and all individual rights of property had been provided for, to the relief of "unavoidable calamity and suffering."

Like the reform bill, the Abyssinian expedition falls under the previous ministry, that of Derby and Disraeli. It was directed against Theodore, the negus or king of Abyssinia, who had long held Consul Cameron prisoner, together with other English officials and missionaries, refusing to deliver them up, notwithstanding all representations and threats. To maintain her credit, especially in the East, England determined to compel the release of the prisoners by force of arms. The outfit of the troops was in very advantageous contrast with that of the Crimean expedition. Sir Charles Napier, with a force of 12,000 men, arrived in the harbor of Zulla, from Bombay, on the 3d of January, 1868, penetrated to the mountain fortress of Magdala in spite of the enormous difficulties presented by the nature of the country; and on the 10th of April defeated an assault of the Abyssinian soldiers before that place. Thereupon Theodore restored the prisoners. The English, not satisfied with this, demanded his unconditional surrender; and, as he would not comply with their demands, the fortress was stormed on the 13th of April. The Abyssinian monarch, perceiving that it was impossible to hold the place, shot himself, to avoid falling into the hands of the foe, and his corpse was found by the storming party just within the gate. After destroying Magdala, the English withdrew at once, re-embarking at Zulla on the 1st of June. Their prompt withdrawal occasioned considerable surprise in Europe, and especially in France, where it called forth comparisons with the Mexican expedition of a nature not very flattering to the Napoleonic policy.

England was deeply interested in the development of Oriental affairs, regarding the Levant, for maritime reasons, as a part of her political domain. As usual, there was no lack of complications in that quarter. Prince Michael Obrenovitch of Servia

was murdered in the park of Topshider, in the neighborhood of Belgrade, on the 10th of June, 1868; and at first there was considerable apprehension lest this might bring serious consequences in its train. The footsteps of the crime led up to the very door of Prince Alexander Karageorgievitch, who had been expelled in 1858, and he was accordingly condemned in his absence to imprisonment, with hard labor, for twenty years. The *Skuptshina* (national assembly) was immediately summoned, and Milan Obrenovitch IV., a cousin of the murdered man, chosen prince. As he was but thirteen years of age, the *Skuptshina* appointed three of its own members regents for three years, and harmony was again restored. The neighboring Roumanian principality was also for a considerable time the cause of much uneasiness. Prince Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, the hospodar of that state, endeavored to reorganize the badly-ordered Roumanian army after the Prussian pattern, in which the Prussian government assisted him with cannon and needle-guns, as well as officers to act as instructors. Austrian apprehensiveness saw in this a threat to Austria and Turkey, and credited Prussia with the desire to set the match to the Oriental powder magazine. The dismissal of Bratiano's ministry, November 28th, 1868, at Prussia's instigation, brought this uncertainty to an end.

Of a more serious character, however, was Greece's struggle with Turkey for the possession of Crete. This island had stood faithfully by Greece in the nine years' war of independence, 1821–'30; but the wisdom of the participants in the London conference of 1832, principally at England's motion, instead of uniting it to Greece, restored it to the Porte, and the latter committed it to the care of the Egyptian khedive. After Mehemed Ali proved refractory, and was brought back to his allegiance by the quadruple alliance of 1840, Candia was taken from him and placed directly under Turkish control, which was for the Candiotes a veritable leap from the frying-pan into the fire. All the humane laws which had been published at England's instigation—the *Hattisherif* of Gulhane (November 3d, 1839), and the Hat Humayun (February 18th, 1856), and which promised the Christians equal rights with the Turks—were of no avail in defending the former in the enjoyment of any rights, for the reason that they were never put in force. Finally, abuses and grievances grew so numerous that in April of 1866 the Candiotes applied to the Porte

with a formal petition for redress. The petitioners met with a rebuff, whereupon the whole island rose, and on the 2d of September a general assembly pronounced the termination of Turkish rule in Candia, and the union of the island with Greece. Turkish troops were at once landed there, and a desperate struggle began, which dragged on for three years. As often as it was reported that the rebellion was quelled, the Sphakiotes, the brave mountaineers of the interior, rose anew. In March of 1867, the ambassadors of France, Russia, Prussia, and Italy, for fear that the insurrection might develop into an Oriental war involving all Europe, advised the Porte to cede Candia to Greece; but England, in her alarm lest this might increase the Russian influence in the East, encouraged the Porte not to yield. The Candiotes would have been obliged to surrender before that, if they had not been supported by men, money, and arms from Greece. King George fully comprehended that if he did not wish to be driven from the throne, like his predecessor, he must show more sympathy than Otho had done for the national sentiment, which regarded Thessaly, Epirus, and the Archipelago as so many recruiting stations on the road to Constantinople. Mere threats of war did not alarm the Grecian government; and when, in November of 1868, the Grecian minister of foreign affairs openly announced in Parliament that the policy of the government with reference to Candia was one of annexation, while new hordes of volunteers for Crete passed the windows of the Turkish embassy in Athens with colors flying, the Porte lost all patience. December 10th an ultimatum was sent to Athens; and as this was rejected the Greek ambassador in Constantinople received his passports. Both powers armed for war. Diplomacy scarcely dared to breathe. At length Count Bismarck proposed to the French minister of foreign affairs that he should convene a special conference of the signers of the Peace of Paris of 1856. This proposition met with universal approval, and on the 9th of January, 1869, the conference began its sessions in Paris, under the presidency of the French minister, Lavalette. Turkey's demands that Greece should put a stop to the enlistment of bands of volunteers in her dominions, disarm the corsairs or exclude them from her ports, and allow the Candiote families which had emigrated to Greece to return, were recognized as just, and a special delegate was commissioned to secure the submission of the

Grecian government. This was rendered possible by a change of ministry, and diplomatic relations between Athens and the Porte were resumed. Candia was obliged to submit, and will remain in submission until it finds a favorable opportunity for a new outbreak. Such an opportunity cannot fail to present itself in time, and Greece and the Greek provinces, still groaning under Turkish misrule, will repeat the Italian scenes of 1859.

This result did not accord with Russia's wishes, although Alexander himself recommended King George, who had married the daughter of Grand-duke Constantine, to accept the decision of the conference. Russian interests required the separation of the Christian provinces from Turkey, and their erection into half or wholly independent states, so that Russia might the more readily seize the remainder of the Ottoman empire. So long, however, as Russia's army was not reorganized and provided with breechloaders, and so long as her railroad system was not extended over the southern provinces, she was not ready voluntarily to abandon the position of reserve which she had imposed upon herself since the Crimean war. In the mean time, however, her boundaries in Asia were being pushed farther forward each year. For the time desisting from the attempt to punish the Khivans after Perovski's loss in the winter of 1839–'40, the Russians turned their attention to the region of the Syr Darya, the condition of the khanate of Khokand being such as to invite attack and facilitate annexation. Gradually advancing along the river, and at the same time moving down from the region of Lake Balkhash, in the north-east, they captured Tashkent in 1865, and in 1866 completed the annexation of Khokand by the occupation of Khojent, upon the upper Syr Darya. Bokhara was the next object of attack, and in the spring of 1868 Samarkand, the ancient Marakanda of the time of Alexander the Great, and the commercial metropolis of the Middle Ages, fell into their power, and Bokhara itself was reduced to the position of a vassal state. In the Polish and German provinces of the Russian empire the government sought with inexorable fanaticism to eradicate all foreign elements and reduce everything to the Russian level. The Russian language and the Greek Catholic ritual were to be everywhere introduced in the "Holy" Russian empire, and other languages and religious confessions gradually rooted out. Poland ceased to exist as a kingdom, and after 1868 was divided up into provinces and re-

duced to the same condition as any other part of the Russian dominions. There and in Lithuania the Polish language was restricted to the household circle, and for purposes of instruction, religious services, and business the use of the Russian language was enjoined. In the German Baltic provinces, also, Russian became the business language, and was soon to become the language of the schools, notwithstanding the fact that the rights of the natives were secured by the most definite treaty provisions. To reduce to subjection the Polish bishops and clergy, who appealed from the commands of the Czar to their own consciences and the orders of the Pope, all direct intercourse with Rome was forbidden, and a Roman Catholic synod established in St. Petersburg, from which alone they were to receive their instructions. They were farther forbidden to attend the Vatican Council in 1869. By these measures the already existing quarrel between the Russian emperor and Pope Pius IX. was greatly embittered.

A still sharper conflict than that with Russia was brought upon the Holy See by Garibaldi's renewal, in October of 1867, of his cry of 1862: "Rome or death!" At the outset he had the minister-president, Ratazzi, on his side. Although in the September convention with France the Italian government had promised neither itself to make any attack on the Papal dominions, nor to allow such an attack to be made by others, nevertheless Ratazzi fell in with Garibaldi's plans, and proposed to join hands with the party of action in taking Rome. This would have been an irrevocable *fait accompli* with which to answer Napoleon's angry remonstrances. But Ratazzi was not Cavour, and when it came to serious measures the king drew back and could not be persuaded to act. Ratazzi had to tender his resignation, and on the 27th of October General Menabrea formed a new ministry, which issued a proclamation condemning the volunteer movement, and calling for respect of treaty provisions. In the mean time Garibaldi had set out to march against Rome. The call of the national committee to the Roman citizens to rise met with but feeble response. Some minor undertakings of the volunteers miscarried. In order to maintain his side of the September convention, Napoleon despatched a fleet from Toulon, and on the 30th of October two brigades under General Failly were landed in Civitavecchia, the foremost battalions proceeding to Rome the same evening for the defence of the Papal government. Messenger after messen-

ger arrived from Florence, but Garibaldi could not be persuaded to lay down his arms and desist from his enterprise. He had about 8000 followers, many of whom were scarcely more than boys. With this force he met the enemy at Mentana on the 3d of November. There were 3000 Papal troops, commanded by General Kanzler, the Pope's minister of war, and a reserve of 2000 men from Polhé's French brigade. The Papal troops had been beaten and driven back, when the French at length advanced to the front and began to shoot down the Garibaldists by hundreds with their *chassepots*. "The *chassepot* did wonders," telegraphed Failly to Paris. One thousand of Garibaldi's followers lay dead or wounded on the field, and 1400 were taken prisoners. The Papal loss was 30 dead and 103 wounded, while the French only lost two dead and 36 wounded. Garibaldi retreated to Italian territory, where he was arrested and confined in Fort Varignano, in La Spezzia; but on the 26th of November he was allowed to return to Caprera.

Rome was saved, but Napoleon found himself in a position of great embarrassment, for the new Roman expedition was rather an anomalous illustration of the right of nationality and the principle of non-intervention, which he had proclaimed as the great truths of the age. To escape from his embarrassment he endeavored to convene a conference of European powers to consider the farther destiny of Italy, and undertake a sort of guarantee for the maintenance of whatever might be resolved upon; but as he could propose no practical basis for the conference, and neither Italy nor the Pope would agree beforehand to recognize its decisions as binding, all the powers, excepting Austria, Spain, and Hesse-Darmstadt, refused to take part. The idea was accordingly abandoned, and Napoleon was obliged to take upon himself the consequences of the new occupation of Rome. The French troops, who had left the Eternal City only two years before, had now returned to stay; consequently Italy saw in Napoleon its worst foe. Even in France the occupation was severely blamed; while as for the clericals, whom it was intended to please, they would have been satisfied only in case the States of the Church had been re-established in their full extent prior to 1859, and such a long step backward the spirit of the age would not tolerate.

The ruler of those states, the aged Pope Pius IX., had cast himself unreservedly into the hands of the Jesuits. They under-

stood how to acquire complete control over him. He was by no means a man of great mental calibre, and they were able to tickle his vanity by offering to secure him a dignity which neither ecclesiastical nor worldly prince had ever possessed before. What no man had ever achieved—to compel the world to believe in his pretensions to divinity and bow their necks in slavish submission before him—this Count Giovanni Mastai was to accomplish by means of the Jesuits. Preparatory steps had been taken in the year 1864. The Encyclica and Syllabus of the 8th of December of that year cursed our whole modern culture as much as heart could wish. Freedom of belief and disbelief, freedom of worship and education, freedom of speech and of the Press, independence of the temporal power from the spiritual, equality before the law of priest and layman, the right of the people to choose its own rulers and frame its own laws, the free attitude of science, which would fain emancipate itself from all ecclesiastical authority and censorship—all this was classed in the category of error and damned as heresy. The level of freedom must not rise at any place above that of the Jesuit college at Rome. There and there alone must an omnipotent power decide what should be the ultimate limits of thought and volition in each separate state and in each individual brain. All Europe must become one patriarchal Jesuit state, patterned after what the South American Paraguay had once been, where lived none but woolly lambs and Jesuitic shearers. To attain this universal rule the Jesuits caused the Pope to summon an ecumenical council to meet at Rome on the 8th of December, 1869. For 300 years no church council had been assembled. The Council of Trent, the last which had been called, closed in 1563, leaving an unhappy memory behind, but that was innocence itself in comparison with the council of 1869 and '70. It was not enough to elevate the damnatory judgment of the Syllabus to the position of dogma, and thus force it as an article of faith on the whole Roman Catholic world; in order utterly and forever to strike down, as it were by a flash of heavenly fire, all opposition, whether of bishops rich in divine lore or practical worldly governments, the Pope was to be snatched from this erring, sinful world, and, throned on awful clouds, be decked with the new crown of infallibility. In all things pertaining to his pastoral and doctrinal functions—and into that flexible circle almost, if not quite, everything was capa-

ble of being forced—the Pope's word was to be infallible. It was the chief business of the council to elevate this doctrine of papal infallibility into a dogma. If this succeeded, then the Jesuits would be the unlimited rulers of the whole body of the clergy. The dogma of infallibility would be of far more value to the men who ruled the Pope than to the Pope they ruled. His infallible claims did not originate in his own brain, but in the instigations of his Jesuitic mentors.

Not merely the educated world outside the pale of the council, including thousands of good Roman Catholics, struggled against the passage under this Caudian yoke of infallibility, unwilling to ascribe an attribute of Deity to a man whose intellectual and moral weakness were facts patent to all; there were even many bishops who did the same. They were well aware, too, that the new dogma would put an end to their episcopal power, for henceforth they would be distinguished from papal lackeys merely in name, and their only privilege would be to inculcate among the inferior clergy and the laity, as the chief and highest article of faith, that which they themselves could not believe. But such men were comparatively isolated, and, in an assembly which found a despotic order of business prescribed for it to follow, nothing could be done against the compact mass which blindly followed the Jesuits. The formalities customary at previous councils were set aside in so far as they did not suit the purposes of those ecclesiastical politicians, the one aim which they constantly held before them being to reduce the opposition to the smallest possible dimensions, and drown its voice in the cry of the mass whenever it sought to make itself heard. So sure were they of this mass that they were able to predict with mathematical precision the result of the vote. Of the 764 bishops who took part in the council the Italian bishops, whose obedience could be relied upon, constituted more than one-third, and the bishops of the States of the Church almost one-fifth, while those of France, Germany, and Austro-Hungary, where the opposition had its strength, numbered altogether not more than one fifth. Farther, there were 300 bishops who had to be maintained at the cost of the Papal See on account of their poverty, while 100 bishops *in partibus infidelium*, having titles without dioceses, were entirely dependent for their farther career on the favor of the Pope. The 300 papal beneficiaries, together with the 100

titular bishops, voted passively for everything they were told to, and would have added a decree of immortality to that of infallibility, if the Jesuits had so commanded. So soon as unanimity or approximate unanimity ceased to be required, and a simple majority became sufficient to formulate a dogma, the victory was really won. From that moment the debates in the *aula* of St. Peter's had no more real value than so many good or bad declamations.

The opposing bishops, with Cardinal Rauscher, Archbishop of Vienna, and Bishop Hefele, of Rottenburg, at their head, made one last attempt on the 15th of July to induce the Pope to make some concessions. A delegation waited upon him with that object, and Bishop Ketteler, of Mayence, even threw himself upon his knees to supplicate the Holy Father. But all in vain; Pius could not and would not yield. No other course remained open, and so the protesting bishops repeated their protest in a special petition to the Pope, and left the Holy City before the final vote was taken. The final ballot was held in the presence of Pope Pius, on the 18th of July—the day before the official declaration of war between France and Prussia—with the result that the infallibility of the Pope was declared to be a dogma of the Church Catholic, 547 voting *placet*, and two—Riccio, of Ajaccio, and Fitzgerald, of Little Rock, Arkansas—voting *non placet*. The council was thereupon adjourned, to meet on the 11th of November. In the mean time French arms were to carry forward the work of the Jesuits and crush Protestantism with the cannon. The Vatican reckoned with certainty on a French victory, in expectation of which it still had a pretty string of dogmas in its infallible pocket; and in any case it was determined to enforce the decrees already passed with extreme and unrelenting energy. It troubled itself little about the protest of the bishops who had retreated across the Alps, for it knew their character too well. At a meeting in Fulda a number of these opponents of the doctrine declared in favor of its acceptance, and one after the other they passed over to the camp of the Infallibilists, in their turn exacting from their subordinates the same submission to the demands of the Jesuits which they themselves had so readily been brought to render in the face of their better convictions. Forced to choose whether they would persist in their opposition, invoke the protection of their respective governments against any at-

tempt on the part of the Papal Stool to discipline them, and press the matter to a breach with the Vatican and a schism in the church, or whether they would give up their opposition—or, rather, direct it against the governments which refused to recognize the new dogma—and help to maintain the outward unity of the church at the sacrifice of conscience, conviction, and honor, all without exception chose the latter course, forfeiting thereby the respect of their contemporaries and of posterity. Nevertheless the dreaded schism was not averted. Although the bishops proved so docile there were others who had no inclination to humor a horde of papal beneficiaries, throw German science to the winds, set a seal upon their possibilities of thought, and abandon the truth at the order of a Jesuit tribunal. The chief seat of this opposition, which consisted at the outset principally of university professors and instructors, was located at first in Munich, and its head was Professor von Döllinger. His answer to the Archbishop of Munich, March 28th, 1871, attracted universal attention. With great eloquence and learning he maintained his thesis that, as Christian, as theologian, as historian, and as citizen, he could not accept the new doctrine. The judgment pronounced by him upon the cringing bishops—"No one of them believes it"—was repeated in all circles. From this opposition was developed the Old Catholic body, which soon managed to gain a firm footing in Bavaria, Baden, and on the Rhine, numbering each year more members and more congregations. It acquired a regular organization, held synods, and chose a bishop of its own in the person of Professor Reinkens, of Breslau. He was recognized by several German states, and especially by Prussia, from which he received episcopal endowment, choosing Bonn as his residence.

In the mean time the Pope had lost a zealous supporter of bigotry by the dethronement and exile of the Spanish queen. Isabella followed more and more in the footsteps of her father, Ferdinand. In the system of government which she pursued military despotism was mated with clerical absolutism, and nuns and father-confessors played a political rôle, even holding in their hands the rudder of the ship of state. By this course the queen repelled all liberal elements, while the irregularities of her conduct deprived her of all claims to respect. So shameless was she in her amours that the legitimacy of all her children was a matter of universal doubt. No wonder that ever and anon insurrec-

tions broke out, which, according to Spanish custom, were planned and conducted by officers of the army. The government resorted to executions and deportations to check the rebellious spirit. The minister-president, Marshal Narvaez, who bore the title Duke of Valencia, was always ready to adopt the most extreme measures to keep the protesting elements in subjection. He died on the 13th of April, 1868; and his successor, Gonzalez Bravo, soon contrived to alienate the whole army. A great military insurrection was planned for the month of July. Bravo transported the most influential generals, among others Serrano and Dulce, to the Canary Isles, and even expelled from the country the queen's brother-in-law, the Duke of Montpensier, whose name the revolution seemed to use as a watchword. Nevertheless the excitement continued to increase. Isabella, thinking it necessary to enter into still more intimate relations with her friend and ally, as she called Napoleon, arranged a meeting with him—which was to take place on the 18th and 19th of September—in the two border towns of Biarritz and San Sebastian. Napoleon was accredited with the plan of withdrawing his troops from Rome in case the long-threatened war with Germany should break out, and filling their place with Spaniards. Isabella, who had just been honored by the Pope with the gift of the *golden rose of faith and virtue*, was not averse to such a plan; but at the very moment when the two monarchs had already reached their appointed places and the French-Spanish alliance was about to be concluded, the rebellion broke out in Cadiz. Serrano and Prim returned from exile, and Rear-admiral Topete joined them with the whole fleet. The few troops who remained faithful were defeated by Serrano at Alcolea on the 28th of September; Madrid and all the larger cities declared for the revolution, and the universal cry was, "Down with the Bourbons! Down with the Jesuits!" The revolution began on the 18th of September, and on the 30th Isabella was obliged to leave San Sebastian and escape to France, where she at once took up her abode in Paris. The conduct of the government was intrusted to the leaders of the revolution, Marshal Serrano taking the post of minister-president, Prim becoming minister of war, and Topete undertaking the navy. The Jesuits were expelled, a number of convents closed, and religious liberty proclaimed. In Barcelona and Madrid Protestant services were held. The newly-elected Cortes came together on the 18th of

February, 1869, and adopted a new constitution. A majority of the members declared themselves in favor of a constitutional monarchy, and named Serrano regent until a suitable candidate for the throne could be found. But Spain's political prospects were in nowise favorable. There was a strong republican party which threatened to resist by force of arms the establishment of a new monarchy. The island of Cuba, "the pearl of the Antilles," was in full rebellion, with a view to a complete severance of its connection with Spain and the erection of an independent republic. In addition to all this the Carlists were again beginning to raise their head.

It was Spanish affairs which at last furnished the Tuileries and the Vatican with the cause for quarrel they had been seeking, and set in motion the plans of Napoleon and the Jesuits. Spain now had a monarchical constitution without a monarch, and the numerous republicans made every effort, by speeches in the Cortes and insurrections in the provinces, to render a monarchy impossible. They were assisted by circumstances, since no one seemed willing to accept the crown of a country which was politically crippled by faction and financially ruined. The minister-president and the minister of war, Count Prim—the latter the real ruler of the country—made every effort to find a suitable person, but for a long time in vain. The former regent, Espartero; the Coburg prince, Don Fernando, father of the King of Portugal; King Louis of Portugal himself, the Duke of Aosta, Victor Emmanuel's son; Prince Thomas of Genoa, nephew of the King of Italy—all in turn refused. The Duke of Montpensier, who had married the sister of the ex-queen, Isabella, would have accepted, but that very relationship raised up many opponents among the monarchists, who would have preferred as their king Prince Alphonso, Isabella's son, if they were to have any Bourbon. Isabella took her measures with a view to the selection of her son for the vacant throne. At the advice of her friend, the Empress Eugenie, she signed a formal abdication on the 25th of June, 1870, making over all her political rights to Alphonso. But for the moment the Spanish government was in favor of some other prince. Among those who had refused the throne in 1869 was Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, who, as a Roman Catholic, as the husband of a Portuguese princess, as a kinsman of Napoleon and a blood relation of the Prussian king, seemed a

desirable candidate. In the year 1870 the Spanish government resolved to make another attempt to secure him as their sovereign, and in June of that year a deputation was sent to Sigmaringen for that purpose. This time the prince accepted. The deputation returned to Madrid, a council of ministers was held, and on the 2d of July it was resolved to make Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern a formal tender of the Spanish throne, and proclaim his candidature publicly. July 3d the telegraph conveyed this news to all the European capitals.

FIFTH PERIOD. 1870–1875.

WAR BETWEEN GERMANY AND FRANCE.—THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE.—STRUGGLE WITH THE VATICAN.

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§ 25.

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR.

THAT Emperor Alexander of Russia, on the way to Ems, became his uncle's guest at Berlin for a few days in May of 1870, occasioned no remark, since the intimate personal relations of the two monarchs were well known. Neither was the fact, that on the 2d of June King William returned his nephew's visit at Ems, of itself calculated to excite comment, since courtesy might seem to require it; but that the king was attended by his chancellor, Count Bismarck, and that the Russian ambassador in Berlin, Oubril, was also present, were facts that gave the visit a political character, which the courts of Paris and Vienna were not slow to remark. Count Bismarck, who with such unerring certainty interpreted the meaning of events and penetrated the plans of statesmen, well knew what Prussia had to expect from France in consequence of the Duke of Gramont's appointment as minister of foreign affairs, and could approximately foresee what use that blundering and awkward diplomat would make of such an occurrence as the candidacy of a Hohenzollern prince for the Spanish crown. As a statesman at once audacious, prudent, and far-seeing, in the conferences at Ems the Prussian chancellor provided for the protection of Prussia's rear, in case of war with France, by stipulating that in the event of victory the Peace of Paris of 1856 should be revised in Russia's interest. After this agreement had been concluded the king and his chancellor returned to Berlin. On the 8th of June Bismarck left the capital for a prolonged sojourn at Varzin; and on the 20th, after the departure of the

Russian emperor, the king, unattended by any of his ministers, repaired to Ems to take the baths.

The Madrid telegram of July 3d acquainted Paris with the fact that Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen was the destined King of Spain; and in its issue of the 4th Gramont's organ, the *Constitutionnel*, in an article composed or inspired by him, while acknowledging the right of Spain to regulate its destiny according to its own pleasure, professed itself amazed beyond expression that France should be expected to look on and see the sceptre of Charles V. wielded by a Hohenzollern. To the French government Prince Leopold's candidacy was no novelty. Like the cabinets of the other great powers the French ministers had been for some weeks informed of the negotiations between him and the Spanish government, and they merely assumed an appearance of ignorance in order to pose before the country as innocent lambkins taken by surprise and overreached by cunning, and give the more effective vent to their righteous indignation at this unscrupulous game of intrigue. It is plain that it was in the power of the French government to settle the Hohenzollern-Spanish question in a peaceful or a warlike manner according to its own choice. If it chose the former it was only necessary for Gramont to follow the regular diplomatic method—enter into negotiations with Prussia, and request the co-operation of the other powers, and success was assured; for it is scarcely credible that Bismarck, who three years before had been unwilling to engage in war where war would have been so popular as in the Luxemburg affair, would, in a matter in no way involving German interests—for, being merely personal to a prince who, although a Hohenzollern, nevertheless did not belong to the Prussian branch, it could not well be exalted to the dignity of a national question—disregard the emphatic disapprobation and the real or feigned anxiety of the French government and force the issue of war. But Gramont, who, without a spark of the genius of his would-be prototype, imagined himself a French Bismarck, did not wish for a peaceful solution. His mind was full of the advice given him by his friend Beust, to select as the pretext for war a purely dynastic question instead of a national one, and so he at once brought the whole affair before the tribune of the French legislature, indulging at the same time in such hostile threats that war became unavoidable. Without any sort of tact Prussia and the Prussian sovereign

were treated in an absolutely insulting manner. The conduct of France toward Prussia in the year 1870 resembled, both in general and in detail, the conduct of the same country in 1805 and 1806; but there was this difference in the way in which this treatment was received, that whereas King Frederic William III. endured a long series of insults before unsheathing the sword, his son took up the gauntlet the moment it was thrown down. The intention of the French government was to inflict on him the same humiliation which had been inflicted on his father. "Submission or war!" was the cry in the Tuileries; and if Prussia had submitted to the first insult, another would soon have followed, and then still others, until, like his father, King William might have been compelled at last to go to war under circumstances far less favorable. War there must be, for the object of De Gramont's policy was conquest. His plan was to acquire for France Belgium and Luxemburg, or the left bank of the Rhine, or rather both, for the conquest of the one would have been followed by that of the other. If this plan succeeded, then the subject of so much speech and thought would be at length accomplished, and the Rhine would flow past French territory from Basle to the German Ocean. Prussia had rejected all the proposed treaties with this end in view, so now the attempt must be made to secure the coveted increase of territory by war instead of through alliance.

Although the Spanish ministers and ambassadors gave the most definite assurances that in this whole transaction they had never had any dealings with the Prussian government, but only with Prince Leopold; although every one was aware that that prince occupied a thoroughly independent position, and that, in such a matter as the acceptance of the Spanish throne, the King of Prussia had no power over him either to command or to forbid; although Prussia could in no case derive any tangible advantage from the occupation of the Spanish throne by a German prince, or at most the merely negative one that this would relegate to the realm of impossibilities such a Spanish-French alliance as had been planned by Isabella and Napoleon in 1868; nevertheless, from the beginning the French government persisted in pushing the person of the Prussian king into the foreground, and making him responsible for the whole transaction. They acted as though it were a purely Prussian and dynastic

intrigue, and by that means shut out all possibility of a peaceful settlement.

Events followed one another with unprecedented rapidity. July 4th Gramont addressed an interrogation to State Secretary Thile through the French *chargé d'affaires* at Berlin, and received the reply that Prussia had nothing to do with Spanish affairs. On the same day he commissioned the Prussian ambassador at Paris, Baron von Werther, who was on the point of departure for Ems, to tell the king that the French government expected him to cause Prince Leopold to refuse the Spanish crown, and that France would regard his failure to do so as a sufficient *casus belli.* On the 6th of the same month, in the French parliament, without waiting for an answer from Ems, he answered an interpellation of the preceding day as follows: "We do not think that respect for the rights of a neighboring people obliges us to permit a foreign government, by setting one of its princes on the throne of Charles V., to destroy the European balance of power, and endanger the interest and honor of France. Relying upon the wisdom of the German people and the friendship of the Spanish, we hope that this eventuality may be avoided. If not, then it will be our part, strong in your support and that of the nation, to fulfil our duty without hesitation or delay." At the same time preparations for war were made both by sea and land, while the French Press assumed such a tone toward Prussia that an ignorant observer might have fancied a second Jena had already taken place.

The French ambassador in Berlin, Count Benedetti, was at that time at Wildbad, in the Black Forest. July 7th he received a telegram directing him to set out for Ems without delay. On the 9th he had his first audience with the king, and required him in the name of his government to command Prince Leopold to withdraw his acceptance of the Spanish crown. The king replied that he had not commanded the prince to accept the crown, and could not command him to withdraw his acceptance. This answer was regarded by the French government as a mere subterfuge, and the responsibility of the king still insisted upon. July 12th a telegram from the castle of Sigmaringen was published announcing the withdrawal of Prince Leopold from the candidacy for the Spanish throne. This seemed to bring the conflict to an end and remove every plausible excuse for a quarrel. Gra-

mont himself had already said to the English ambassador that Prince Leopold's voluntary withdrawal would afford the simplest and most satisfactory solution of the dispute; and on the receipt of the Sigmaringen telegram Ollivier, the minister of justice, had at once stated in parliamentary circles that the episode was finished. But that would have prevented the war by which lost prestige was to be regained; consequently Gramont went one step farther, although he must have perceived at the time that if France were not satisfied with the prince's withdrawal, and advanced still farther claims, she would by that very fact take the whole responsibility of war upon herself, and subject herself to the accusation of having all along had war as her aim. The question had ceased to be purely dynastic, and was fast becoming national, threatening to set half Europe in flames.

Gramont proceeded in his dictatorial career with total indifference to any such considerations as the above. On the 12th of July he said to the Prussian ambassador, who had just returned from Ems, that Prince Leopold's withdrawal was a matter of secondary importance; the essential point was, to remove the misunderstanding which had arisen in consequence of his candidacy, and quiet the excitement among the French people. For this purpose the King of Prussia must address to the emperor a letter intended for publication, to the effect that when the king empowered Prince Leopold to accept the Spanish throne he had no intention of infringing upon the interests or injuring the dignity of the French nation, and that he now consented to the prince's resignation in the wish and hope that all occasion for disagreement between the two governments was at length removed! Baron von Werther had sufficient tact not to telegraph such a demand directly to the king, as Gramont wished, but not enough to decline the commission altogether and leave Gramont to find some other means of communication. He despatched an official report to Count Bismarck, but received, instead of an official answer, an immediate leave of absence. After his conversation with the Prussian ambassador Gramont telegraphed Benedetti to demand the king's express approval of Prince Leopold's refusal to be a candidate, and the assurance that he would never sanction a repetition of his candidacy. Benedetti acquitted himself of his commission with great lack of tact on the public promenade at Ems on the morning of the 13th. The king replied that his ap-

proval of the prince's withdrawal could proceed from him merely in his capacity as a private individual and not as King of Prussia, and that in the interest of his country he must most decidedly refuse to bind his future action in that or any other matter. A few hours later Benedetti requested a new audience on the same subject, and was informed that the king had already pronounced his ultimatum; if the ambassador were not content, he must apply to the Prussian minister of foreign affairs. The occurrences at Ems were communicated to the Prussian ambassadors at foreign courts on the evening of the same day, and an extra of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, Bismarck's organ, brought the matter to the knowledge of the German people.

The firm and manly attitude of the king was very unfavorable for the plans of the French war party. The news from Benedetti produced great excitement and bewilderment in Paris. One party thought that the conflict was peacefully settled; the other party, who had already gone too far, did not wish to retrace their steps, preferring to plunge the dynasty and the country into a rash and venturesome war, rather than allow it to be said that they had again put forward demands on Prussia, and been again refused—in fine, that they and not the King of Prussia had been humiliated. Napoleon wavered between the two. It appeared to him a very serious matter to go to war with the compact power of the North German Confederation, perhaps even with all Germany, for so slight a cause. For a long time he could come to no conclusion, but listened to both sides, and brooded in silence, as was his wont. There was a short time when peace seemed as good as concluded. But in the night of the 14th, when the decisive cabinet council was held in St. Cloud, Gramont and Lebœuf, who were eager for war, together with the Empress Eugenie, who acted under the inspiration and instruction of the Jesuits, brought strong pressure to bear upon the undecided emperor, urging him to submit no longer to these perpetual rebuffs and humiliations from Prussia, but, by a declaration of war, to consolidate his throne, founded solely on the respect of the French people, and in league with the great Roman Catholic nations reduce heretical Germany to submission. It was with manifest reluctance that the emperor, against his better judgment, finally yielded to their representations. Thereupon the empress triumphantly exclaimed, "This is my war! With God's help we

will subdue the Protestant Prussians!" In the senate and the lower house, on the following day, official documents were read by Gramont and Ollivier respectively—the latter, although no enemy to Prussia, and disinclined toward war, was carried along by his colleagues—in which the circumstances of the case and the occurrences at Ems were completely misrepresented. Count Benedetti had been insulted and shown the door, according to this account, while a telegram of a nature derogatory to the dignity of France had been sent to foreign states. It was furthermore stated that Prussia had begun to make her preparations for war on the night of the 13th, and accordingly the government had called out the reserves, and would proceed to adopt farther measures. At the same time a vote of credit was demanded for the army and navy, and a bill brought forward with reference to calling the *garde mobile* into active service and for the enlistment of volunteers. The senate adopted the government measures by a unanimous vote; the legislative body granted the credit for the army by a majority of 245 to 10, and passed the rest without a dissentient voice. It was in vain that a few members of the opposition, who saw through the web of ministerial lies, averred that the King of Prussia had done everything that could have been expected, and that no real insult had been offered. It was in vain that they demanded by way of proof the production of the despatches which were deemed so insulting to France. It was in vain that Thiers, who for years had goaded on the vanity of the French people and incited them to war, declared the occasion awkwardly chosen, and affirmed that the military preparations were not yet complete. The ministers and the Bonapartist majority overruled these isolated monitors. On the evening of the 15th the streets of Paris were full of tattered crowds crying, "To Berlin! to Berlin!" while the official Press spoke of the defeat of Prussia and the appropriation of the left bank of the Rhine as foregone conclusions. The formal declaration of war was handed to the Prussian government by the French *chargé d'affaires* on the 19th of July.

The conduct of France in this whole matter had been arrogant and false, inspired by lust of rule and lust of conquest. In consideration of the vote of July 15th it is impossible to say that only the emperor wished for war. When a unanimous senate and 245 out of 255 members of the house of representatives

approve the war measures of the government, it may be said that the whole country, through its representatives, is responsible for that war. In Germany the gauntlet was taken up not only without hesitation but almost with enthusiasm. There was no more talk of a mere dynastic struggle. The fact that Gramont, not satisfied by Prince Leopold's withdrawal—although it was self-evident that he had withdrawn only at the request of the King of Prussia—demanded an apologetic letter for publication to the world, and a formal promise that the whole house of Hohenzollern should forever hold itself aloof from Spanish affairs, could not fail to convince every one that the Hohenzollern candidacy was a mere side-issue, and that it was the fixed intention of the French government, by fair means or by foul, to find some pretext for war, in order to interfere in German affairs, disturb the process of unification, and appropriate German territory. The German people felt that the humiliation which France had sought to put upon the Prussian king was humiliation aimed at all Germany; whence they regarded this war as a national one, cherishing the hope that the work of 1866 might be completed, at the same time that the disgrace of one hundred years' standing should be thoroughly avenged. The establishment of German unity, which had been the aim of 1866, had failed at that time, owing to French interference. By this new war France sought to make that interference permanent and her influence supreme; while the German people, on their part, were resolved to utilize the war thus forced upon them for the completion of their longed-for unity. As in 1866 the Schleswig-Holstein question, the occasion of the Austro-Prussian war, expanded to a German one, so in 1870 the question of German unity, which was the real occasion of the war, began with the first faint hope of victory to develop into a thought of the possible restoration of Alsace and Lorraine, which, after the initial triumphs had been won, expanded into an irresistible demand for the reclamation of those long-lost provinces. A war where so much of importance was involved, both in that which was to be guarded and that which was to be achieved, won ever greater popularity the more conscious the German people became of the critical nature of the stopping-place which the process of unification had reached. Thanks to the south German governments, and the position of the south German fraction in the customs' parliament, the hopes which had

been founded on that institution remained unfulfilled. It now seemed improbable that the customs' parliament could ever be developed into a real German parliament, unless external events should give some unexpected impulse. The political situation in Bavaria and Würtemberg was such that the accession of those states to the North German Confederation was removed an incalculable distance into the future, and even the most sanguine scarcely hoped to live to witness it. There was rather a probability of retrogression, for the Bavarian and Würtemberg clericals and radicals seemed about to get the better of their respective governments, with the result of cancelling the treaties with Prussia, and bringing on the stage a wonderful medley of political institutions drawn from the States of the Church, the Confederation of the Rhine, and the wildest speculations of radical republicanism. These men, genuine Prussian-haters, would have converted their proposed southern confederation into the foe of north Germany rather than its ally, leaning on the one side on the willing arm of France, and on the other finding support in Austria.

Such was the condition of affairs in Germany when Gramont manufactured a *casus belli* of a description calculated to remove the hinderances in the way of German unity as it were in a night, so that the whole nation, from the Danish border to the Alps, could sing with patriotic enthusiasm the "Watch on the Rhine." But they did not stop at singing; decisive measures followed quick and fast. July 12th Bismarck and Moltke arrived in Berlin and held a conference with the other ministers. The next day Bismarck said to the English ambassador that the king had already shown too much moderation rather than too little, and that it was now Prussia's part to require from France a withdrawal of her threatening language and an explanation of her military preparations. On the 15th the king left Ems and returned to Berlin. His journey was one triumphal procession. Wherever the train stopped the king received and replied to patriotic addresses. The crown prince, Bismarck, Moltke, and Roon came as far as Brandenburg to meet him, while in Berlin a countless crowd awaited his arrival. Shortly before nine o'clock he reached the capital, and learned for the first time that in Paris both chambers had already pronounced for war. That same evening the mobilization of the army was determined on, and on the 16th precautionary measures were ordered on the North

Sea coast, and a special session of the *Bundesrath* summoned. On the 19th King William opened the North German *Reichstag* with a speech full of boldness, patriotism, and confidence: "If in former centuries Germany bore in silence infractions of her rights and insults to her honor, she bore them only because in her disintegration she was ignorant of her strength. To-day, when the bond of legal and moral union forged in the wars for freedom binds the German race ever closer; to-day, when Germany's armor offers the foe no longer an unguarded spot, she carries in herself both the will and the power to repel renewed French violence. The more conscious the allied governments are that they have done all which dignity and honor allow to preserve to Europe the blessings of peace, and the plainer it becomes to all that the sword has been forced into our hands, the more confidently do we appeal, supported by the unanimous sentiment of the German governments, both north and south, to the patriotism and devotion of the German people for the defence of Germany's honor and independence." July 21st the *Reichstag* unanimously voted the 120,000,000 thalers asked for by the government. On the 29th Bismarck published the various French propositions of 1866 and 1867, thereby revealing to Germany and the world at large the plans of conquest cherished by Napoleon's government.

This information had already been imparted to the south German governments, and they accordingly understood that in the eyes of a power so false as France neutrality on their part would offer no guarantee for the preservation of their territorial integrity, but that on the conclusion of peace they might become the victims of any bargain that was made. This confirmed them in their resolution honorably to fulfil their treaty obligations. On the 16th of July King Louis of Bavaria issued the command for the mobilization of the army; and on the 19th the lower house, hearkening to the voice of truth and honor, and deaf to the persuasions of Dr. Jörg and his committee—consisting for the most part of ultramontanes—with their proposition of an armed neutrality, appropriated, by a majority of 101 to 47, the sum of 18,200,000 florins for the purpose of equipping and maintaining the army. This passed the upper house by a unanimous vote. After Bavaria had set such an example the democrats and *Grossdeutsche* in Würtemberg could venture upon no opposition. For the moment almost the whole country forgot its hatred of Prus-

sia, and gave its approval to the resolutions adopted in a popular assembly at Stuttgart on the 16th of July, calling on the government to take part in the national war. King Charles returned from Switzerland on the 17th, and at once issued the command to mobilize the army. The chambers met on the 21st, and on the 22d the war credit asked by the government was voted by both houses unanimously in the upper and with only one dissentient voice in the lower. At the same time the king named a Prussian lieutenant-general, von Prittwitz, who had directed the construction of the fortress of Ulm some twenty years before, governor of that place; and another Prussian lieutenant-general, von Oberwitz, formerly military plenipotentiary at Stuttgart, commander-in-chief of the Würtemberg forces. In Hesse the war credit, which minister von Dalwigk, much against his will, had to ask from the chamber, was granted unanimously. In Baden the grand-duke, conscious of the harmony existing between himself and his people in the national question, ordered the mobilization of the army on the 16th; and on the 22d the French ambassador received his passports. Communication between Kehl and Strasburg was severed on the 16th by the demolition of the floating bridge, and the removal of the rails from the railroad bridge. On the 22d every possibility of an invasion by rail was put an end to by the blowing up of a pier of the latter bridge. The day before, on the unfounded rumor that explosive bullets had been distributed to the Badish troops, the Badish ambassador in Paris had been informed by a functionary of the French ministry that if this report proved true France would resort to reprisals, would regard Baden as excluded from the privileges of the law of nations, and lay waste the country as in Mèlac's time, not even sparing the women.

Both south and north were eager for the war. Every one was infected with the national enthusiasm, and an amicable emulation and self-sacrificing devotion pervaded all classes, such as had never been seen before in Germany. "Now or never!" was the watchword of the whole country. The repulse of the foe who had brought on the war by his insulting arrogance was the immediate aim. If this were successfully accomplished it must certainly be followed by the political union of divided Germany, and in the centre of Europe would stand a people feared on account of its compact and massive strength, as well as respected for its

intellectual attainments. It was the thought that this high aim might now be achieved at one leap which lent such wonderful power to the German movement of 1870, arming the warriors with incredible valor and endurance, and setting victory before their eyes as absolutely enjoined upon them by duty and necessity. Volunteers hurried from all sides, even from distant lands, to take their places in the army. Young men gave up the most advantageous positions in business or professions, the lecture-rooms of universities were vacated by lecturers and listeners, all inspired by the same motive, the rescue of the Father-land. "Germany first!" was the proud cry with which the soldier grasped his gun, and the watchword of those who stayed behind to heal the wounded. Never and nowhere was such extensive and patriotic provision made for the wounded, for the widowed and orphaned, for the families of reserve and *landwehr* soldiers, by the state, municipalities, and private individuals, as in this war. From beginning to end the whole German people took part in the good work without cessation or intermission. Private persons, furthermore, subscribed large sums to reward individual acts of bravery, and the King of Prussia renewed (July 19th) for the whole army the Order of the Iron Cross, which had originally been founded by his father.

The excellence of the military arrangements, the precision of Moltke's plan of campaign, which did not overlook the smallest trifle, and, in co-operation with these, Roon's energetic administration of the war department, rendered it possible to put large masses in the field at once, so that the mobilization, which was ordered on the 16th, was completed on the 26th; and eight days later the German armies were in position on the left bank of the Rhine. The strength of these armies was as follows: the North German Confederation, including Hesse, put into the field 385,600 infantry, 48,000 cavalry, and 1284 guns; Bavaria, 50,000 infantry, 5500 cavalry, and 192 guns; Würtemberg, 15,000 infantry, 1500 cavalry, and 54 guns; Baden, 11,700 infantry, 1800 cavalry, and 54 guns. The total field army numbered, therefore, 462,300 infantry, 56,800 cavalry, and 1584 guns. In addition to this the garrisons, together with the troops intended to fill up gaps, numbered 297,500 infantry, 25,890 cavalry, 40,500 garrison artillery, and 462 field-guns. Consequently Germany had, according to reckoning, a total army, including field, fortress, and reserve

troops, of 882,900 men and 2046 guns. But this number is in reality too low, for every state did more than was prescribed in the plan of mobilization. In the month of August, 1870, the actual effective strength was: for the North German Confederation 982,064 men and 209,403 horses; for Bavaria, 128,964 men and 24,056 horses; for Würtemberg, 37,180 men and 8876 horses; for Baden, 35,181 men and 8038 horses; giving a grand total of 1,183,389 men of all arms and 250,373 horses.

As was the case in the invasion of Bohemia in 1866, the whole German army was divided into three parts, whose separate operations were regulated in accordance with one common plan. The Crown Prince of Prussia was once more on the left wing, and Prince Frederic Charles in the centre, while General Steinmetz (in 1866 General von Herwarth) was on the right. Lieutenant-general von Blumenthal, Major-general von Stiehle, and Major-general von Sperling were the respective chiefs of staff. The first army, under General Steinmetz, comprised the 7th and 8th army corps, numbering 61,000 men, with 180 guns. The second, commanded by Prince Frederic Charles, consisted of six army corps —3d, 4th, 9th, 10th, 12th, and the Guard corps—and numbered 206,000 men, with 534 guns. The third, under the Crown Prince of Prussia, embraced five army corps, the 5th and 11th Prussian, the 1st and 2d Bavarian, and the two divisions of Würtembergers and Badeners, amounting in all to 180,000 men, with 480 guns. This third army was in so far the most interesting that south German and north German troops were there united. It represented the unity of armed Germany, and the popular Crown Prince of Prussia was wisely chosen to command it. On his way to the army the prince visited the courts of Munich, Stuttgart, and Carlsruhe, everywhere meeting with an enthusiastic reception.

On the supposition that the French army could not be mobilized with sufficient rapidity to assume the offensive and cross the Rhine, Moltke's plan was that the first army should advance from Coblentz, its place of rendezvous, toward the Saar, at Saarbrücken; the second, from Bingen and Mayence toward the same river, at Saarbrücken and Saargemünd; and the third army, from Mannheim and Rastatt toward the Lauter, in the north-east corner of Alsace. The crown prince, whose army was at the outset closest to the French frontier, was to begin the campaign by driving the French left wing back across the Vosges and advancing as far as

the Moselle. At the same time Prince Frederic Charles and Steinmetz were to push the French forces which should assemble before Metz back as far as that fortress, cut off their retreat to Châlons and Paris, oblige them to give battle at Metz, shut them up in that fortress, or drive them northward toward the Belgian boundary, and so open the way to Paris for the third army and any other troops which might then be available. The plan was equally delicate and audacious; but, notwithstanding its delicacy and audacity, the military operations of the campaign were able actually to follow the course thus laid out.

Besides these three armies, with their thirteen army corps, there was at the beginning of the war a first reserve, composed of three and a half additional army corps, containing 112,000 men. Of these the 1st and 2d corps, which had been stationed on the north coast, to oppose any attack from French and Danish landing columns, were ordered to the front at Metz as soon as the first victories were won. The 6th army corps, which had been detailed to cover Silesia, on account of Austria's preparations for war, joined the crown prince's army in the month of August; and in September the 17th division was ordered to the front, where it later found an opportunity to distinguish itself by its conduct on the Loire. The provinces bordering on the theatre of war and the coast districts of the North and Baltic seas were put under martial law, and five governors-general placed in command, of whom General Vogel von Falckenstein, who had so honorably distinguished himself by his conduct of the campaign on the Main in the year 1866, was appointed Governor of Prussia (province), Pomerania, Hanover, and Schleswig-Holstein, with his head-quarters in Hanover. The 17th division, as well as the *landwehr* division, which had been assigned to the defence of the coast, was placed under the command of the Grand-duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin.

The commanders of the three great armies left Berlin on the 26th to join their troops at the appointed rendezvous. The king, accompanied by Count Bismarck and Generals Moltke and Roon, left the capital on the 31st to assume the chief command over all the German forces. On the morning of August 2d he reached Mayence, where the general head-quarters were established, and whence a proclamation was issued to the German army. At Mayence and in the three great armies all the strength of Ger-

many was centred, and hence anxiety mingled with confidence as the whole German nation eagerly watched for news of the first encounter with the foe.

One of the peculiarities of French diplomacy at this crisis was, that while it had it in its power to delay the commencement of hostilities until France was ready to strike, it nevertheless declared war at a time when the French preparations were still in such a backward condition that not only was it impossible to assume the offensive, but even a satisfactory defensive was out of the question. The attitude of south Germany seriously thwarted Napoleon's plans. Considering the obstinate wrong-headedness of the ultramontanes and democrats as irresistible, he felt sure of the neutrality of Bavaria and Würtemberg, until he learned that the orders to mobilize had actually been issued. To prevent the union of the southern troops with the northern he now proposed to carry out a part of Niel's plan, and supply by rapidity what he lacked in numbers. The strength of the German field army he reckoned at 559,000 men, and that of his own at 300,000. He proposed to make up for this almost twofold superiority of numbers on the part of the enemy by a quick and energetic initiative. One hundred and fifty thousand men were to assemble at Metz, 100,000 at Strasburg, and 50,000 in the camp at Châlons. He proposed to unite the two eastern armies and cross the Rhine at Maxau at the head of 250,000 men, thus forming an iron barrier, as it were, between north and south Germany, and compelling the southern states into neutrality, or perhaps even forcing upon them a new Confederation of the Rhine. If successful in this, he hoped to secure the alliance of Italy and Austria, with both of which states promising negotiations had already been opened, and then it would be time to search out the Prussian army, which he estimated at 350,000 at the utmost, and scatter it by the proverbial *elan* of his brave soldiers. In the mean time the 50,000 men who had assembled in Châlons were to advance to Metz, in order to cover the rear of the army of operation and guard the north-eastern frontier, while the appearance of a French fleet in the North and Baltic seas, and the landing of French and Danish troops on the coast, was to draw off part of the Prussian forces.

The execution of this plan was possible only in case, simultaneously with the declaration of war, Napoleon could cross the Rhine with 250,000 men. But there were at that time not more than

100,000 in Metz and only 40,000 at Strasburg, while two divisions were still lacking at Châlons. Artillery and cavalry were not ready for action, not a single corps had a complete outfit for field service; and when Napoleon gave orders to hasten the arrival of the missing regiments, his orders did not meet with rapid obedience, under the pretext that Algeria, Paris, and Lyons could not be stripped of their garrisons. Other things necessary for a campaign were also lacking. Great stores of provisions, ammunition, and accoutrements had been accumulated, but, unfortunately, not where they were needed. The railroads were not properly equipped for such colossal transports of men and goods, nor had the officials any training in such matters; consequently everything was soon in hopeless confusion, and while the railroad stations were crowded with the necessaries of war the fortresses were in dire need.

Under such circumstances there could be no thought of carrying out Napoleon's plan and assuming the offensive. Other hopes also proved delusive. South Germany identified itself completely with the north so far as the war was concerned. The proposed alliances with Denmark, Austria, and Italy depended for their signatures upon preliminary French successes. On Denmark's part there was no lack of inclination to invade Schleswig-Holstein and other Prussian territory as well, but there still existed so vivid a recollection of the experiences of 1864 that the government could not venture to act until 40,000 French troops appeared, and genuine Napoleonic deeds of arms were reported from the theatre of war; but troops for the North and Baltic seas could not well be spared where soldiers were so scarce, and Napoleonic deeds of arms were wholly lacking. In Austria, where an alliance with France had been in negotiation ever since the meeting of the two emperors in Salzburg in 1867, the opinion prevailed that the occasion for war had been badly chosen; nevertheless the war party, which had been strengthened by Beust's intrigues inspired by his hatred of Bismarck, thought the opportunity of humiliating Prussia and rehabilitating the Hapsburgs in their old position too precious to be lost; and hence the promise was given that preparations should be at once begun, and on their completion, in the month of September, war declared and an invasion of Germany undertaken. A formal treaty of alliance between France and Austria had already been drawn up in St.

Cloud, and simply awaited ratification. But this plan was never carried out, for Austria could not mobilize so rapidly as Prussia, and before everything was ready the tempter of St. Cloud was safe behind bolts and bars. Italy was in the peculiar position of being the ally of both France and Prussia. To the former she owed the possession of Lombardy, while to the latter she was indebted for Venetia; consequently one would have supposed that she was almost obliged to remain neutral. And yet it seems that the king, with a considerable party of generals and statesmen, could have been won for Napoleon, if the latter had been willing to abandon to them Rome as the price of their assistance. Nothing less than this would have overcome the parliamentary opposition to a French alliance. But Napoleon, in whose programme the Pope and the Jesuits played so important a part, would not consent. Accordingly, Italy remained neutral, and waited for a favorable opportunity to help herself. So far as results are concerned, the events of 1866 were repeated, Italy reaping the benefit of Prussian victories.

Accordingly, France remained isolated. Alone she had begun the war, and alone she must end it. The fine speeches of the French diplomats, and the journey of Thiers later to London, St. Petersburg, Vienna, and Florence, wrought no change in this respect. Every state warmly advocated neutrality, however lax some of them were in the fulfilment of their neutral obligations — like England and the United States, which furnished the French ships with coal, and in the second stage of the war sold the French army the arms without which the governing powers could not have prosecuted the war. The Spanish government, forbidden by Gramont to insist upon its Hohenzollern candidate, dishonorably submitted to French dictation. Prince Leopold's resignation was accepted as final; and Prim, now minister-president, began to look about him for a new candidate. Germany also entered upon the war without an ally, and she had cause to consider herself fortunate in having none. In 1814 and 1815, although she had borne the brunt of the conflict, she had received the jackal's share of the booty, while her wisest and most important recommendations and requests had been treated as so much waste paper. In 1870 Germany was strong enough alone to undertake the fight with France; and if victorious she would also be strong enough to disregard the officious recommendations of

the tender-hearted brothers of charity-in-other-men's-affairs, in London and elsewhere, and dictate a peace at her own pleasure, without consulting other interests than her own. But it was also fortunate for Germany that she had some one to cover her rear, and make it possible for her almost completely to strip her eastern provinces of troops and concentrate her whole force at the seat of war. That which kept Austria's sword in its sheath, and perhaps the swords of some other countries too, was Emperor Alexander's announcement, at the beginning of the war, that he would remain neutral as long as the other powers did the same, but that, in case a third power interfered on the side of France, he would abandon his neutrality and act as Prussia's ally. By means of this resolute attitude on the part of the Russian emperor the war was localized and prevented from becoming European. In case Austria should be induced by any untoward turn of events to march her troops into Germany, the Russians would invade Austria, and employ the opportunity to take revenge for 1854. At the end of the war (February 27th, 1871), in a telegram to Emperor Alexander, King William expressed himself as follows: "Prussia will never forget that it is owing to you that the war did not assume the most extreme dimensions."

Like the Prussian king, the French emperor undertook in person the chief command of all his troops. General Lebœuf, the minister of war, was appointed chief of staff. July 23d Napoleon intrusted the regency to the empress for the period of his absence from Paris; and on the 24th she set out for Cherbourg, to inspect the fleet commanded by Vice-admiral Count Bouet-Villaumez, before its departure for the North and Baltic seas, and dismiss it with a proclamation. On the 28th Napoleon, accompanied by his son, left for Metz, to assume command of the army. The proclamation to the "Army of the Rhine," far from breathing the old confidence of victory, held in view "a long and toilsome war." The army consisted of eight corps. Of these, the 1st, under Marshal MacMahon, was stationed at Strasburg; the 2d, under General Frossard, at St. Avold; the 3d, under Marshal Bazaine, at Metz; the 4th, under General Ladmirault, at Diedenhofen (Thionville); the 5th, under General Failly, at Bitsch; the 6th, under Marshal Canrobert, in the camp at Châlons; the 7th, under General Felix Douay, at Belfort; the 8th—the Imperial Guard—under General Bourbaki, at Nancy. Accordingly, the

French forces were divided into two groups, the larger stationed on the Moselle, and the smaller in Alsace. To the latter belonged the 1st and 7th corps, both of which were placed under the command of Marshal MacMahon, with orders to prevent the crown prince's army from entering Alsace. The larger group comprised the 2d, 3d, and 4th corps, the 2d being pushed forward as advance guard. The 6th and 8th were to have formed the reserve; but the greatly superior numbers of Prince Frederic Charles and Steinmetz, who were advancing against this larger group, necessitated the immediate bringing of those corps to the front. The connection between the two groups was to be maintained by the 5th corps, stationed at Bitsch.

Skirmishing of the advanced posts and collisions between reconnoitring parties began on the 19th of July. The most important of these minor engagements was that at Saarbrücken, on the 2d of August. One thousand Germans (one battalion of fusiliers and three squadrons of uhlans), under Lieutenant-colonel von Pestel, were stationed at that place. In order to inform himself of the enemy's strength an l send the impatient Parisians news of victory, Napoleon ordered General Frossard's corps to advance, thus bringing about the so-called battle of Saarbrücken, where 1000 Prussians were attacked by 30,000 Frenchmen. Napoleon, with his son, was present at the action, wishing to convince himself of the superiority of the *chassepots* and the effectiveness of the *mitrailleuses*. The French, occupying the heights of Spichern, on the left side of the Saar valley, opened fire upon Saarbrücken and its occupants from twenty-three guns, simultaneously advancing against the unfortified town. After a resistance of three hours the Prussians withdrew to the right bank of the river, and, leaving a force to occupy the opposite town of St. Johann and the railroad station at that place, bivouacked four or five miles away toward the north-west. Toward evening General Frossard entered Saarbrücken, but withdrew again to the heights without attempting a pursuit. In this engagement, which was principally an artillery action, the Prussians lost four officers and seventy-nine men, and the French six officers and eighty men. News of the victory was at once despatched to Paris, the emperor's telegram to Eugenie speaking of the young prince's "baptism of fire," and extolling his coolness and presence of mind. The Press teemed with fantastic compositions, imagining the army of the

Rhine already before the gates of Mayence, and greeting this glorious feat of arms as "the sign of a new epoch."

This triumph was brief. August 4th the crown prince crossed the French frontier and attacked the town of Weissenburg, on the little river Lauter. MacMahon's advance-guard, General Abel Douay's division, consisting of eleven battalions and four batteries, held the town and the strongly fortified Geisberg. Weissenburg was successfully carried by Prussian and Bavarian battalions combined, and the Geisberg by sixteen battalions of Prussians alone. General Douay fell in the fight. The French loss was 1200 dead and wounded, and 1000 unwounded prisoners, of whom thirty were officers. The remainder of the defeated forces escaped to Wörth. The German loss was ninety-one officers and 1460 men. August 5th MacMahon with his corps took up his position at Wörth, fortifying the heights westward from Sauerbach, together with the villages of Froschweiler and Elsasshausen, in the intention of meeting at that place the advancing columns of the crown prince, whose attack he expected on the 7th. To strengthen his army sufficiently for the task required of it he endeavored to bring up General Felix Douay's corps from Belfort and Mühlhausen, and that of General Failly from Bitsch; but only one division of the former arrived in time, and a division of the latter which was sent to his support did not reach the neighborhood of the battle-field until the evening of the 6th, in time to afford a partial protection on the retreat. Consequently, MacMahon was left with not more than 45,000 men to face the crown prince's whole army. It was the prince's intention to deliver a decisive battle on the 7th, as he could not undertake a concentric attack with all five corps before that time; but on the morning of the 6th the advance guard of the 5th corps became involved in a sharp action with the enemy at Wörth, while the 11th corps on the left and a Bavarian corps on the right also came into collision with the French on the two wings. There was, accordingly, no choice left but to continue the battle and concentrate as many troops as possible at the threatened points. In this way from a mere skirmish of the advance guard resulted the decisive battle of Wörth. With the exception of the Badish division every corps ultimately took part in the battle. After Wörth itself had been carried, the fighting was most severe around the fortified village of Froschweiler. This was finally taken, and a desperate

charge of the French cuirassiers repulsed. Thereupon MacMahon's army broke and fled in wild confusion, some toward the passes of the Vosges, others to Strasburg or Bitsch. The fugitives were energetically followed, the pursuit continuing through the following day. The trophies of victory were numerous and valuable: 200 officers and 9000 men prisoners, one eagle, four Turco banners, twenty-eight cannon, five *mitrailleuses*, twenty-three wagons full of arms, 125 other wagons, 1193 horses, and the army-chest with 222,000 francs in gold. The French lost 6000 dead and wounded; the German loss was 489 officers and 10,153 men—a loss greater than that of Sadowa. On the battle-field, where the victorious army bivouacked, went up that night from thousands of voices and hundreds of instruments the hymn "*Nun danket alle Gott.*" MacMahon, with about 15,000 of his defeated troops, reached Zabern on the morning of the 7th, and set out thence for Châlons, whither Generals Douay and Failly were also directed to lead their forces. A new army was to be formed at that point, and northern Alsace was abandoned to the crown prince's victorious troops. The Badish division received orders to march against Strasburg, and by the 9th the whole corps was assembled before that city, Hagenau having been taken by the cavalry on the way. General Uhrich, of Pfalzburg, the commandant, was summoned to surrender, and on his refusal preparations for a siege were made, a regular siege corps being formed from the Badish division, a Prussian reserve division, and the *gardelandwehr* division, and placed under the command of General Werder. With the remainder of the third army the crown prince left Wörth on the 8th of August, marched through the unguarded passes of the Vosges, and entered Nancy on the 16th. On the way the Würtemberg troops took the small fortresses of Lichtenburg and Lützelstein, and the Bavarians Marsal, while detachments were left behind to blockade Bitsch and Pfalzburg. At Nancy the prince rested for a few days and waited for decisive news from the Saar and Moselle.

A second victory was won on the 6th of August at Spichern. Like the battle of Wörth, this action was not the result of a strategical combination, but rather of a misunderstanding. According to Moltke's plan Frossard's corps, which was stationed on the heights of Spichern, was to be forced to beat a retreat by a simultaneous movement of the first and second armies threatening

the French position in the rear at Forbach and Saargemünd. In case the French made a stand, they were to be overwhelmed by weight of numbers. On the morning of August 6th, when Generals Kameke and Rheinbaben with troops from the first and second armies arrived in the neighborhood of Saarbrücken, they were led by the reports of their reconnoitring parties to suppose that Frossard was already in full retreat. Wishing to inflict upon the retiring foe as much damage as possible, they at once attacked, driving the French outposts back to the steep and woody heights of Spichern, where they for the first time ascertained that Frossard's whole corps was before them. Holding it irreconcilable with their honor to yield ground which had once been won and retreat across the Saar, they continued the uneven combat, a single division maintaining the battle for four hours against three divisions of the foe, with numerous artillery and an extraordinarily favorable situation. After three o'clock other divisions of both the German armies began little by little to reach the field of battle, attracted by the thunder of the cannonading, so that finally 27,000 Germans were matched against 40,000 French. Some battalions at length succeeded in gaining a footing on the heights and planting twelve guns there. The resolution and endurance of the German soldiers was almost unexampled. The Brandenburger grenadier regiment alone lost thirty-five officers and 771 men. After the heights had been won Glümer's division advanced against the French left wing, defeated it, and threatened the enemy's line of retreat. Thereupon the French retired, the movement here and there degenerating into actual flight. As the Forbach road was already occupied by the enemy, Frossard fell back on Metz by way of Saargemünd. Bazaine, who, although not more than seven or eight miles from the field of battle, had made no attempt to come to Frossard's assistance, led his corps to the same place. In this battle, owing to the unfavorable nature of the ground, the losses of the conquerors were heavier than those of the conquered. The Germans had 223 officers and 4648 men dead, wounded, and missing; while the French, according to their own reports, lost 249 officers and 3829 men, 2000 of whom were taken prisoners. August 7th the victors continued their forward march, capturing great stores of provisions in Forbach. On the 9th St. Avold was taken, and foraging parties advanced almost to Metz. Marching through the Rhenish Palatinate, part of Prince

Frederic Charles's army directed its course toward Metz by way of Saarbrücken, and part through Saargemünd. On receipt of the news of the victory the king left Mayence, arriving at Saarbrücken on the 9th and St. Avold on the 11th. Here he issued a proclamation to the French people to the effect that he was waging war against soldiers and not citizens, and that the latter should not be molested in person or property so long as they were guilty of no hostilities toward the German troops.

In the imperial head-quarters at Metz the greatest consternation prevailed. In the first moment of alarm it was decided that the whole army should fall back on Châlons, leaving a garrison of only 20,000 men in Metz, and that the emperor should return to Paris. Other counsels, however, soon prevailed, and it was decided to concentrate five army corps on the right bank of the Moselle, at Metz, and to form a second army, consisting of four corps, under MacMahon's command, in the camp at Châlons. The first line of defence on the Rhine and Saar had been abandoned, and France was to be defended on the Moselle. By this decision Alsace and Lorraine were surrendered to the foe at the very outset. Everything now centred on the banks of the Moselle. Paris, in the very midst of its wild intoxication of imagined victory, was terribly undeceived by the news of August 6th. The opposition in the lower house spoke openly of the incapacity of the emperor, the necessity of his surrender of the chief command, and even of his abdication. In the excitement of the moment some one administered to Gramont a box on the ear, and Ollivier narrowly escaped a like indignity. A vote of censure against the ministry for their deficient preparations was moved and carried, whereupon the Gramont-Ollivier ministry resigned, and on the 10th a purely Bonapartist cabinet was formed, with Count Palikao (General Montauban) as president. Under such conditions the retention of the chief command, with its consequent responsibility before all the world for the defeats of his marshals and generals, had no farther attractions for the emperor. August 9th he resigned his position as commander-in-chief, and appointed Marshal Bazaine as his successor, while Lebœuf at the same time withdrew from the direction of the staff. The whole energy of the government was now directed toward the strengthening of France's insufficient military organization. New levies were called into the field, comprising all unmarried men between the ages of

twenty-five and thirty not already enrolled in the *garde mobile*; the project of sending troops to the Baltic was definitely abandoned, and even the soldiers stationed in the States of the Church for the protection of the Pope were recalled, leaving Pius to his fate and the discretion of the Italian government. The provisioning of Paris was pushed forward with all speed, and the Germans resident in France, whose departure had been prevented at the outbreak of the war, were now expelled with circumstances of indefensible brutality. The maritime operations, not being supported by landing troops, were attended with small success. The entrances to the German harbors were well guarded by batteries and torpedoes, so that the French fleet could accomplish nothing farther than a couple of months' blockade and the capture of a few merchantmen. One division of the fleet, under Vice-admiral Bouet-Villaumez, had sailed for the Baltic in July; a second, under Vice-admiral Fourichon, was despatched to the North Sea in August; and a third followed the second in October. With the exception of a couple of insignificant actions at Hiddensee and Danzig, on the 17th and 21st of August, nothing worth mention in the way of naval operations occurred, and the fleets returned home.

In the German head-quarters, which had been at St. Avold since the 11th of August, it was resolved in some way to make Bazaine's army harmless, either by shutting him up in Metz or by pushing him northward to the Belgian frontier. With this end in view, the first army, under General Steinmetz, was to take up a position on the right bank of the Moselle, and hold the French troops there as long as possible, preventing them from attacking the Germans in their passage of the river above Metz. In the mean time by forced marches the second army, under Prince Frederic Charles, was to cross the river at Novéant and Pont-à-Mousson, where the bridges had not been destroyed, anticipate any attempt on the part of the French to retreat by occupying the road to Verdun, and hold them in check before Metz until all the corps of the first and second armies were on the left bank of the Moselle, in position to undertake a decisive battle. The task was a difficult one, and it was questionable whether all the parts of the various corps could accomplish the long march from St. Avold to the Verdun road in time to effect the desired result. All depended upon what course Bazaine might conclude to pursue, and the en-

ergy with which he executed his plans. It was his purpose to leave Metz with the field army and join MacMahon at Châlons. There would then be 300,000 French at that place to block the German march to Paris. In that event the Germans would have to leave 60,000 men before Metz—which was adequately provisioned for a small garrison—and Diedenhofen, and would not have enough left to venture an attack on the united and well-intrenched armies at Châlons. Accordingly, the union of those two armies must be prevented at any price, and Bazaine be attacked before Metz. The execution of this plan led to the severe fighting near that city—the battle of Colombey-Nouilly (Borny), on the 14th, Vionville on the 16th, and Gravelotte on the 18th. On the 14th, before the fighting began, Napoleon, with his son, left Metz for Châlons by way of Verdun.

Bazaine made the great mistake of not carrying out with sufficient energy the retreat to Verdun and Châlons, which had already been determined upon on the 12th. On the morning of the 14th the order to march was given. As soon as the advance guard of the 7th Prussian corps perceived this retrograde motion on the part of the enemy, supported by the 1st army corps, which had arrived in the very nick of time, it assumed the offensive with the object of delaying the purposed retreat. The attack was directed against part of the 4th French corps (Ladmirault) and the 3d corps, commanded by Decaen—who had taken Bazaine's place—which were still on the left bank, the rest of the army having already crossed the river. The battle lasted from half-past three in the afternoon until nine o'clock in the evening, ending in the retreat of the enemy to the fortifications of Metz. The positions which he still held at the end of the day he evacuated during the night, withdrawing altogether behind the protecting outer forts. The result of this improvised battle was such a delay on the part of the French that two days later the Germans were able effectually to bar all farther attempts at retreat. The loss on the German side in the battle of Colombey-Nouilly (Borny) was about 5000, including 222 officers, while the French lost 3408 men and 200 officers.

Bazaine did not yet perceive the necessity of hastening his retreat. On the morning of the 16th all his troops were on the left bank of the Moselle, on the road to Verdun, but the lack of supplies prevented any considerable advance. The roads were

completely blocked up by the baggage-train, and that part of the army which was following the southern road from Gravelotte to Verdun lay encamped on the plateau of Rezonville and Vionville. In this position it was attacked at ten o'clock in the morning of the 16th by the 3d Prussian army corps—the Brandenburgers—under General von Alvensleben II., at Vionville. For six whole hours this corps, assisted by two cavalry divisions and an infantry brigade from the 10th, sustained the struggle against three French corps, taking the villages of Vionville and Flavigny, and driving Frossard back. Somewhat after two o'clock, as Canrobert advanced against the German centre, while Lebœuf—commanding the 3d corps in the place of Decaen, who had been badly wounded on the 14th—attempted to turn the left wing of the Brandenburgers and take them in the rear, Alvensleben, merely to gain time until re-enforcements should arrive, despatched Bredow's cavalry brigade against Canrobert's batteries and infantry. The cuirassiers and uhlans broke through the hostile ranks, shattering them so completely that Canrobert's advance was abandoned, the French being convinced, furthermore, that such a charge would not have been undertaken unless the assaulting party had a large force behind it. The cavalry who had participated in this daring ride into death, 900 in number, were so terribly cut up that of six squadrons only two returned. Soon after this charge, at half-past three o'clock, Prince Frederic Charles arrived upon the field and assumed the command. At four o'clock the Hanoverians began to come up on the left wing. The two corps of Lebœuf and Ladmirault made a new effort to outflank the Germans, and a warm action on the heights of Bruville ensued. Again a cavalry charge was resorted to. This time it was the Guard dragoons, under Count Brandenburg, who were intrusted with the task. They broke their way through the ranks of the opposing infantry, but themselves lost almost all their officers and a large part of their men. Then followed a brilliant cavalry engagement between twelve French and six German regiments, in which the former were defeated, relieving the left wing from all farther attack. Bazaine next attempted to turn the right wing; but re-enforcements arrived from the 8th and 9th corps, and the enemy was repulsed. Late on the same evening the Germans in their turn made an attack with infantry and artillery on the French centre; but Bazaine had planted fifty-four guns there, and no

impression could be made. Between nine and ten o'clock, after twelve hours of hard fighting, darkness put an end to the battle. When the French at length realized the German plan they fought with desperate valor in the attempt to break through, but the Brandenburgers and Hanoverians on their part maintained their position with unwavering fortitude and daring courage. The loss on the side of the Germans was 711 officers and 15,079 men, while the French reckoned their losses at 879 officers and 16,128 men. The number of Germans who took part in this battle—on the whole the most brilliant of the war—was 60,000, to whom was opposed double that number of French.

Even now, when the danger of being shut up in Metz was so imminent, Bazaine made no attempt to break through at all hazards, but instead, fearing that his communications with the fortress might be broken, drew back his troops toward Metz, and awaited the attack of the enemy in a position rendered strong both by nature and by art. On the right wing, at St. Privat, stood Canrobert; on the left, at St. Hubert and Rozerieulles, Frossard; in the centre, to the right, at Amanvillers, Ladmirault; to the left, at Leipzig and Moscou, Lebœuf; while the Guard corps was stationed behind the centre as a reserve. Before these positions on the morning of the 18th stood seven German army corps, and by evening they were joined by an eighth, the Pomeranian. Only the 1st corps was left behind on the right bank of the Moselle. According to orders from head-quarters the Guards and the Saxons were to operate against St. Privat, the 8th and 7th corps against Rozerieulles, and the 9th, in the centre, against Amanvillers, while the 3d and 10th, which had been roughly handled at Vionville, formed the reserve. The enemy was to be driven out of all his positions, forced from the open field back to the guns of Metz and into the fortress itself, and shut up there. This was Moltke's plan for the battle of Gravelotte, the first battle in the war in which a pre-arranged plan was actually carried out. King William assumed the chief command in person. At twelve o'clock the battle began. The 9th corps, advancing against Ladmirault's position at Amanvillers, was attacked on the right and left by Lebœuf and Canrobert, but succeeded toward evening in taking the foremost heights, and, after the capture of St. Privat had laid bare his right wing, forced Ladmirault to abandon his position and retire to the fortress. On

the left wing the Saxons took the village of St. Marie-aux-chênes, and attempted to turn Canrobert's position, for the purpose of falling upon his left flank simultaneously with the attack of the Guards in front. As this manœuvre consumed more time than had been expected, the commander of the Guards, Prince Augustus of Würtemberg, undertook an attack in front without waiting for the completion of the flank movement; but his men were exposed to such a deadly fire in crossing the open ground before the French position, that it became evident that the assault was premature, and after suffering terrible losses it was abandoned. Between six and seven the Saxons reached the desired position, and the Guards again advanced to the charge. Attacked on two sides, the village was taken at seven o'clock, and Canrobert's forces driven back into the city. On the right wing everything did not work so smoothly as could have been desired. After three unsuccessful attempts the little hamlet of St. Hubert was finally taken, but Rozerieulles still remained in the hands of the French; and at seven o'clock the latter, assuming the offensive, even descended into the ravine and attempted to scale the heights of Gravelotte. They were at length beaten back by the artillery; and the Pomeranian corps, which had just arrived on the field, followed up the advantage, carrying all the enemy's outlying intrenchments. As darkness fell, Frossard was in possession of his main positions only, and during the night these also were evacuated.

It was a brilliant victory, and followed by important results. Bazaine's army was shut up in the fortress and among the outlying forts, and rendered unavailable for farther service in the field. The losses of the French amounted to about 13,000 men, including 600 officers; the German loss was 899 officers and 19,260 men, of whom 328 officers and 4909 men were killed outright. The number of combatants on the side of the French was about 140,000, on the side of the Germans 178,818, the former having 550, and the latter 822 cannon. It must be remembered, however, that the French occupied a position very much of the nature of a fortress, which had to be carried by storm, and for the most part without any protection for the storming parties.

This victory was scarcely won when new plans were developed by the strategists at German head-quarters. For the blockade of Metz a siege army was formed, under the command of Prince

Frederic Charles, consisting of seven corps, two cavalry divisions, Kummer's reserve division, and one reserve cavalry brigade. General Steinmetz was relieved of his command, for reasons which are not yet clearly ascertained (various as accounts may be in other respects, they yet all agree in assigning essential insubordination toward Prince Frederic Charles as one cause of his removal), and appointed governor of Posen. The Guard corps, the Saxon troops, the 4th corps, and the 1st and 2d Bavarian corps were formed into a new army, the fourth or Maas army, the command of which was intrusted to Albert, Crown Prince of Saxony. This army and that of the Crown Prince of Prussia were to carry out the farther field operations, under the chief command of King William. In the mean time the Prussian crown prince had been joined by the 6th army corps, which had been left behind in Silesia at the beginning of the war, so that the two armies together consisted of eight and a half army corps and four cavalry divisions. The immediate objective of their operations was MacMahon's army at Châlons. This had been raised to about 150,000 men, and consisted of the 1st, 5th, 7th, and 12th corps—it is characteristic of the French organization at that time that the 9th, 10th, and 11th did not exist—commanded by Generals Ducrot, Failly, Douay, and Lebrun. Before any certain information had been received regarding the events before Metz it had been resolved in a council of war that the emperor should at once return to Paris and resume the government, and that MacMahon should follow with the army. The empress and Count Palikao were strongly opposed to the execution of this plan, and sent word to Châlons that the emperor's return would be the signal for a revolution in Paris. According to them the army was more necessary for the support of Bazaine than for the protection of the capital, which was rendered impregnable by its forts. Although MacMahon did not share this view, yet, constantly urged by Palikao to go to the relief of Metz, he set out on the 21st of August from Châlons for Rheims, accompanied by the emperor, who in this whole crisis displayed lamentable irresolution, weakness, and general inefficiency. From Rheims he marched on the 24th to Rethel, with the intention of crossing the Maas at Stenay and there forming a junction with Bazaine, in case the latter should succeed in breaking out. If the attempt to break out failed, then MacMahon was to march up the right bank

of the Maas toward Metz, and endeavor to release him from the iron chain in which he was bound. This plan, for which Palikao was responsible, was exceedingly hazardous, as it gave the two German field armies an opportunity to cut off his communications and drive him across the Belgian frontier, or force him to engage in battle against superior numbers. For its execution, in which respect it resembled Bazaine's plan of retreat from Metz, the important question was whether he could reach the Maas in time or not. He did not reach it, ascertaining on the 27th that Stenay was already occupied by the Germans.

August 24th, as soon as MacMahon's departure from Châlons and the direction of his march became known in German headquarters, the third and fourth armies set out with all speed for the north, the latter from Verdun and the former from Vitry, farther to the south, in order to prevent his junction with Bazaine. The plan was to force MacMahon's army up toward the Belgian frontier, surround it on three sides, and leave him no other choice than either to lead his whole army into Belgium and be disarmed, or, in case he deemed that incompatible with his military honor, to venture a battle against superior numbers, and after an honorable struggle surrender with all his forces. The Germans hastened forward by forced marches, the fourth army on the right, the third on the left. The former gained Stenay before the French, rendering the passage of the Maas at that point impracticable. On the 27th and 29th there was fighting at Buganzy, Nouart, and Voncq, and on the 30th Failly's corps was surprised at Beaumont. In the mean time the Bavarians in the third army had driven in Douay's corps, so that MacMahon saw no better chance of escape than to throw himself with his army into the neighboring fortress of Sedan. Here he occupied the hills which shut in the fortress on three sides, stationing Lebrun's corps on the right wing, at Bazeilles; Douay on the left, at Illy and Floing; Ducrot in the centre, at Moncelle and Daigny; and Wimpffen in the Garenne forest, as reserve. The last-named general had been appointed in place of General Failly, who had just been removed on account of his conduct on the 6th of August.

August 31st the Germans advanced against Sedan in order to encircle it with the iron ring of their unyielding troops. The attack on the east side, at Bazeilles and Balan, was committed to the 1st Bavarian corps, supported in the rear by the 4th Prussian,

and on the left by the 2d Bavarian. The 5th and 11th corps were to carry the positions on the west and north-west, while the Saxons and the Guards were to advance in the centre. The Würtemberg division was detailed to watch the fortress of Mezières and render any assistance from that side impossible. The 6th corps was stationed farther west, at Attigny, in order to block MacMahon's way in case he escaped westward. The battle began between four and five o'clock in the morning of September 1st, at the village of Bazeilles. After the severest fighting—the Marines, probably the best soldiers in the French army, were stationed at this point—for several hours, in which the villagers themselves took part, the Bavarians, supported by the 4th corps, finally took the place by storm. At three o'clock in the afternoon Balan was also taken, and toward evening the Bavarians stood before the gates of Sedan. On their right the Saxons and the Guards had taken the villages in the valley and stormed the heights on the other side, while to the north-west the victors of Weissenburg and Wörth had captured heights and villages, and repulsed numerous charges of the French cavalry. From all sides the defeated troops flocked into the narrow space between Sedan and the forest of Garenne. The German artillery, commanding the whole circle, was in a favorable position to hurl death and destruction into this despairing mob and compel an unconditional surrender. Sometime after four o'clock in the afternoon bombshells fell into the town and set some houses on fire, and each moment the situation of the French troops became more untenable.

At length the emperor, seeing that farther resistance was hopeless, planted a flag of truce on the walls of the fortress and sent General Reille to King William to offer him his sword. The king accepted it, on condition that the French army should lay down its arms. That evening, in Donchery, Bismarck and Moltke met General Wimpffen—who, since seven o'clock in the morning, when MacMahon was wounded by the explosion of a shell, had held the chief command—to negotiate regarding the capitulation. On the following morning Napoleon had a meeting with Bismarck at the same place, in the hope of securing better conditions. The capitulation was finally concluded in the course of the morning of the 2d. At one o'clock in the afternoon of the same day took place the meeting between Napoleon and King William, and on

the following day Napoleon set out as prisoner of war for the palace of Wilhelmshöhe, near Cassel. The trophies of the victory consisted of one eagle, two colors, 419 field guns and *mitrailleuses*, 139 pieces of fortification ordnance, 1072 wheeled vehicles of all sorts, 66,000 stand of arms, 6000 serviceable horses, 83,000 prisoners from the capitulation (including Marshal MacMahon, forty generals, 230 staff officers, and 2595 officers of the line), 21,000 unwounded prisoners taken in the battle, and—as the telegraph reported—one emperor. Fourteen thousand French had been wounded in the battle, 3000 killed, and 3000 had escaped to Belgium and been disarmed. Accordingly, the whole strength of MacMahon's army, which had thus been utterly annihilated, was 124,000 men. The prisoners were transported to Germany, and placed under military guard at various places. The officers were allowed to return to France on giving a written promise not to serve against Germany during the remainder of the war. Five hundred officers signed such a pledge; but all did not keep their word, some, like Generals Ducrot and Gambriels, escaping on the way. The German loss in dead and wounded was 460 officers and 8500 men.

The rejoicing of the German army was unbounded. Nothing seemed any longer impossible. In every corner of Germany there was a mighty outburst of enthusiasm when the telegraph brought the news, "Emperor and army taken," and the confidence in the ability of the German leaders was unlimited. Foreign countries were filled with astonishment, and those which had had some thought of taking part in the war now became as peaceful as though they themselves had met with a Sedan. September 2d King William made the round of his troops, and the unanimous cry of the soldiers was, "To Paris!" An hour after the conclusion of the capitulation, on the self-same day, the order to march was given. On the 3d the troops set forward; and on the 19th six and a half army corps and three divisions of cavalry, numbering in all 122,661 infantry and 24,325 cavalry, with 622 guns, stood before the French capital. This army was not large enough to blockade such an enormous city, and at the same time repulse any relief armies which might be formed, and accordingly in the next few weeks the two corps which had been left behind at Sedan—the 17th infantry division, under the Grand-duke of Mecklenburg, and a *gardelandwehr* division—were also

brought up; so that on the 21st of October the total strength of the blockading army was nine and a half corps and four divisions of cavalry, numbering in all 202,030 infantry and 33,794 cavalry, with 898 guns. The third army, under the Crown Prince of Prussia, guarded the southern half-circle; and the fourth army, under the Crown Prince of Saxony, the northern, the lines of each extending from the Marne to the Seine. Only one mishap occurred on the road to Paris. On the 9th of September, after the capitulation had been signed, the citadel of Laon was blown into the air by a French non-commissioned officer, with the result that 100 Germans and 400 French were killed or wounded.

On their arrival before Paris the German armies found the imperial government already overthrown, to the inevitable protraction of the war. Palikao's ministry had kept the chambers and the people in complete ignorance in regard to the fighting before Metz and its results, for weeks maintaining themselves on lies; and it was not until the 3d of September, when all the foreign papers were full of Sedan, that they found themselves compelled, both in the chambers and in a proclamation to the people, to acknowledge that Bazaine had been defeated and shut up in Metz, MacMahon's army had capitulated at Sedan, and the emperor was a prisoner. Jules Favre, in the lower house, at once moved the deposition of Napoleon and his dynasty, and the establishment of a provisional government. The ministry, on the other hand, asked for the formation of a committee of government and defence, consisting of five members, and the appointment of Palikao as governor-general. These measures were to come to a discussion in the sitting of September 4th, at five P.M.; but, as on the 24th of February, 1848, at the time appointed the hall was full of working-men and soldiers demanding the deposition of the emperor and the proclamation of a republic. Ill at ease in such a company as this, the ministers and the members of the Right hurried off. Gambetta proclaimed the Napoleon family dethroned in perpetuity. Then arose a general cry, "To the City Hall!" and, escorted by thousands, the members of the Left made their way thither. The empress had fled from the Tuileries at one o'clock on the same day. She reached in safety the little coast town of Deanville, and on the 9th of September was landed on the English coast. There she met her son, who had parted from his father on the way from Châlons to Sedan and journeyed

to England by way of Belgium. Both of them took up their residence at Chislehurst, in the neighborhood of London, where they were joined by Napoleon on the 20th of March, 1871, after the close of the war; and there the ex-emperor died, on the 9th of January, 1873.

The provisional government in the City Hall assumed the official title of "The Government of National Defence." It had been set up by the radical delegates representing the city of Paris, and its members were chosen wholly from their number. The names of the eleven members of this government were: Favre, Gambetta, Simon, Picard, Pelletan, Cremieux, Ferry, Glais-Bizoin, Emanuel Arago, Garnier-Pagès, and Rochefort. To his honor Thiers, who had been offered a seat in this body, declined. General Trochu was named president, and at the same time governor-general of the capital. Favre was vice-president and minister of foreign affairs, and Gambetta was minister of the interior. It could not be regarded as a legal government, with which negotiations might be opened and treaties concluded, inasmuch as it had been chosen by the Parisians only, and hence represented the capital, and not the French people at large. Elections for a constitutional assembly, which could have given this government its sanction or a successor, were ordered for October; but the government was not in earnest in its endeavors to bring together such a body, nor were the times propitious. "The Government of National Defence" was merely *de facto*, exercising a sort of dictatorship. Proclamations and decrees were issued *ad libitum*. The republic was formally proclaimed, the lower house dissolved, and the senate abolished. The Germans still remaining in Paris were compelled to leave under penalty of martial law. Measures were taken for fortifying and provisioning the city and calling new forces into the field. In consequence of the enormous influx of fugitives, the population rose to about 2,400,000. Outside of the city walls were fifteen forts, as well as defences of other descriptions, which were in part provided with heavy marine ordnance. The line of defence had a circuit of about thirty miles, and the army defending that line numbered more than 400,000 men. The two corps of Generals Vinoy and Renault, numbering about 60,000, together with 18,000 marines, formed the core of the Parisian army. The remainder consisted of 100,000 soldiers of the *garde mobile* from the neighboring departments and 30,000

from Paris, with 200,000 or more national guards from the capital, all of whom were of very doubtful value. In comparison with King William's thoroughly disciplined troops, they were nothing more than a street mob. But everything connected with the defence was on such a colossal scale that a siege of the most arduous and tedious description was to be expected. Notwithstanding the enormous number of inhabitants, there was a sufficient supply of provisions for more than four months, and not for six or eight weeks only, as had been at first supposed at German head-quarters.

To take so well-fortified a city by storm would have been a most arduous enterprise even for a far more numerous army than that of the Germans. The opening of an energetic bombardment required a park of about 300 siege-guns, with the necessary ammunition; and as the railroads, which had considerable difficulties of one sort and another to contend with, were fully occupied with the transport of additional forces and provisions, this could not be set in place before the end of the year. Consequently there was no other course than to surround the city, completely cutting off all communication with the outside world, and reducing it to a state of isolation. Paris must be cast on its own resources for defence and provisions. It soon became evident that there would be two modes of opposition to be encountered in the execution of this plan: first, sallies of the Parisians for the purpose of driving back the besiegers, breaking through their lines, and operating in their rear; and secondly, the formation of provincial armies, which were to advance to the relief of the city, and, in concert with the Parisian garrison, compel the Germans to raise the siege. The latter mode of opposition was essentially the work of Gambetta, who on the 6th of October left Paris in a balloon for Tours, where he set up an outside government, assumed the direction of the war department in addition to that of the interior, and at last exercised a provisional dictatorship. He made every effort to arouse the national hatred against the Germans and array under the French banner for the defence of their country all who were capable of bearing arms. Under his direction large forces were collected on the Loire and to the north and west of Paris, and finally the communications of the besiegers with Germany were threatened. To him, therefore, was due the prolongation of the war; and on him also rests the responsibility for the more bloody character which it now assumed, and the severer nature of the

wounds inflicted on his country. Nothing more than this could be achieved, for his generals were no match for Moltke's strategy, and their soldiers were scarcely better disciplined than the *garde mobile* in Paris.

By the 5th of October King William's head-quarters were in Versailles, but before that time some important diplomatic documents had been already written, and some oral negotiations had taken place. In a circular note of September 6th Favre claimed that since the overthrow of the empire the King of Prussia had no reason for the continuation of hostilities, inasmuch as the present government had not been in favor of the war. At the same time he announced that if war were forced upon them he and his colleagues would not prove remiss in its prosecution; they would throw the whole responsibility for its continuance upon the King of Prussia; but, whatever might be the result, not a single foot of land nor so much as a solitary stone of a French fortress should be surrendered to the Germans. To this document Bismarck replied, in his circular note of September 13th, that since senate, popular representatives, and Press had almost unanimously pronounced in favor of the war, it could not be claimed that the country had not wished it, and that only the imperial government was responsible. Furthermore, Germany must expect a war of revenge on the part of France, even if she exacted no cession of territory and levied no money indemnity, contenting herself merely with the glory she had won; this being the case, she must consider her own security, and, by strengthening her boundaries on the side toward France, seek to render more difficult the next French attack on Germany, and especially on the hitherto unprotected south German frontier. As the neutral powers, with the exception of Russia, took part with France, and seemed inclined to interfere in any negotiations for peace which might be opened between the two belligerents in order to shield France from all oppressive conditions, and as Thiers was at that very time making his European tour for the accomplishment of that result, Bismarck issued a second circular note on the 16th of September, in which he recommended the powers not to prolong the war by cherishing among the French people any hope of intervention, since Germany had conducted the war alone and would alone settle the terms of peace regardless of any attempted intervention, from whatsoever source. It was the fixed determination of the German

governments and German people, he said, to protect Germany against French attacks by better boundaries, and the fortresses of Metz and Strasburg, which in French hands had been gates of invasion constantly open toward Germany, must come into the possession of the latter, a transfer through which they would acquire a purely defensive character.

The Parisian government, which since the annihilation of the French armies had been so ardent an advocate and admirer of peace, was desirous first of all to ascertain under what conditions King William would consent to a suspension of hostilities. With this object Favre requested an interview with Bismarck, and held several conversations with him at Ferrières on the 19th and 21st of September. In these conversations Favre asserted that the most to which France could consent was the payment of a war indemnity, and that it could never agree to a cession of territory. For the decision of this matter it was necessary to elect a national assembly, by which a regular government might be set up, and for the election of this assembly a truce of fourteen to twenty-one days was requisite, and such a truce France accordingly requested. Bismarck replied that a truce was not to the interest of Germany from a military point of view, and could, therefore, be granted only on consideration of the surrender of the fortresses of Strasburg, Toul, and Bitsch. As the Parisian government would not consent to these conditions, the negotiations were broken off, and Favre and the other French diplomats complained in new circular notes of the intention of Prussia to reduce France to the condition of a second-rate power. The absurdity and falsity of the assumption that a country with 38,000,000 inhabitants, or, including Algeria, 42,000,000, could be reduced to the condition of a second-rate power by the cession of territory containing about one and a half million, was clearly brought out by Bismarck in his despatch of October 1st. A few weeks later negotiations were resumed, and this time Thiers, now returned from his tour of the European courts, appeared in Versailles (November 1st) as negotiator. Again the question at issue was a suspension of hostilities, to afford an opportunity for the holding of the much-talked-of elections. Not only would Gambetta have used this respite of about four weeks for the collection of new forces, Thiers even demanded permission to provision Paris unmolested; and when Bismarck in astonishment asked what France offered in return for

all these concessions, he did not hesitate to answer—nothing. Of course this brought the negotiations to an end. The republican government was childishly defiant, the victim of a sort of crazy sense of its own importance. In every war where France had been the victor she had imposed hard conditions on her vanquished foes, never omitting to exact a cession of territory. Quite recently, in the Italian war of 1859, after the victories of Magenta and Solferino, she had exacted from Austria the cession of Lombardy, and no reasonable human being in all Europe doubted that, in case France had come out victor in the present war, the left bank of the Rhine would have been lost to Germany. Yet France had the impertinence to demand from the foe, so much of whose territory she had in former centuries appropriated, and whom she had intended in the present war to rob of her finest provinces, that she should respect the French boundaries in their full extent, regard French territory as sacred and inviolable, and not attempt to win back even those provinces which had originally been German. Such arrogant pretensions could be answered only by new defeats. The humiliation must be still more severe, and Paris must have a still more bitter taste of need before France could learn that every people, even the French, must pay the penalty of its sins.

It was again necessary to resort to arguments from the cannon's mouth, and both at Paris and at other points the iron controversy at once commenced. On the first day of the investment, September 19th, the Parisians, numbering about 40,000 men, made a sortie on the side toward Chatillon, but were repulsed by Prussian and Bavarian troops, and returned to Paris in disgraceful flight. The sallies on the 30th of September and the 13th and 21st of October met with no better success. October 28th the French succeeded in taking the feebly garrisoned village of Le Bourget, to the north of Paris; but on the 30th they were dislodged from this position by a division of the Guards. In Paris great dissatisfaction prevailed in consequence of these constant defeats. Taking advantage of this for the purpose of overthrowing the government and establishing the Commune, the social-democrats effected an uprising on the 31st of October and 1st of November, and for a few hours held possession of the City Hall. Rochefort was so seriously compromised in this matter that he had to withdraw from the government. The Parisians

now rested all their hopes on the armies of relief which had been formed outside, and passed a few weeks in quiet, awaiting their action. The first attempt to relieve the capital was made from the side of the Loire, where an army corps assembled under the command of General de la Motterouge, and began an advance from Orleans toward Paris. The 1st Bavarian corps, under General von der Tann, Wittich's infantry division, and two cavalry divisions were sent out to meet them. On the 10th and 11th of October the French were beaten at Artenay and other places, and driven back across the Loire; and on the evening of the 11th von der Tann entered Orleans. Leaving the Bavarians to hold that city, the remaining troops were employed to capture Chateaudun, Chartres, and Dreux, to the north-west of Orleans, and put to flight the parties of *garde mobile* and *franctireurs* which they there encountered. Gambetta, who had joined to himself M. de Freycinet, formerly a mining engineer, as a sort of adviser in military matters, called out all the men between the ages of twenty-five and forty, organized five new army corps, and established special drill camps for the instruction of the new recruits. After the defeat at Orleans General de la Motterouge was removed, and General Aurelle de Paladines appointed in his place. The new general crossed the Loire with two corps, and directed his march toward the road leading from Paris to Orleans, with the intention of severing the communications of the Bavarian general. On the first news of this manœuvre von der Tann abandoned Orleans, leaving his sick behind him, and set out for Paris. After an obstinate engagement with the enemy at Coulmiers, on his retreat, November 9th, he finally took up a position at Toury, thus blocking the road to Paris. Another infantry division was sent from Versailles to von der Tann's assistance, and the united forces placed under the command of the Grand-duke of Mecklenburg. Notwithstanding all Gambetta's urgency, General Aurelle with his poorly equipped troops, now numbering four corps, would not venture an attack upon this force, to whose assistance, furthermore, Prince Frederic Charles, with three additional corps, was hastening by forced marches. He accordingly intrenched himself before Orleans, and awaited the attack of the Germans there. This sealed the fate of his troops, and freed the army of investment before Paris from all farther danger on that side.

In the mean time great successes had been achieved in the

east—successes important partly for themselves, and partly because of the possibility they afforded of new and more extensive operations. The fortress of Toul capitulated on the 23d of September, opening the railroad between Strasburg and Paris. The capitulation of Strasburg, the ancient German imperial city, took place on the 28th of September. As a bombardment lasting from the 24th to the 27th of August had not induced General Uhrich to surrender, it became necessary to besiege the city in regular form. Everything was ready for a general assault, the result of which seemed certain, when the commandant finally yielded, surrendering himself, 451 officers, and 17,111 men as prisoners of war. The news that the city which had been acquired by shameful treachery on the 20th of September, 1681, was once more German, was received with enthusiastic rejoicings. From a military point of view the capture of Metz was far more important than that of Strasburg. There lay the "Army of the Rhine," under Marshal Bazaine, closely shut in by Prince Frederic Charles. Like General Trochu in Paris, Bazaine made several attempts to break out, but with no better success. The most important attempt was that of the 31st of August and 1st of September, which led to the battle of Noisseville. Informed of MacMahon's advance toward the Maas, Bazaine endeavored to break out and form a junction with him, but after an obstinate fight his troops were driven back into their position between the forts. The later attempts, on the 22d and 27th of September, and the 2d and 7th of October, were little more than sallies for the purpose of employing the troops and procuring food and forage. On learning of the catastrophe of Sedan and the fall of the empire, Bazaine resolved to hold out until the conclusion of peace, which he supposed to be close at hand, in the belief that, at the head of the only regular army left in France, he would be able to play an important part in the reorganization which must of necessity ensue. But the republican leaders showed themselves in no hurry to conclude a peace, and the provisions, which had been intended for a garrison of twenty or thirty thousand, and not for an army of almost 200,000, were soon exhausted. Through his adjutant, General Boyer, Bazaine at length opened negotiations with Bismarck in Versailles, and offered (October 14th) to capitulate for himself and his army, but not for the fortress and the garrison. This proposal was

naturally rejected, and the surrender of the whole force insisted on. On the 24th of October the last rations of bread were distributed, and on the 25th Bazaine opened negotiations with Prince Frederic Charles. An agreement was reached on the 27th, and a French council of war accepted the terms on the following day. On the 29th the city and the forts were surrendered to the German troops. Three marshals—Bazaine, Canrobert, and Lebœuf—6000 officers, and about 173,000 men, including the National Guards and the sick, were made prisoners of war; fifty-three eagles and colors, 541 field-pieces, 66 *mitrailleuses*, 800 stationary guns, about 300,000 stand of arms, and other stores, fell into the hands of the enemy. The history of war contains no similar capitulation. The King of Prussia at once named the crown prince and Prince Frederic Charles field-marshals-general, a dignity never enjoyed before by any prince of the Prussian royal house. In recognition of his services Moltke was at the same time raised to the rank of count, while a general order of congratulation was issued to the allied German armies.

The most important result of this capitulation was, that it set the army of investment free for use where its presence was most urgently required. The 2d corps, under General Fransecky, marched to Paris to re-enforce the army of the Crown Prince of Prussia. Of the remaining six corps two armies were formed, the first under General Manteuffel, and the second under Prince Frederic Charles, each consisting of three corps, with one cavalry division. On the 2d of November Prince Frederic Charles set out from Metz with 49,607 infantry, 5000 cavalry, and 276 guns; and on the 14th his advance guard was able to participate in the actions on the Loire. The Grand-duke of Mecklenburg's troops, some detachments of which had in the mean time driven back the western army, under Count Keratry, and occupied Dreux and Châteauneuf, united with those of the prince and formed his right wing. The army to which was assigned the task of dislodging General Aurelle de Paladines and his 200,000 men from their well-fortified position and driving them across the Loire, numbered altogether 105,275 men, with 556 guns. Gambetta, looking at the relative numbers rather than the quality of the respective armies, was hopeful of victory, and incessantly urged Aurelle to assume the offensive. In concert with the aggressive

movement of the army of the Loire, on the 30th of November a sortie on a grand scale was to be undertaken by the Parisian garrison. Accordingly, unsuccessful attacks were made on the German left wing on the 24th and 28th, and on the 2d of December a similarly unsuccessful attack was made on the right wing. December 3d Prince Frederic Charles assumed the offensive, and drove back the enemy in a general assault. On the 4th he continued the attack, taking the railroad station and the suburbs of Orleans by storm; and at midnight the Grand-duke of Mecklenburg marched into the city, part of the French army retreating up the Loire, and part down the same stream. More than 12,000 prisoners fell into the hands of the Germans, as well as sixty cannon and four gun-boats. Gambetta, dissatisfied with Aurelle's generalship, removed him from the command, and divided the army of the Loire into two parts, which were to act separately or in concert, according as circumstances might dictate. Of these the first army of the Loire, consisting of three corps, was stationed at Nevers, under the command of General Bourbaki; while the second, consisting of three and a half corps, and commanded by General Chanzy, was at Blois.

A detachment sent down the Loire in pursuit of Chanzy occupied Meung, Beaugency, Blois, and the château Chambord, taking more than 7000 prisoners, and capturing several cannon. The government at Tours, deeming itself no longer safe in that city, removed to Bordeaux on the 10th of December. General Chanzy retreated to Vendôme, and from there still farther westward, to Le Mans. Leaving one corps in Vendôme to watch Chanzy, the prince, toward the end of December, allowed the rest of his troops to go into quarters at Orleans, in order to afford them an opportunity to refresh themselves and repair their outfit. January 6th, 1871, in accordance with orders from Versailles, with a force of 57,000 infantry, 15,000 cavalry, and 318 guns, he again took the field against Chanzy. The latter had spent the intervening time in camp at Le Mans. Where Bourbaki's army stood and what its purpose was—whether it would march toward Le Mans to support Chanzy, or advance on Paris by way of Fontainebleau, or be ordered off to the east for the defence of Belfort—no one knew. To be prepared for all contingencies, the Hessian division remained behind at Orleans; Gien and Blois were occupied; the 2d corps, under Fransecky, took up a position at Montargis and

to the east of that place; and the 7th corps, under Zaskrow, was stationed at Auxerre. The prince's march through the *Perche* was rendered exceedingly difficult by frost, snow, and thaws. Fighting their way step by step, the Germans advanced against Le Mans along three different roads. As they were on the very point of cutting off Chanzy's line of retreat, he hastily withdrew to Laval and Mayenne on the morning of January 12th, and the same evening the Hanoverians entered Le Mans. Taking up his head-quarters in that city, the prince sent out detachments to pursue the foe toward Laval and Mayenne. The empty camp of Conlie was also occupied, and large stores taken. On the 19th detachments of the German army entered Tours. The Grand-duke of Mecklenburg, with the 13th corps, marched to Rouen by way of Alençon, in order to give the German northern army an opportunity to force a decisive action on the part of the French. For the present there was nothing more to be feared from Chanzy, who had retreated into Brittany, incapacitated from any farther operations. Between the 6th and 12th of January he had lost 18,000 prisoners and twenty guns, while his loss in dead and wounded is unknown. In the same time Prince Frederic Charles had lost 180 officers and 3470 men killed or wounded.

The French army of the north met with the same fate as those of the south and west. The command of this army was held in succession by Farre, Bourbaki, and Faidherbe, the latter succeeding to the position on the 3d of December. The northern fortresses, Arras, Cambrai, Douai, and Valenciennes, offered a favorable base of operations, as well as a convenient refuge in case of defeat. At first one corps only was put in the field, with which General Farre took up his position south of Amiens. General Manteuffel was to operate against this foe. Of his army one corps had to be left behind in Metz and before Diedenhofen (Thionville) and Montinedy, and of the remaining two corps, numbering altogether only 38,244 foot and 4483 horse, with 180 guns, several detachments were drawn off for the siege of the northern fortresses. Leaving Metz on the 7th of November, Manteuffel arrived in the neighborhood of Compiègne on the 20th, and on the 27th encountered the enemy at Moreuil. The French were defeated, Amiens taken, and the little fortress of La Fère forced to capitulate. Manteuffel now turned toward Normandy. On the 5th his soldiers entered Rouen, and on the 9th Dieppe,

after scattering on the way some detachments of French which attempted to make a stand at various points along the Seine. In the mean time Faidherbe, who had succeeded to the command, had put a second corps in the field and begun a southward movement, taking the little fortress of Ham on the way. Manteuffel, turning about, attacked the enemy on the 23d at Querrieux, and obliged him to retreat to Douai. On the 9th of January he compelled the fortress of Peronne to capitulate. In the mean time General Bentheim, who had been left behind in Normandy, had driven back hostile detachments numbering 15,000 or 20,000 men toward Havre, taken the château Robert le Diable by assault, and barred the passage of the Seine against some ships of war which attempted to ascend the river from Havre by sinking eleven large boats at Duclair. Among the sunken craft were six English coal-ships, whose owners had to be compensated for their loss. January 3d Faidherbe, again assuming the offensive, attacked a division of the 8th corps at Bapaume, but suffered a repulse. On the 6th of January General Göben, hitherto commander of the 8th corps, succeeded General Manteuffel in the command of the first army, the latter being transferred to the army of the south. Ordered by Gambetta to co-operate with the grand attempt to break out of Paris which had been planned for the 19th, Faidherbe advanced for the third time, and took up his position at St. Quentin with 50,000 or 60,000 men. With about 30,000 General Göben advanced to the attack on the 19th, and after a seven hours' fight drove the French out of all their positions, taking six guns and 10,000 prisoners. The enemy fled to Cambrai in a state of utter disorganization, and for several weeks Faidherbe was as little capable of any farther action as Chanzy.

A third French army appeared in the east. There, after the capitulation of Strasburg, General Schmeling, with a reserve division, had reduced the fortresses of Schlettstadt and Neu-Breisach on the 24th of October and the 10th of November respectively; and on the 3d of November General Tresckow, with another reserve division, had invested the strong fortress of Belfort, the key to the southern Vosges. These two divisions, with a third which was formed later, belonged to the 14th corps, commanded by Werder. That general left Strasburg in October with the Badish division and the troops under General von der Goltz's command, marched across the Vosges to Epinal and Vesoul, the monotony

of the road being varied by daily fights, and on the 22d, at Etuz, defeated Cambriels and drove him back to Besançon. Beyer, the commander of the Badish division, was despatched against Dijon. After a sharp fight and a short bombardment the city capitulated on the 31st, and in November the whole of Werder's corps assembled at that place. Garibaldi, possessed of a republican devil, had arrived in Tours on the 9th of October, and had been appointed by Gambetta commander of the volunteers of the Vosges. With a motley army of 20,000 men he advanced from Autun against Werder's position at Dijon, only to be defeated at Pasques on the 26th and 27th of November. On the 18th of December General Cremer's division, which was advancing against Dijon, was put to flight at Nuits by a part of the Badish troops under General Glümer, while General von der Goltz drove some other hostile detachments into the fortress of Langres. On the 30th of December, learning that large bodies of troops were assembling between Lyons and Besançon for the purpose of making a powerful demonstration in the direction of Belfort, Werder evacuated Dijon and took up a position at Vesoul. Against his little army, consisting of 33,278 infantry and 4020 cavalry, with 120 field-guns, Bourbaki was advancing with about 150,000 men. Commissioned by Gambetta to make a diversion on a grand scale in the rear of the German main army, in the middle of December he had brought his three army corps from Nevers to Besançon, and added to these a fourth corps from Lyons and the division under Cremer's command. His plan was to overwhelm Werder's corps by force of numbers, relieve Belfort, march into Alsace, sever the communications of the German armies with their base of supplies, and undertake a campaign of revenge in south Germany. The danger for the besiegers at Belfort and for the communications of the army of investment before Paris was no small one. Apprised by Werder of the situation, Moltke at once ordered the formation of a southern army, consisting of the 2d, 7th, and 14th corps, and conferred the command on Manteuffel, who received his instructions in Versailles by word of mouth on the 10th of January. The 2d and 7th corps, which had been stationed at Montargis and Auxerre, at once left those positions, and met at Chatillon, on the Seine, on the 12th.

As soon as Werder knew that Bourbaki's immediate aim was Belfort and not Vesoul, he evacuated the latter place, and, delay-

ing Bourbaki's march by an attack at Villersexel on the 9th, succeeded in gaining the famous defensive position south-west of Belfort before the arrival of the French. Here he strengthened his forces by bringing up 10,000 men and thirty-seven siege guns from the army of investment before the fortress of Belfort. His lines of defence, strengthened in front by the Lisaine and the swampy valley of the Allaine, extended from Frahier through Hericourt and Montbeliard to Delle, on the Swiss frontier. To carry this position and force a passage to Belfort it would be necessary to cut down Werder's corps to a man, for the German soldiers, appreciating the threatening danger, were resolved to frustrate the accomplishment of Bourbaki's purpose at any cost. Leaving out of consideration the fourfold numerical superiority of the enemy, the external difficulties to be contended with were great, for the supply of provisions was scanty, and the cold reached 17° R. (10° F.), so that the Lisaine froze over, thus affording the enemy a natural bridge; but the strong sense of duty of the German soldiers surmounted every obstacle. Bourbaki did not understand how to make a proper use of his superior numbers, and either break through the German centre or turn the weak right wing. In the three days' battle of Hericourt or Belfort, January 15th, 16th, and 17th, all his assaults were repulsed. He only succeeded in taking the weakly garrisoned village of Chenebier, which he was obliged to evacuate again after a few hours. On the 18th, learning of Manteuffel's approach, he beat a retreat. The losses of the French in the battle and on the retreat reached six or eight thousand, in addition to which 2000 were taken prisoners. On the 19th Werder set out in pursuit of the foe. It was Bourbaki's object to retreat to Besançon, and thence to Lyons; but there was need of considerable haste, in order to prevent the consummation of his plans.

General Manteuffel, who had assumed the command of the southern army in Chatillon on the 12th of January, set out by forced marches toward Belfort on the 20th. He passed through the mountainous region of the Côte d'Or, and from there between the fortresses of Langres and Dijon, without any interference on the part of Garibaldi, who, after Werder's departure, had taken possession of Dijon with 25,000 men. On the news of Bourbaki's retreat he turned south-east, in order with his two corps (44,950 infantry and 2866 cavalry, with 168 guns) to block the

road to Lyons, and leave the French general no other choice than to venture a battle with his demoralized troops, to surrender without a battle, or to take refuge in Swiss territory. January 23d the road to Lyons was occupied, and the first engagements with Bourbaki's troops took place, the 2d and 7th corps moving up from the south and west, and the 14th pressing down from the north. The only exit was toward the east. In Besançon, on the 26th, Bourbaki in despair made an attempt at suicide. At the same time a telegram arrived from Gambetta removing him from the command of the eastern army, and appointing General Clinchant in his stead. But he also was unable to carry out Gambetta's wish that the army should retreat southward, and was obliged to retire to Pontarlier. Here he endeavored to save himself by means of the armistice which had been concluded in Versailles, but it turned out that the eastern armies were not included. The final catastrophe could be no longer postponed. On the 1st of February the last pass toward the south on the Swiss frontier was occupied, Pontarlier was carried by assault, and the French retreated to Neuchâtel, pursued by the enemy as far as the two border forts of La Cluse. Ninety thousand three hundred and fourteen men and 11,787 horses entered Swiss territory at the border town of Verrières, where the men were disarmed and distributed among the various cantons. In the last few days the Germans had taken 15,000 prisoners, and captured twenty-eight cannon and *mitrailleuses*, together with a large quantity of wagons and arms. In the mean time Garibaldi had been held in check by General Kettler with 6000 men. On the news that larger bodies of Germans were approaching, he evacuated Dijon and retired southward. Shortly after he laid down his command, and returned to his island home in Caprera. The fortress of Belfort, which was defended by Colonel Denfert, had been enabled to hold out so long by the favorable nature of the country. A former attack on the forts of upper and lower Perche had failed; but on the 8th of February they fell into the enemy's hands, rendering it impossible for the fortress to hold out much longer; and, King William consenting to an extension of the armistice only on condition of the surrender of Belfort, the garrison, still 12,000 strong, marched out on the 18th of February with military honors, and Tresckow's division took possession. Other fortresses, like Soissons, Verdun, Diedenhofen (Thionville), Pfalz-

burg, and Montmedy, had surrendered in 1870. Only the fortress of Bitsch remained in the hands of the French until the 26th of March, 1871.

In the mean time the Parisian garrison had not been inactive. A grand attempt to break through the lines was arranged with Gambetta for the 30th of November. General Ducrot, with about 50,000 men, was to break through the line of investment on the east, march to Fontainebleau, form a junction there with the army of the Loire, and, in concert with that army, raise the siege of Paris. While demonstrations were made in other directions, Ducrot directed his attack against Champigny and Brie, on the Marne, driving the Würtembergers and an incomplete Saxon division out of those villages, but was unable to advance farther, owing to the obstinate resistance of the German troops. December 2d the Würtemberg and Saxon divisions, supported by the 2d corps and one brigade of the 6th, under the command of Fransecky, again advanced to the attack, and, after severe fighting, retook one-half of Champigny. In the night of the 3d the French evacuated Brie and the other half of Champigny, and fell back to the right bank of the Marne. The German loss in the two battles was 232 officers and 4868 men, while the French lost 10,000 men, including 1600 prisoners. The sorties of December 21st and 22d against Stains and Le Bourget were also repulsed. On the 29th, after a two days' bombardment, Mont Avron, with its heavy guns, was abandoned by the French and occupied by the Saxons; and at the same time the bombardment of the eastern forts began. January 5th, after the arrival of the siege park, fire was opened against the southern forts, the guns of which were soon silenced; and on the 8th the bombardment of the city began. In this bombardment the left bank of the Seine suffered most, though even there the damage done was not very serious. The restlessness and discontent in Paris increased. New sorties were demanded; and accordingly unsuccessful attacks on the German lines were made on the 10th, 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th of January. It was thought that a monster sally of at least 100,000 men directed against a single army corps must succeed in forcing a passage. Such a sally was undertaken on the 19th of January on the side toward Versailles. After an obstinate battle with the 5th corps, under General Kirchbach, between Mont Valerien and St. Cloud—the latter of which had been set

on fire by shells from the defenders' guns—the French were utterly defeated, with a loss of 6000 men.

The destruction of the various armies of relief left Paris nothing to hope from without, and the ill-success of the various sallies had conclusively demonstrated the inability of the capital to raise the siege unassisted. After the last failure Trochu, who had long been convinced of the futility of such attempts, laid down his office, and was succeeded by General Vinoy. A new uprising of the social-democrats on the 22d of January was put down with difficulty. The provisions, consisting of bad bread and horse-flesh, were sufficient for not more than fourteen days; after that no one would be able to restrain the hungry masses from acts of desperation. It was necessary to act at once, and so on the evening of the 23d Favre appeared at Versailles to offer Count Bismarck the capitulation of Paris, on condition that the regular troops, retaining their arms, should be allowed to march out of the city and retire behind the Loire. These terms were not accepted, and after some farther negotiations the convention of Paris was finally concluded on the 28th of January. This granted an armistice of three weeks, in which the eastern departments, where Bourbaki's army was at that very moment being driven to its destruction, were not included. During the armistice a National Assembly was to be elected to decide upon the question of peace or war. All the Parisian forts and material of war were surrendered to the Germans; the garrison of Paris and the forts became prisoners of war, and were obliged to give up their arms, but remained in Paris, and were maintained at the expense of the authorities there. One division of 12,000 men, however, was to retain its weapons for the preservation of order, and, against Moltke's will, at Favre's urgent wish—which he later bitterly repented—a similar exception was made in the case of the National Guards. The city of Paris was to pay a contribution of 200,000,000 francs within fourteen days, and the French were allowed to provision the city. On the 29th the surrender of the twenty-five larger and smaller forts to the Germans took place, and the black, white, and red colors of their new masters were raised in triumph.

This convention was very unwelcome to Gambetta; nevertheless he had hopes that the respite of three weeks might be turned to account for the purpose of putting new armies in the field, and

he farther hoped by influencing the elections to be able to return a radical National Assembly resolved on a war *à outrance.* With this end in view he published on the 31st of January a proscription list, declaring ineligible for election all who had accepted any higher office at the hands of the empire, or had been official candidates under that *régime.* Both Bismarck and the government at Paris protested energetically against such despotism, and insisted upon free elections. Finding himself unsupported by the other members of the Bordeaux government, Gambetta resigned on the 6th of February. The elections took place everywhere on the 8th, and on the 12th the National Assembly was opened in Bordeaux. On the 17th Thiers was elected chief of the executive department, on the 19th he formed his ministry, and on the 21st, accompanied by ministers Favre and Picard, he repaired to Versailles, commissioned by the National Assembly to open negotiations for a peace. The French representatives felt that they must make up their minds to the loss of Alsace with Strasburg; but the cession of Metz and Belfort seemed to them, with their weak memory for the terms Napoleon had been wont to impose, too severe for acceptance. It was not until the war indemnity had been reduced to five milliards, and the restoration of Belfort to France agreed upon, that the negotiations again advanced. On the 26th of February the preliminaries of peace were signed. Thiers at once returned to Bordeaux, and laid the treaty before the Assembly, which adopted it, by a vote of 546 to 107, on the 1st of March. Favre then brought the document to Versailles, where it was signed by King William on the 2d.

By this preliminary treaty France ceded to the German empire Alsace and part of Lorraine, with Strasburg, Metz, and Diedenhofen (Thionville), and pledged herself to pay a war indemnity of five milliard francs, of which at least one milliard was to be paid in 1871, and the rest within three years. The evacuation of French territory was to keep even pace with the payment of the indemnity, in such a way that after the payment of two milliards only six departments, together with Belfort, were to be occupied by 50,000 Germans, as security for the remaining three milliards. The western part of Paris was to be occupied by 30,000 Germans until the treaty was accepted by the National Assembly. The Parisians were to be compelled to see the German soldiers as victors within their walls that their fantastic no-

tions of the inviolability and invincibility of their "holy" city might be dispelled. March 1st the 30,000 men were first reviewed by King William, and then marched into Paris. Seventy thousand men were held in reserve, and the cannons of the forts were all trained on the city. Any resistance would have been punished in the most summary manner. On the 2d of March thousands of soldiers, armed only with their side-arms, were led into the city by their officers and shown a few points of interest. The population remained quiet; but after the withdrawal of the troops on the following day the pent-up noise and abuse broke out. According to the terms of the treaty of Versailles, the southern forts and some of the western and southern departments were at once vacated, but the northern and eastern forts remained in the possession of the Germans until the payment of the first half-milliard, and the line from Rouen to Dijon was maintained unbroken. The head-quarters at Versailles were abandoned on the 7th of March, and on the 17th the King of Prussia was in his own capital again. From the actual commencement of hostilities to the conclusion of the armistice the war had lasted 180 days. During that time the German armies had been engaged in 159 actions of all sorts, had won fifteen considerable battles, taken twenty-six fortified places, shut three armies up in fortresses and compelled them to surrender, forced a fourth to take refuge in Switzerland, captured and carried to Germany 11,650 officers and 363,000 men, and held 100,000 more prisoners in Paris. Besides this, there had fallen into their hands 6700 cannon, 120 eagles and colors, and a vast amount of military stores. The total loss of all the German armies had been 4990 officers (1165 dead, 3795 wounded, and thirty missing), and 112,041 non-commissioned officers and private soldiers (18,132 dead, 87,742 wounded, and 6145 missing). At the end of the campaign a German force of 569,875 foot and 63,465 horse, with 1742 guns, stood on French soil. If officers, officials, pioneers, camp followers, and the like be reckoned in, it may be estimated that on the 1st of March, 1871, there were in France about 1,000,000 Germans, either soldiers or in some way connected with the army. In addition to this, there were still 250,000 troops in Germany as reserve forces or in garrison service.

The negotiations with reference to a definitive peace were opened in Brussels on the 28th of March. The French repre-

sentatives, however, put such difficulties in the way of the execution of the treaty of Versailles, especially the financial articles, that the negotiations finally came to a stand-still. In Berlin there was some talk of reopening hostilities; and the return of the French prisoners, who were so necessary for the suppression of the Commune, was stopped. At last the French government was brought to an appreciation of the serious nature of the situation. The Brussels conference was dissolved, and on the 6th of May the French ministers Favre and Pouyer-Quertier had a meeting with Bismarck in Frankfort. This time the negotiations progressed favorably, and on the 10th of May the treaty of peace was signed. This provided for a border-line more in accordance with the nationality of the inhabitants, shortened the limits of payment for the first two milliards, and prolonged the time of occupation in certain districts. An additional article transferred the ownership of the French eastern railroad, in Alsace and Lorraine, to Germany on payment of 350,000,000 francs. With this last act, which was played in Bismarck's temporary head-quarters, at the sign of the Swan, in Frankfort, the curtain at length fell on the Franco-Prussian war.

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§ 26.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE AND THE HOHENZOLLERN IMPERIAL HOUSE.

Not least among the motives which had induced French statesmen to favor the unfortunate war of 1870 was the desire to prevent the formation of a strong German nation through the union of the southern states with the North German Confederation. For that very reason—because a foe so dreaded that union, and sought to put all possible hinderances in the way of its attainment—it became the goal of each true Teuton's efforts. In military matters Germany had entered upon the war as a unit, she must come out of it a unit in political affairs. This was the opinion of thousands on the first news of victory, and Sedan confirmed all waverers. August 30th, 1870, a popular assembly in Berlin appealed to the German people to unite in an address to the King of Prussia demanding rejection of all interference from foreign countries, and the formation of a German empire includ-

ing in its limits Alsace and Lorraine. The address received at once thousands of signatures. Popular assemblies in Munich and Stuttgart, on September 1st and 3d, gave expression to the same sentiment. The south German governments were unable to resist the stream of public opinion. On the 2d of September the Baden cabinet addressed a communication to Bismarck favoring the accession of south Germany to the North German Confederation, and the increase of the powers of the central government in regard to military and diplomatic affairs. In their answers to the addresses which had been presented to them, the Bavarian and Würtemberg governments gave assurances of the speedy conclusion of a constitutional alliance. At the wish of the Bavarian ministry, Bismarck directed Minister Delbrück to return from Versailles to Berlin by way of Munich. He arrived in the Bavarian capital on the 20th of September, and informed the ministers that, while he had no proposals of his own to make, he should be glad to listen to any wishes or propositions they might have to communicate. They accordingly designated eighty points in which they wished for alterations in the existing constitution of the North German Confederation, and an exceptional position for Bavaria. They specially insisted upon an independent administration of the army, dispensation from contributing toward the maintenance of a fleet, their own special legislation with regard to the administration of justice in Bavaria, control of their own railroads, canals, and other media of intercourse; peculiar privileges in the *Bundesrath*, right of absolute veto in all matters involving a change of the constitution, and participation in the direction of the foreign policy. This would have admitted, it is true, of a sort of constitutional alliance, but one very loosely bound together. Upon what Bavaria could found her claims to such a privileged and exceptional position it would be hard to say. The Würtemberg minister, von Mittnacht, was also present at these conferences.

It became evident that it would be necessary to begin the work of forming a satisfactory constitution for all Germany with states more amenable than Bavaria. Accordingly, Bismarck invited the governments of Würtemberg, Baden, and Hesse to send plenipotentiaries to Versailles, communicating the fact to the Bavarian ministers and leaving it to their own discretion whether they would themselves take part, or simply await the result in the case

of the three other states, and after that resume the negotiations which had already been begun at Munich. To avoid isolation, the Bavarian ministers von Bray, von Lutz, and von Pranckh set out for Versailles on the 20th of October. Ministers von Mittnacht and von Succow appeared from Würtemberg, von Jolly and von Freydorff from Baden, and von Dalwigk from Hesse. The Prussian ministers von Delbrück and von Roon, who had the general direction of the negotiations, refused the Bavarian demand of the right of absolute veto in matters involving a change of constitution, although ready to make concessions in other directions. A conference with the plenipotentiaries of Würtemberg, Baden, and Hesse on the 6th of November seemed to promise a speedy settlement with those states, when, on the 13th, a telegram to the Würtemberg delegates, which remains a mystery to this day, disturbed the negotiations and led to the immediate departure of the Würtembergers for Stuttgart. On the 15th a treaty was concluded with Baden and Hesse, on the 23d with Bavaria, and on the 25th, in Berlin, with Würtemberg. Baden and Hesse reserved no rights, accepting the constitution of the North German Confederation unchanged. According to the military convention with Baden, its contingent formed a constituent part of the Prussian army, being united with three Prussian regiments to form the 14th army corps—commanded by General Werder. The Hessian division was incorporated in the 11th corps. Würtemberg retained the special administration of its own post, telegraphs and railroads, and, like Baden and Bavaria, set its own taxes, regulated at its own pleasure, on beer and distilled liquors. The Würtemberg contingent was to be developed into a full army corps and enter the German army as corps No. 13. Bavaria retained her own diplomatic service, the administration of her own army, postal communications, telegraph lines and railroads, and was not affected by the laws of the confederation regulating domiciliary rights and the like. It was stipulated that the Bavarian members of the *Bundesrath*, in connection with the plenipotentiaries of Saxony and Würtemberg, should form a "diplomatic committee," under Bavaria's presidency, and that the veto of fourteen votes — which is the number of the united votes of Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Saxony—should render any change of constitution impossible. The Bavarian army was to be organized according to the requirements

of the constitution of the North German Confederation, and to the commander-in-chief of the confederation was given the right to direct the mobilization and inspection of the Bavarian contingent.*

* By the constitution of April 16th, 1871, the following states were united in the German Empire:

Status of States.	Population in 1875.	No. of votes in *Bundesrath.*
Prussia, with Lauenburg	25,742,404	17
Bavaria (kingdom)	5,022,390	6
Saxony (kingdom)	2,760,586	4
Würtemberg (kingdom)	1,881,505	4
Baden (grand-duchy)	1,507,179	3
Hesse (grand-duchy)	884,218	3
Mecklenburg-Schwerin (grand-duchy)	553,785	2
Saxe-Weimar (grand-duchy)	292,933	1
Mecklenburg-Strelitz (grand-duchy)	95,673	1
Oldenburg (grand-duchy)	319,314	1
Brunswick (duchy)	327,493	2
Saxe-Meiningen (duchy)	194,494	1
Saxe-Altenburg (duchy)	145,844	1
Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (duchy)	182,599	1
Anhalt (duchy)	213,565	1
Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt (principality)	76,676	1
Schwarzburg-Sondershausen (principality)	67,480	1
Waldeck (principality)	54,743	1
Reuss, older line (principality)	46,985	1
Reuss, younger line (principality)	92,375	1
Schaumburg-Lippe (principality)	33,133	1
Lippe (principality)	112,452	1
Lübeck (free city)	56,912	1
Bremen (free city)	142,200	1
Hamburg (free city)	388,618	1
Total	41,195,556	58

The total number of votes in the *Bundesrath* is accordingly fifty-eight, arranged, as in the United States Senate, in such a manner that the representatives of an actual minority may outvote the majority. The delegates to the *Bundesrath* represent their respective governments, and not the people; and, although each government may, if it so desire, have as many delegates as it has votes, all the votes of each government must be cast as a unit. In matters which do not concern the whole empire only those states vote which are actually affected. In general the *Bundesrath* prepares beforehand the work which is to be laid before the *Reichstag* at each session, and in laying its measures before the lower house it may explain or defend them upon the floor of that house. Furthermore, the members of the *Bundesrath*, as representatives of their respective governments, may at any time claim the right to be heard in the *Reichstag*. The members of the latter are representatives of the people, elected by direct vote on the basis of universal suffrage. By the constitution of 1871 the *Reichstag* was to consist of 382 members (in 1874 fifteen were added from Alsace and Lorraine)—forty-eight from Bavaria, seventeen from Würtemberg, fourteen from Baden, six from southern Hesse, and the remainder from the former North German Confederation. By comparing these numbers with the numbers of the delegates to the former customs' par-

Objectionable as were many of the provisions of the Versailles treaties, especially the concessions to Bavaria, it must nevertheless be admitted that the unity of Germany, purchased by the sacrifice of a few paragraphs in the constitution, was vastly better than the integrity of the constitution at the expense of Bavaria's exclusion. In consideration of the many and important ties which united Bavaria to the German Empire, the comparatively trivial matters in which it still held aloof might be overlooked, especially as it was to be expected that of these Bavarian reserved rights many would, in course of time, be modified or altogether done away with by the attrition of the *Bundesrath* and *Reichstag*. It was in this belief that the Versailles treaties received the approbation of the North German *Reichstag*, on the 9th of December. Before the close of the same month they had received the consent of the Badish, Hessian, and Würtemberg parliaments. In the last-named state the ministry had taken advantage of the opportunity to rid itself of the troublesome democratic chamber by a dissolution on the 22d of October. December 5th new elections were ordered, which resulted for the most part in favor of the national parties. The situation in Bavaria was not so satisfactory, and not alone was a decision regarding the treaty needlessly and unseemingly delayed, but its very acceptance seemed a matter of serious uncertainty. If the Bavarian ministers had followed the example of their Würtemberg neighbors and dissolved the lower house, with its anti-national majority, there is no doubt, in view of the patriotic sentiments inspired by the events of the war and its successful prosecution, that the new elections would have resulted in a strong majority of national and liberal delegates; but this was a result which the ministry appeared to dread rather than to wish for. The upper house confirmed the Versailles treaty, on the 30th of December, by a majority of thirty-seven to three. On the 15th of the same month the lower house had consigned the matter to the consideration of a committee, which, at the motion of its chairman, the inevitable Jörg, resolved

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liament it will be seen that in the new *Bundesrath* and *Reichstag* we have the customs' parliament with extended powers. In the new constitution the right of veto exercised, according to the constitution of the North German Confederation, by Prussia as presiding power against a majority of both houses in favor of the maintenance of the *status quo*, was slightly but not materially modified.—*Translator's note.*

to recommend the rejection of the treaty. The debate on this recommendation began on the 11th of January, and lasted through ten sittings. The ministers and the leaders of the party of progress exerted all their powers in behalf of the treaty, and even members of the Patriot party, carried along by the national current, spoke on the same side; nevertheless it was a matter of great difficulty to secure the requisite two-thirds majority. The vote resulted in 102 voices in favor of acceptance and forty-eight against, and the last stone in the structure of the German Empire was finally set in place. At Versailles it had been considered superfluous to await the result of the Bavarian vote, and on the 1st of January, 1871, the establishment of the German Empire had already been officially proclaimed.

In another matter Bavaria took the initiative. With the approbation of all the German governments, King Louis II. of Bavaria tendered to the King of Prussia, as head ruler of the new German state, the title of German Emperor. At the banquet in Versailles, on the 1st of January, 1871, the Grand-duke of Baden reminded King William of the now prophetic words of his brother, Frederic William IV.: "An imperial throne can only be won on the battle-field." The solemn proclamation of the empire took place in the great mirror-hall, in the palace at Versailles, at mid-day of the 18th of January. Count Bismarck read before the numerous royal princes, independent potentates, generals, ministers, and regimental deputations present at the ceremony the proclamation of Emperor William I. to the German people. The victories which had just been or were just about to be won —Le Mans on the 12th, Belfort on the 17th, St. Quentin and Mont Valerien on the 19th, the capitulation of Paris on the 28th, and the flight of Bourbaki's army into Switzerland on the 1st of February—surrounded like gigantic monuments the day of this assumption of imperial dignity, and never was an emperor created under circumstances more imposing.

March 21st, 1871, the emperor opened the first German *Reichstag* with a speech from the throne expressive of his pleasure that "we have reached that which since the time of our fathers has been the object of effort for Germany—unity and the organic expression of that unity, the security of our boundaries, and the independent development of our laws." At the same time he emphatically affirmed that the German empire, far from cherish-

ing any love of conquest or any lust of intervention, would form an empire of peace in the centre of Europe, neither interfering in the affairs of other states nor enduring any interference in its own; not assuming the offensive without just provocation, but ready on all occasions to defend its own rights. On the same day Count Bismarck, the imperial chancellor, to whose strong and prudent guidance the re-establishment of the German Empire was principally due, was raised to the rank of prince. The elections for the *Reichstag* had taken place on the 3d of March, and an exceptionally large number of votes had been polled. Even in south Germany the results were favorable for the national party. Of the 382 delegates the government could count on the support of a large majority. As members of variously designated parties—National-liberals, German *Reichs*-party, Liberal *Reichs*-party—Germany's best men stood fast for the policy of Emperor William and his great chancellor. It is worthy of note that in north Germany, which had sent only eight Clerical delegates to the last *Reichstag*, thirty-six members of that party were elected in 1871. These, with the twenty Clericals from south Germany, fifty-six in all—and for all measures of disloyal opposition they were sure, furthermore, of the assistance of the Polish irreconcilables—constituted the Roman Catholic centre. February 17th some members of this party had sent the emperor an address at Versailles praying him to make use of the whole power of the new empire for the restoration of the temporal dominion of the Pope, and offering the government in that event the support of the Clericals. It was astonishingly näive to request the Protestant emperor of an empire for the most part Protestant to break a diplomatic lance in behalf of the temporal dominion of the Pope, the existence of which in Europe had been no less a disgrace than the existence of the Turkish empire; or, in case diplomacy were not enough, to set his martial spear in rest and undertake a mediæval crusade for the rescue this time of the "eternal city," to drive Victor Emmanuel's soldiers out of Rome and the States of the Church, and put 100,000 sentries at the Pope's most holy disposal. It betrayed on the part of the Clericals a scornful disregard of all rational politics, to offer their support at such a price as this; and that support, furthermore, was sure sooner or later to lead directly to Canossa. That the government rejected all such crazy fantasies, and sought its support-

ers among the National-liberals instead, brought upon it and the national policy the deadly hostility of the Clericals, under the direction of their Jesuitic leaders in the Vatican, and we shall soon have occasion to see how that hostility displayed itself in attacks upon every measure looking toward national unity.

Under such circumstances the members of the national parties in the *Reichstag* deemed it advisable to insert in the address a distinct declaration to the effect that the new German Empire of 1871 was not to be the same as that of the Middle Ages. "The days of interference in the internal affairs of other peoples will not, we hope, return under any pretext or in any form." Bennigsen defended the address in the most able manner; and, notwithstanding the attacks of Reichensperger, Windthorst, and Bishop Ketteler, it was adopted, on the 30th of March, by a vote of 243 to 63, and the counter-address rejected. Thereupon the Clericals moved the adoption into the imperial constitution of the so-called fundamental rights of the Prussian constitution—freedom of the Press, right of association, and complete independence of the Church. As every one understood that their object was to acquire freedom of the Press only for the benefit of the Clerical Press, the right of association only for the use of religious orders, and ecclesiastical independence only for the advantage of the Roman Catholic Church, and for the support of the bishops in their disobedience to the laws of the state, the bill was rejected on the 4th of April, after a three days' debate, by a vote of 223 to 54. At the suggestion of the government 240,000,000 thalers were appropriated from the war indemnity for sick and wounded soldiers, 4,000,000 for needy members of the reserve and *landwehr*, and 4,000,000 for donations to deserving generals and statesmen. These latter were divided into four categories, to which were assigned sums of 300,000, 200,000, 150,000, and 100,000 thalers respectively. Prince Frederic Charles, Minister of War Roon, and General Manteuffel were in the first, and Generals Göben and Werder, and Minister of State Delbrück in the second. Prince Bismarck received as a gift from the emperor estates in Schwarzenbeck, duchy of Lauenburg, valued at 1,000,000 thalers. The regained provinces of Alsace and Lorraine were not united with Prussia, as some wished, but, in accordance with a bill brought in by the government, were to be for the present administered provisionally as special territory of the empire, the imperial con-

stitution not to come in force until the 1st of January, 1874; and in the mean time the emperor to frame the laws in concert with the *Bundesrath*, and in all other matters the government to be directed by the emperor alone. This bill was passed on the 3d of June by a large majority, only so far amended that the period of probation was shortened by one year; but on the 20th of June, 1872, the imperial dictatorship was prolonged to the date originally proposed, the majority not regarding the new provinces as yet sufficiently ripe for the imperial constitution. On the 15th of June the *Reichstag* was closed, and on the 16th the triumphal entry into Berlin of a part of the returning army took place. The procession consisted of 40,000 men—the Guards, a battalion of the royal grenadier regiment, and deputations from all the various divisions of the German army—and a more brilliant procession Berlin has never seen. On the same day Roon was made count, and Moltke field-marshal-general.

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§ 27.

THE COMMUNE AND FRANCE.

As soon as the German troops had evacuated the southern forts the National Assembly removed from Bordeaux to Versailles, where it held its first sitting on the 20th of March, 1871. The Parisians took this slight to the capital very ill, but at the same time felt themselves so much the more unrestrained in the execution of their political and social plans. The social-democrats, who had been so often frustrated, thought that their opportunity had come at last, and allied themselves with the *Internationale*, a society having its head-quarters in London, which recognized no marriage and no right of inheritance, seeking to pull down all the pillars of human society—family, community, state, religion, property—and remodel the whole world by a merciless system of levelling. These were the men who ruled the laboring classes of Paris and the national guards of the faubourgs Belleville, Montmartre, Montrouge, etc. On the 27th of February the national guards had carried off twenty-seven cannon, under pretence of rescuing them from the Prussians. After the withdrawal

of the German troops they took many more—417 in all—and planted them on Montmartre, thus converting it into a genuine fortress. At the same time they spoke of a "Central Committee of the National Guards," to whose commands alone they rendered obedience. They demanded the continuance of the payment of the one and a half francs a day which they had received during the siege, and the right to choose their own officers and their own general. Farther than this, they refused to tolerate the presence in Paris of any other military commanders than those appointed by the municipality. This meant the abolition of the national government, the erection of Paris into a free city, and the abandonment of the inhabitants to the mercies of socialistic and communistic fanatics. General Vinoy, wishing first of all to settle the "cannon question," occupied Montmartre in the night of March 17th; but at seven o'clock on the following morning the national guards advanced against him, his troops fraternized with the rebels, he himself was forced to withdraw to Versailles, and Generals Lecomte and Clément Thomas were captured and shot. The central committee of the combined national guards, headed by Assy, now assumed the government of Paris, and reduced the respectable portions of the community to submission by terrorism. By their direction elections for a common council or commune were held on the 26th of March. This body consisted of eighty members, among whom were Blanqui, Pyat, Flourens, Assy, and Delescluze. The Commune formed the regular government, but in addition to this the central committee still existed; while above both, as directing power, was the committee of the *Internationale*. But although successful in Paris the attempt to set up the Commune in the other large cities failed. The socialistic insurrections in Lyons, Marseilles, and other places were all put down; and Blanqui, who was acting as an emissary of the Parisian Commune, was arrested.

The Commune elected ten commissions for the administration of the various ministries, and set one delegate at the head of each. All who were capable of bearing arms were pressed into the ranks of the national guards, the pay of the soldiers was raised, their families received assistance, and in case of death pensions were to be secured to the survivors. It was the golden age of the proletariat. To get money to defray these expenses the Commune confiscated all church property, plundered the churches,

obtained from the Bank advances of several millions, forced loans from the insurance companies, and levied contributions on wealthy individuals. Socialistic sheets provided for the propagation of communistic principles among the people. Thiers believed that the crater would soon burn itself out, but the eruption proved more permanent than he had expected. The Commune on its part did not believe in the permanence of the Versailles government, and determined to pay Versailles a visit for the purpose of dispersing the National Assembly. With that end in view Cluseret headed two expeditions from Paris on the 2d and 3d of April, but his troops were repulsed by the national forces, and one of the leaders of the Commune, Flourens, fell in the fighting. These defeats increased the fury of the rebels, and on the 4th Archbishop Darboy, with a number of priests and other prominent men, was arrested and sent to Mazas, as security for the safety of the national guards captured in the recent encounters. Thiers's house was plundered and destroyed, the Column of Victory, on the Place Vendôme, thrown down, and an appeal issued to the French people to inspire them with enthusiasm for the "modern revolution, the most comprehensive and fruitful of all," by which the decentralization of France was to be effected through the separation of the united state into a number of municipal republics with unlimited self-government. [English and Americans, bred in the practice of local self-government, will feel in some degree a sympathy with this aspect of the Commune.] But the appeal had no effect, especially as the establishment of a committee of safety, consisting of five members, recalled the worst times of 1793 and 1794. The "Reign of Terror" was still more vividly brought to mind by the rapidity with which power changed hands and the fate of deposed leaders. The whole state of affairs in this particular was well illustrated by the words of Rossel, the third or fourth minister of war, offering his resignation: "I have the honor to beg for a cell in Mazas."

In April the Versailles troops, commanded by Marshal MacMahon, with Cissey, Douay, Vinoy, Ladmirault, and Clinchant as division commanders, advanced against Paris on the west and south. After several of the outside forts had been taken and the Parisians driven behind the walls, preparations were made for a combined attack upon the city. On the side of the insurgents Delescluze now stood at the head of the war department.

Incited by him, the Commune resolved, on the 20th of May, to drench all the public buildings and whole districts of the city with petroleum and set fire to them, before the entrance of the Versailles troops, that they might leave for the victors nothing but a heap of ruins. On the evening of May 21st the soldiers entered the city at an unguarded spot, pointed out to them at the risk of his life by a citizen named Jules Ducatel. The plan was to drive the rebels from the south-west toward the northern heights of Montmartre and Belleville, from which there was no mode of escape, as the northern forts were still in the hands of the Germans. The desperate struggle lasted from the 22d to the 28th, even women taking part and helping to kindle the petroleum fires. Numerous prisoners, including Archbishop Darboy, were shot by the communists. With the capture of Chaumont (May 28th), where Delescluze sought and found death on a barricade, the last post of the Commune was carried, and the city in the power of the Versailles government and its angry soldiers. Thousands of prisoners were taken, their number ultimately rising to 50,000. MacMahon's loss was 7514 men. Among the public buildings burnt by the Commune were the Tuileries, Palais-Royal, ministry of finance, ministry of justice, police headquarters, the City Hall, and several theatres. Some other buildings in which the combustibles had already been placed were rescued. Of the members of the Commune a number were taken, including Assy, Cluseret, Grousset, Rossel, and Rochefort. The trials of the prisoners lasted several months, and of the condemned some were shot, and some transported to New Caledonia or other distant places.

Not until the Commune was suppressed could the French government provide for an orderly and systematic administration of the country. It had before it at the outset two aims—to rid the land as soon as possible of the German troops, and to improve the army according to the Prussian pattern. As large sums of money were necessary for the attainment of both these aims, a great strain was put upon the taxable strength of the country. The result to be achieved by the increase of the army was, not the strengthening of the defensive power of the country—for a peaceful France had no assaults to fear—but a war of revenge against Germany. The lost military glory must be restored, and the ceded provinces regained, or compensation taken elsewhere—

perhaps in Belgium. All parties in France, monarchists as well as the most ultra-republicans, were animated by the same spirit, and voted sum after sum for military purposes, even offering the government more than it required. This longing for revenge was favorable to the plans of the Jesuits. Their hope in the year 1870 had been, by the help of the French empire, to overpower heretical Prussia, and render impossible the establishment of a united Germany under a Protestant emperor. Their hope now was to improve the national misfortune for clerical ends. With this aim in view, religious hymns with a political refrain were composed, in order to inflame the people against the Germans, while the possibility of revenge was made dependent on strict devotion and punctual observance of ordinary and extraordinary ecclesiastical forms. Shattered France was to be brought completely under the sway of the Jesuits; and in order to effect this, national and religious fanaticism was to receive constant encouragement, the reorganization of the army was to be completed with lightning rapidity, and, as soon as the general political condition of Europe afforded a favorable opportunity, a national and religious crusade against Germany undertaken. To attain this high result the Virgin Mary made a few personal appearances in France, the wonder-working springs of Lourdes were discovered, and processions of ten or twenty thousand persons organized, while the cultus of the Holy Heart of Jesus was carried to the verge of insanity. In the name of republican freedom the Jesuits demanded for the Roman Catholic Church, and for that alone, freedom of instruction and the right to establish "free universities." The state universities were to be completely set aside, and all who sought to make themselves a career obliged to pass through the Jesuitic institutions—and in 1875 the National Assembly was complaisant enough to accord the clergy these privileges.

For the payment of the first two milliards of the war-fine Thiers—named president of the French republic by the National Assembly, August 31st, 1871—contracted a loan of 2,500,000,000 francs in June of 1871, and for the payment of the remainder a farther loan of more than three milliards was contracted in July of the following year. When the subscription for the first of these two loans was opened seven and a half milliards were subscribed (two and a half in Paris), instead of the two and a half

required; while for the second loan subscriptions of forty-one milliards were offered. Allowing that all these subscriptions were not genuine, nevertheless the transaction testified in the most favorable way to the high credit of France. Through Thiers's efforts the German occupation—which had been in so far advantageous that it had forced a certain moderation upon contending parties, and led to the postponement of the more dangerous questions regarding the future form of government in France—was brought to a close sooner than had been expected at the conclusion of peace. According to an arrangement entered into on the 15th of March, 1873, the last quarter milliard of the war-fine was to be paid on the 5th of September of that year, and its payment was to be at once followed by the complete evacuation of French territory by the Germans. Accordingly on that day the remainder of the war indemnity changed hands, and the evacuation of Verdun, the last city in the possession of the invaders, began at once. On the 16th of September, 1873, the last German soldier crossed the French frontier. The army of occupation had won much praise by its exemplary discipline, as a reward for which General Manteuffel was raised to the rank of field-marshal-general on the 19th of the same month.

By the military law of July 28th, 1872, universal compulsory service was introduced; each Frenchman was to be liable to active service for five years; this was followed by four years in the reserve, five years in the "territorial army," and six years in its reserve. It amounted in practice to five years' active service for one part of the community, and six months' drill for the other. This law was complemented by the army organization law of July 24th, 1873, fixing the number of regiments and distributing them among eighteen army corps, and by the *cadre* law of March 13th, 1875. According to the provisions of the latter the companies were increased in size and decreased in number, the battalion *cadres* being strengthened in such a way that for every three already existing battalions a fourth was created, so that while previously the regiment consisted of three battalions, with a maximum strength on a war footing of 3000 men, regiments of four battalions were now formed, raising the maximum strength to 4000. The object of this measure appeared to be to form a frame into which in case of war considerable bodies of undrilled or comparatively undrilled men might be cast for immediate ser-

vice. By its passage the French infantry was made to consist of 641 battalions, 269 more than in 1870, and, on a peace footing, 171 more than the German army. This *cadre* law, together with the inflammatory articles in the Press of all parties, caused such a sensation, that in the spring of 1875 it was generally believed that war must ensue, and many held that Germany should declare war before these colossal preparations were completed; but the matter never reached in reality a more dangerous stage than that of diplomatic inquiries.

For the consolation of its military pride France sought to fasten the whole responsibility for the disgrace of the late war on Marshal Bazaine, who certainly had signed the capitulation of Metz at a very opportune moment for the Germans. He was accordingly court-martialed, and condemned to death on the 10th of December, 1873, but the sentence was commuted to twenty years' imprisonment. December 26th he was confined in a fort on the island of St. Marguerite, but escaped on the 10th of August, 1874, with the assistance of his wife, and took refuge in Spain.

The National Assembly, divided into parties which viewed one another with the most bitter hostility, developed very little legislative activity. On one side stood the three monarchical parties of the Legitimists, Orleanists (the decree of banishment against the two families Bourbon and Orleans had been repealed by the National Assembly, and the latter reinstated in the possession of the estates which had been confiscated by Napoleon in 1851), and Bonapartists, each one of which had its pretender to the throne; on the other the republicans—among whom Gambetta's influence was constantly on the increase—divided into a moderate and an extreme Left. Between the two stood a group of parliamentarians which would have been content with either of the two forms of government, provided only the constitutional system were adhered to. This was, at the outset, Thiers's position also. The monarchists were in the majority, but in the course of the next few years they lost considerable ground by the unfavorable result of supplementary elections; while they were so disunited among themselves that on the most important questions it several times occurred that one fraction of the Right voted with the Left, thus converting the majority into a minority. The "fusion"—*i. e.*, the amalgamation into a single party of the Legitimists and Orleanists—did not succeed. On the 5th of August,

1873, the Count of Paris paid Count Chambord a visit at Frohsdorf, and recognized him as the head of the family and the only representative of the monarchical principle in France; but as Count Chambord, in his letter of October 27th, 1873, demanded an unconditional recall, and would not bind himself beforehand either in the matter of the flag or the constitution, the Orleanists were obliged to give up the fusion, and the Count of Paris had compromised himself in vain. The monarchists became the more dissatisfied with Thiers the more pronounced the latter became in his preference of the actual republic to any one of the three possible monarchies. Thiers's protectionist leanings had already brought on a crisis in the beginning of the year 1872, but at that time the Assembly could not do without him; so that his resignation was not accepted, and he was able to carry out his own will against the majority—undoing about the only good work Napoleon had done. This little farce of resignation was re-enacted once or twice; but finally, in the reorganization of the ministry on the 18th of May, 1873, he disregarded the monarchical majority altogether, and recruited his cabinet only from the ranks of the moderate Left. The monarchists moved a vote of censure, which was carried on the 24th by a vote of 360 to 344. It is possible that Thiers would have done his country a service by usurping the right to dissolve the Assembly and appeal to the people; but he was not the man to resort to such a measure, and he and his ministers handed in their resignations. Somewhat to Thiers's surprise the resignations were accepted, and in the same sitting MacMahon was elected president of the republic. In order to strengthen the "Marshal-president's" position, his term of office was fixed at seven years (the *Septennat*). The Duke de Broglie was the head of the first ministry formed under the new president, but he did not long succeed in the difficult task of steering his way successfully between the opposing parties. An unfavorable vote on the electoral law compelled him to retire from office on the 16th of May, 1874, and on the 22d he was succeeded by Cissey, the minister of war. As the new cabinet seemed too favorably disposed toward the Bonapartists, and the only choice appeared to be between a republic and the third empire, the moderate Orleanists withdrew their support from the government, and a new majority was formed by a combination of the Left with the Right centre. Toward the end of 1872 a

committee of thirty had been appointed, to whom various questions with reference to a constitution were from time to time referred. Early in the year 1875 they were induced by MacMahon's message to recommend two chambers instead of one; and on the 30th of January, on the motion of Wallon, who was supported by the moderate Orleanists and the moderate republicans, against the recommendation of the committee of thirty, the *Septennat* was changed into a republic, with a president to be elected by the two houses in joint session. On the 10th of March a new ministry was formed, with Buffet as premier, most of the prominent members of which belonged to the Right centre.

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§ 28.

THE NEUTRAL STATES.

The completion of Italian unity was a direct result of the Franco-Prussian war. A French despatch of August 2d, 1870, informed the Italian government that France would withdraw her troops from the States of the Church, and recur to the September convention of 1864; to which the Italian cabinet at once replied that Italy would scrupulously adhere to the terms of that treaty. In Parliament the Left stormed the ministry with appeals to disregard the convention and occupy Rome. The ministers hesitated, but at the same time diligently prepared for action. Then came the news of the capitulation of Sedan and the establishment of the republic in Paris, and the government found itself no longer able to hold back. On the 6th of September the occupation of Rome was decided upon. This decision was duly communicated to foreign governments, and King Victor Emmanuel informed the Pope of his intentions in a personal letter. September 11th the Italian troops, under the command of General Cadorna, entered the States of the Church; on the 16th Civita Vecchia was occupied, and on the 20th the invaders stood before Rome itself. As the Papal general, Kanzler, refused to open the gates, a breach was made in the wall at Porta Pia by the cannon of the Italian troops, whereupon the Pope commanded the resistance to cease, and Cadorna entered the city amid the acclamations

of the delighted populace. The so-called Leonine city, together with the Vatican, was assigned to the Pope, and his troops were disarmed and disbanded. Pius issued letters of protestation, and fulminated excommunication against all who were concerned in the "robbery." On the 22d of September, at his special wish, inasmuch as he did not feel himself safe in the power of the people, Cadorna occupied the Leonine city also. The *plébiscite* of October 22d resulted in 133,681 votes in favor of annexation to the Italian monarchy, and 1507 against it. The newly-elected chamber confirmed the annexation, and decreed the transfer to Rome of the seat of government on the 30th of June. A guarantee law, defining the prerogatives of the Pope, and regulating the relations to one another of church and state, was passed in May of 1871, before Parliament left Florence. In accordance with this law the Pope retained all the rights and privileges of a sovereign, and received a yearly revenue of 3,225,000 francs. The next question is, Who will assume the responsibility in case the Pope commits any hostilities against foreign powers? In point of fact he is neither sovereign nor subject, but he cannot be brought to account by any foreign power; while inasmuch as the Italian government affords him unlimited protection, and does not restrain him from the commission of hostilities, it is constantly in danger of becoming involved in quarrels on his account.

By the 1st of July, 1871, Parliament and all the ministries were in Rome, and on the 2d the king made his entrance into the new capital, and took up his residence in the Quirinal. It was a proud moment for him when he saw the task of his lifetime accomplished, and all Italy finally united under his sceptre. Parliament willingly voted the money required to reorganize the army, strengthen the navy, and build fortifications. In 1873 a government measure abolishing cloisters, but assuring a revenue to the generals or heads of the various orders, was accepted by both houses. In July of the same year the Lanza-Sella ministry fell on a financial question, and was succeeded by that of Minghetti, which was taken from the ranks of the Right. The new elections of 1874 resulted in a majority for the government. Among those elected was Garibaldi, to whom the lower house voted a donation. He took part in the session of 1875, interesting himself especially in projects of general usefulness—the improvement of the Campagna, and a Tiber canal to guard against

inundations. The twenty-fifth anniversary of King Victor Emmanuel's elevation to the throne was celebrated through the whole length and breadth of the land on the 23d of March, 1874. The great achievements of his reign might be summed up in the words "from Novara to Rome"—a road which he had travelled in twenty-one years in the face of no common obstacles. Against the bandits in Sicily—whose operations, under the invisible guidance of the Maffia, had assumed formidable dimensions—the government was for a long time quite helpless. Severe measures raised a storm among the radical members of Parliament, and clemency only made the evil worse. In 1875 a committee of investigation was appointed to examine into the condition of affairs and propose to king and parliament a remedy. The attitude of the Pope was also unsatisfactory. Having protested against the guarantee law and the closing of the cloisters, and refused to accept the proffered revenue, he persisted in representing himself to the world as the "prisoner of the Vatican." On his account, furthermore, Italy's relations to France were somewhat clouded over. The French government constantly maintained a ship of war at Civita Vecchia for the Pope's use, in case at any time he desired to leave the eleven thousand rooms of his gorgeous prison.

In Spain another candidate had been found in place of Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. Marshal Prim persuaded the second son of the Italian sovereign, Amadeo, Duke of Aosta, to accept the throne; and on the 16th of November, 1870, the Cortes elected him king by a vote of 191 to 98. January 2d, 1871, the new king entered Madrid and took the oath to the constitution; but the king-maker, Prim, had already perished at the hands of assassins. Amadeo's government, under which Serrano was the first minister-president, was one continued scramble for office on the part of the regular monarchists, while the Carlists and republicans busied themselves in organizing insurrections in the north and south respectively. Serrano and Topete, Sagasta and Zorilla, gained and lost office with confusing rapidity. The king held fast to the constitution of 1869, but was bitterly hated by the powerful nobles and the clergy as a stranger and the son of Victor Emmanuel. He and his family were exposed to constant insults, until he was at length forced to the conclusion that the house of Savoy, Italy's pride, could not take root in a land where parties were more concerned to provide for their own in-

terests than for the welfare of their common country. Accordingly, on the 8th of February, 1873, after a reign of two years, he communicated to Zorilla, as minister-president, his irrevocable determination to lay down the crown. On the 11th he sent to the Cortes a message announcing his abdication, and on the following day left Madrid for Italy, where he was reinstated in his former position. On the receipt of the royal message of abdication the Cortes declared in favor of a republic; and on the day of the ex-king's departure a ministry was chosen to carry on the government, with Figueras as president, and Castelar as minister of foreign affairs. The programme of the new rulers was: a federative republic for Spain, with self-government of the individual states, after the pattern of Switzerland and the United States; no centralization; abolition of the standing army; absolute separation of church and state; proclamation of the rights of the individual on the basis of a democratic constitution and under the authority of the law. If these political fantasies were adopted into the new constitution Spain must cease to exist, and be replaced by a quantity of cantons, free cities, and communes, rent by repeated Parisian rebellions. The Cortes was disbanded, and a constituent Cortes summoned to meet on the 1st of June. On the 8th of June this body declared for the federative republic, and draughted a constitution embodying the above principles. But even this did not satisfy the so-called *Intransigentes*, who wished for the red republic and a social revolution. As they could not gain a majority for their views they seceded, and raised the red flag in the southern cities. Ministries and presidents followed one another in rapid succession. September 7th Castelar was chosen president of the executive. He found himself face to face with such a chaotic condition of affairs that he was obliged to condition his acceptance on the surrender to him of full power to adopt whatever measures, military or political, he deemed necessary, among which was included the declaration of a state of siege. The discussion of the proposed constitution was postponed, and the Cortes adjourned from the 18th of September to the 2d of January, 1874. Castelar, the enthusiastic federative republican—who had already, however, begun to understand the difference between theory and practice—had become a full-fledged dictator. A strong hand was needed; for in the north the Carlists—whose pretender, Don Carlos, together with his brother, Don

Alonzo, had appeared in person—were making alarming progress, while in the south several cities had set up communes and refused allegiance to the government; and, to enhance the difficulties of the situation, shameful insubordination prevailed in the army—soldiers fired on their own officers, and generals went over to the rebels. It was necessary to take the cities of Alcoy, Seville, Cadiz, and Valencia by force, while other places only returned to their obedience on the approach of the governmental troops. The resistance in the maritime fortress of Cartagena lasted longest. There General Contreras, at the head of a committee of safety, transacted diplomatic business with the foreign consuls under the title of *President of Murcia*, and even bombarded the neighboring ports of Almeria and Alicante, and laid them under contribution. But these piratical expeditions brought him into conflict with foreign war-vessels; and an energetic German captain, Werner, supported by an English colleague, took away from him two of his ships. Cartagena was finally beleaguered on the land side, and bombarded by the national troops under General Lopez-Dominguez. It was taken on the 12th of January, 1874, after a siege of four months; but Contreras, with the revolutionary junta and several hundred followers, escaped on a war-steamer, made his way through the weak blockading squadron, and reached Algiers in safety.

That Castelar had brought the federative republicans to reason with powder and lead, had intrusted conservative generals with commissions in the army, and had entered into negotiations with the Papal stool with reference to vacant bishoprics—all these things were unpardonable offences in the eyes of his former party associates, who had neither forgotten anything nor learned anything. On the reassembling of the Cortes, January 2d, 1874, its president, Salmeron, procured a vote of lack of confidence against Castelar's government, and Castelar accordingly resigned. Before farther action could be had, on the morning of the 3d, the Cortes was dispersed by Pavia, Captain-general of Madrid, and a military dictatorship set up under Marshal Serrano. Republican insurrections broke out in several cities, but were quickly put down, and larger forces were put in the field against the Carlists. The latter held the important fortress of Bilbao closely invested, and had made themselves masters of Portugalete, the port of that place. General Moriones had escaped annihilation

at their hands only by taking refuge on board ship, and when he again advanced to the relief of Bilbao from the west he was defeated at Sommorostro (February 24th, 1874), and obliged to retreat. Serrano, who bore the title *President of the executive power of the republic*, hurried to the spot in person. In the battles of March 25th and 26th he was unable to break through the strong positions of the Carlists at Sommorostro; but on the 28th of April, having in the mean time received re-enforcements, he renewed the attack, and on the 1st of May the enemy was obliged to abandon all his positions, raise the siege of Bilbao, and evacuate Portugalete. On the 25th of June General Concha, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of the army of the north, attacked Dorregaray, whose forces occupied a strongly fortified position on the heights of Estella, but was defeated after three days' fighting, and himself fell on the field. The Carlists neglected to make at once the proper strategical use of their victory, and were, furthermore, barbarous enough to shoot a number of their prisoners. Don Alonzo, the brother of the pretender, was no more civilized in his operations on the side toward Catalonia, where he captured the Castilian city of Cuenca on the 15th of July, and gave it over to plunder, fire, and sword. In the north the Carlist general Mendiri failed to take the fortress of Irun, and was defeated by Laserna on the 10th of November, 1874; but on the 9th of December he in his turn defeated General Loma and drove him back to San Sebastian. Serrano hurried once more to the scene of action, with the intention of putting himself at the head of four army corps, and by a general attack drive the enemy back to the French frontier, but some time elapsed before he could collect a force sufficient for the purpose.

Don Carlos's disregard of the laws of civilized warfare had raised up for Marshal Serrano unexpected allies. June 30th, 1874, the Spanish pretender had caused Schmidt, a quondam Prussian captain, who, while acting as correspondent of German papers in Concha's head-quarters at Estella, fell into the hands of the Carlists, to be shot, although he was not a combatant. This action, which set at defiance all the laws of civilized warfare—and in general their barbarous method of waging war—led Prince Bismarck to take diplomatic steps against the Carlists. The latter were supplied with funds by the Legitimists in France,

the feudalists in Austria, and the Jesuits in the Vatican. Bismarck now induced the other powers to accord Serrano official recognition, and exerted on the French government, which was affording the Carlists on its Pyrenean border every possible advantage, an indirect pressure, resulting in a better fulfilment by the latter of its neutral obligations. All the powers except Russia recognized Serrano's government by sending ambassadors to Madrid, where the German representative was received with marked attention on the 12th of September. Two German ships were also despatched to the Bay of Biscay, to protect the interests of German citizens, and prevent the smuggling in of contraband of war. But the insignificant character of the successes which Serrano was able to win against the Carlists brought about another revolution toward the close of the year 1874. In Murviedro, on the 29th day of December, General Martinez Campos, who, like most of the officers, was an adherent of the deposed Bourbon dynasty, proclaimed the son of ex-Queen Isabella, King Alphonso XII. of Spain. The army everywhere forthwith pronounced for Alphonso, Sagasta's ministry resigned, Serrano laid down the presidency and the chief command; a ministerial regency was formed, with Canovas del Castillos as its chief (December 31st), and Isabella, who was in Paris, was at once informed of the elevation of her son to the throne. Alphonso left Paris on the 6th of January, 1875, landed in Barcelona, entered Madrid on the 14th, and, although not quite eighteen years of age, at once assumed the reins of government. The inexperienced sovereign had a difficult position to maintain. The treasury was almost empty, while the war with the Carlists consumed vast sums with very small results; the intimate relations of the king to his god-father, Pope Pius, necessitated special delicacy of management in that direction, while the Papal nuntius demanded, in consideration of his support, the most comprehensive concessions, involving the restoration of the old intolerance and priestcraft, and, if possible, the Inquisition; at the same time the ex-queen, Isabella, whose shameless life had long since deprived her of all claims to respect, waited eagerly for her recall to Madrid. On all sides appeared dangerous rocks on which the new government threatened to go to shipwreck. In military affairs the capitulation of the fortress of Seo de Urgel, in the northern part of Catalonia, where the Carlist general Lizzaraga was in command (Au-

gust 27th, 1875), was the most important success of the first year of the young king's reign.

That which the federative republicans were endeavoring to accomplish in Spain—the separation of a centralized state into the greatest possible number of "historico-political individualities"—Francis Joseph and his new ministry were attempting to effect in Austria. The political vagaries of the Czechish Count Belcredi had scarcely been forgotten when another count was intrusted with the power to try the same dangerous experiments. February 4th, 1871, Potocki's ministry was dismissed, and Count Hohenwart named minister of the interior, and commissioned with the formation of a new "ministry independent of parties." He took into his cabinet two Czechs, members of the party of autonomy, and even gave one of them the portfolio of religion and instruction—something which had never before occurred in Austria; while he made Schäffle of Würtemberg—professor of political economy at Vienna, and well known for his hatred of Prussia—minister of commerce. This ministry made no secret of the fact that it proposed to grant Galicia and Bohemia, as well as the Slovenians and other nationalities, an independent position with relation to the federal state similar to that of Hungary. To carry these plans through the *Reichsrath*, Hohenwart dissolved the lower house, together with all those provincial parliaments which remained faithful to the constitution, and, in concert with the Czechish leaders, Rieger and Clam-Martinitz, drew up the outlines of the new constitution to be given to Bohemia. According to his plan the kingdom of Bohemia was to have nothing in common with the rest of Cisleithania but its relations to foreign powers, and a part of its military and financial affairs, which were to be settled by delegations from the different states in common; everything else—instruction, justice, taxation, police administration, railroads, and the like—was to be exclusively within the competence of the Bohemian parliament, and the separate existence of the kingdom was to be farther manifested by the coronation of the emperor with the holy crown of Wenceslaus. If this arrangement had been actually carried out, the 1,800,000 Germans who live among the 2,800,000 Czechs in Bohemia would have been reduced to the condition of pariahs. The excitement among all the Germans in Austria was intense. The state was again tottering on the verge of a precipice. Almost too late the

emperor's eyes were opened to the disastrous consequences of such an arrangement by his friend the Crown Prince of Saxony and his prime-minister, Beust. The Hungarian minister-president, Count Andrassy, who saw in this settlement with the Czechish Slavs nothing but danger for Hungary, with its 4,000,000 Slavs, opposed it in the council of ministers on the 20th of October, and it was at last rejected, whereupon Hohenwart handed in his resignation. Count Beust, who had warned the emperor too late, and thus compromised his position, was deprived of his office on the 8th of November and made ambassador in London, Count Andrassy becoming in his stead minister of foreign affairs and president of the common council of ministers. November 20th Prince Adolph Auersperg, in whose hands the constitution was perfectly safe, undertook the formation of a Cisleithan ministry.

The separatist tendencies of the Czechs were at once curbed. The Bohemian *landtag*, where the Czechs were the dominant element, was dissolved on the 13th of March, 1872, and the new elections resulted in a majority of more than two-thirds for the German party. The subsequent withdrawal of the Czechish members admitted of a more rapid despatch of business, and in a manner more in harmony with the true interests of the country. A bill for electoral reform was laid before the *Reichsrath* of 1873, according to the provisions of which delegates to that body were no longer to be elected by the provincial parliaments, but directly by the people. The bill passed both houses, and in October of the same year the working of the new law was tested for the first time. At those elections 353 representatives were elected, and of these 233 belonged to the constitutional party. Upon them devolved the task of considering the four church laws which were laid before the *Reichsrath* of 1874. These laws concerned the external legal status of the Roman Catholic Church, the question of cloisters, the contributions to the fund for the support of religious ministrations, and the recognition of the not yet recognized religious societies. In the teeth of the protests of the Vatican, and notwithstanding the declaration of the bishops that they would continue to adhere to the concordat, whether done away with by the state or not, the first three laws were accepted by the *Reichsrath* and signed by the emperor. The consideration of the fourth, which dealt especially with the position of the Old Catholics—who were treated with manifest unfairness by the Austrian

government—was deferred. But the passage of these laws did not necessarily imply that important results would follow, especially as their execution was not committed to the courts, but to the administrative officers of the government. Even now the ministry showed an unpardonable weakness in its dealings with the bishops; and when an interpellation on that subject was addressed to the minister of religion and public instruction, he made the naïve confession that his hands were tied, and he could not do what he would. In the midst of this period of legislative activity (May 1st, 1873) the World Exposition at Vienna was opened, which was visited during the summer by almost all the monarchs of Europe. About the same time, in consequence of dishonest enterprises and excessive speculation, occurred the crisis on the Vienna *Börse*, which ruined so many banks and business houses.

Russia, taking advantage of the political situation of the year 1870, declared, in a note of October 31st of that year, that it could no longer be bound by those provisions of the Peace of Paris of 1856 prescribing the size and number of the war-vessels which it might maintain in the Black Sea, and indicated its willingness to enter into negotiations upon that subject. London and Vienna were in great excitement at this very natural step on the part of the Russian government, while Turkey, which should have felt the most concern, treated the whole matter with indifference. Bismarck's opportunity to repay Russia for her neutrality had arrived, and he at once proposed a congress of the signers of the Peace of Paris, to meet in London, for the settlement of this question. Jules Favre endeavored to make use of the opening of this Pontus conference (January 17th, 1871) for laying before the powers French complaints against Germany, but he could not leave Paris without a pass from its besiegers; so that Bismarck was enabled to make it plain to him that he had more important matters to attend to in Paris than in London, and the provisional government was ultimately represented by the Duke de Broglie. The treaty drawn up by the conference on the 13th of March was quite in accord with Russia's wishes. In central Asia Russian influence was greatly increased during the period under consideration by the well prepared and successfully executed expedition against Khiva, in Turkestan. In 1871 China, having lost Kashgar by insurrection, ceded to Russia for temporary occupation Kulja, in the south-eastern corner of

Turkestan. In 1873 Russia was at length ready to attack Khiva; and General Kaufmann, with 14,000 men, sixty cannon, and a few thousand camels, entered the capital, Khiva, after some insignificant fighting, on the 10th of June of that year. For the present the khanate was not directly annexed to the Russian empire, but converted into a vassal state, the exclusive mercantile domain of the Russians. Kaufmann deserves to be held up to the detestation of all civilized nations for the barbarous cruelty which he practised toward the Turcomans in this campaign. An insurrection against the Khan of Khokand afforded an excellent opportunity for an intervention in the affairs of that country, resulting in annexation. Kaufmann entered the capital city of Khokand in 1875, and in 1876 the country became part of the Russian dominions, under its old name of Ferghana. While his soldiers were annexing new territory to the unwieldy Russian state, the emperor was endeavoring to improve the organization of his army by the introduction of compulsory military service for all his subjects (January 13th, 1874). As Russia in Europe has a population of some 71,000,000, this must result in raising its military strength to a point dangerous for the neighboring states. At the same time that Russian generals were committing the most fearful atrocities in central Asia a conference was opened in Brussels, at the call of the Czar (July 27th, 1874), to establish for all future wars an international rule in the interests of humanity, which, however desirable it may be, is scarcely practicable at present.

During the years 1870–'75 the position of the Turkish government toward its vassal states was becoming constantly more untenable. By a judicious use of money Ismail Pasha, Khédivo of Egypt, procured for himself more and more privileges from the Porte, until he had almost acquired full and independent sovereignty. In the year 1874 he rounded out his territory toward the south by the annexation of Darfur, the occasion for which was presented by an inroad of the Sultan of that state into Cordofan, an Egyptian dependency. The princes of Roumania and Servia, on their part, found it almost difficult not to renounce all allegiance to Abdul Aziz, the Turkish Sultan. In 1874 a demonstrative friendship sprung up between the two princes, making it appear as though they were preparing, in a certain event, for common action. In 1871 one of the two, Prince Charles of Rouma-

nia, had been on the point of abdicating. The radicals had long been anxious for his overthrow, and Minister Joan Ghika, a member of that party, thought that he could make use of the riot occasioned by the celebration by the Germans resident in Bucharest of the triumph of Germany over France (March 22d, 1871) to bring about the desired result; but the insurrection was put down, the compromised ministry obliged to resign, and the new conservative ministry of Catargiu induced the prince to remain. In August of 1875 disturbances broke out in Herzegovina, having for their object the separation of that province from Turkey, or, at the least, its erection into a semi-independent vassal state. The relations of Greece to Turkey assumed, on the whole, a better shape, but the interior development of the little kingdom was crippled by partisan strife and incessant changes of ministry. The only question that brought Greece before the political world in the six years under consideration was one that does not redound to her credit. A French and Italian company had received a concession of the worked-out Laurion silver-mines, from which their improved processes soon enabled them to derive considerable profit. This unexpected result awakened Greek avarice, and in May of 1871 a law was passed declaring the Laurion Mountains national property, and dispossessing the enterprising foreigners. The French and Italian ministers took the matter up, and negotiations were carried on with four rapidly changing ministries—Comunduros, Zaimis, Bulgaris, Deligeorgis—resulting finally in the purchase of the mines by the government in 1873.

England during this period was involved in one of those petty wars which are partly the inevitable result of her contact with barbaric tribes, and partly the reprehensible result of an insolent and overbearing habit of the English mind, especially toward weaker states. She had ceded her claims in Sumatra to Holland in partial payment for the Dutch possessions on the Gold Coast. The result of the transfer was that Holland became involved in a war with Atchin, and England with Ashantee. The Ashantee king disputed with the English the possession of the city of Elmina—which was included in the ceded territory—made inroads into the district under English protection, and carried off German missionaries to his capital, Coomassie. On the 13th of June, 1873, the English bombarded Elmina and reduced it to a heap of ashes. September 12th, in order to chastise the enemy in his

own country, the government sent a larger force to the scene of war under General Sir Garnet Wolseley. December 27th, after driving the enemy out of the protectorate, the English forces set out on their march to Coomassie—whereupon the imprisoned missionaries were at once released—and, after defeating the Ashantees in several encounters, entered the capital on the 4th of February, 1874. As the negotiations with reference to a peace led to no result, Wolseley burnt Coomassie and returned to the protectorate, destroying on the way as many of the enemy's villages as he could reach. This brought Kalkalli to reason, and a peace was concluded, by which he agreed to pay a fine, his sovereignty was limited, human sacrifices were abolished, and certain commercial concessions were made. The English government now united into one colony its various possessions on the west coast—Gold Coast, Slave Coast, and the district of Lagos—under the name of the Gold Coast Colony, and committed the administration of the whole colony to two governors. At the same time it exacted from the various native chiefs the abolition of slavery. In the same year (1874) occurred the occupation of the Fiji Islands, which were offered to England by the inhabitants themselves. The abolition of the slave-trade in Zanzibar was extorted from the Sultan of that place by the mission of Sir Bartle Frere, whose representations were supported by a few men-of-war, the treaty being signed on the 5th of June, 1873. In home affairs the principal measures of Gladstone's administration had been an Irish land bill—which made a beginning in the right direction—the abolition of purchase in the army by an exercise of royal prerogative, the introduction of secret voting by means of the ballot, the removal of the remaining religious tests at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the establishment of a uniform and national school system. The ministry had come in on an Irish question, and it was an Irish question on which it went out. Mr. Gladstone's Irish university bill was defeated by a vote of 287 to 284, in the spring of 1873, and he at once resigned; but, as Disraeli declined to undertake the task of forming a new ministry, he withdrew his resignation and remained in office. In January of 1874 he dissolved Parliament and appealed to the country. The elections resulted in a large majority for the conservatives, and on the 20th of February Disraeli took office with a conservative cabinet. The Irish home-rulers in the new house brought

forward a measure for the establishment of an Irish parliament, which would have brought Ireland into a position toward England similar to that of Hungary toward Austria; but the bill was, of course, defeated by an overwhelming majority. Far more hopeless even had been Sir Charles Dilke's republican agitation in the year 1872. This had culminated in a scene in Parliament, on occasion of Sir Charles Dilke's motion to inquire into the manner in which the income and allowances of the Crown were spent, which, although in itself more becoming Hottentot rioters than English statesmen, at least demonstrated the intensity and universality of royalist sentiment. Whatever success, too, Dilke had at first acquired in his tour through the country had been before that time more than neutralized by the dangerous illness of the Prince of Wales, and the intensely loyal sentiment that illness had called forth.

Holland, which claimed a protectorate over all Sumatra, and had (as has just been narrated) added the claims of England to its own, made war, in 1873, upon the independent Malay state of Atchin, in the extreme north-west corner of the island, under pretence of putting a stop to the piracy and slave-trade which were the chief industry of its Sultan, but in reality in order to annex his territory. The first expedition, in March of 1873, failed utterly. In December of the same year a second expeditionary corps, consisting of about 12,000 men, under the command of General van Swieten, landed at Atchin, defeated the enemy in several encounters, besieged the Sultan's fortified palace, the Craton, and began a bombardment. Thereupon the Sultan evacuated the palace and fled into the interior, and on the 24th of January, 1874, van Swieten's troops marched in. The vassal states were compelled to submit to Dutch supremacy, Atchin itself was incorporated with the Dutch possessions, and, on the return of the expedition, a strong garrison was left behind. The influence of the Franco-Prussian war made itself visible in Holland in the introduction of compulsory and universal military service, a bill to this effect having finally been carried through the chambers toward the close of 1873. In Belgium the necessity for such a measure was universally recognized among military men, but the clergy opposed it, on account of the educational advances which it would involve. After a thirteen years' lease of office, the liberal ministry in that country had been obliged to resign on the

2d of July, 1870, in consequence of the results of the supplementary elections. The enormous increase of the influence of the clergy—who have in their hands not merely the common school system and girls' schools of all sorts, but also for the most part the higher educational institutions, and whose effort it is to make even capital dependent upon their will—has been a serious drawback in the way of national development. As far back as the year 1866 there were in Belgium 1314 cloisters, inhabited by 18,162 monks and nuns. The root of this evil must be sought in the constitution so long held up as a pattern, which, by adopting the principle of the independence of the church and its complete separation from the state, has apparently strengthened the hands of the Jesuits instead of producing liberal citizens. In 1875 the supplementary elections resulted in favor of the liberals, without, however, giving them the majority in the chamber.

The Scandinavian countries are almost forgotten in European history, as they have of late come so little into the sphere of its politics. At the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war great hopes were entertained in Denmark of the restoration of Schleswig and Holstein; but it soon became evident that these hopes were illusory. Internal affairs were nothing but a struggle between the king and a conservative *Landsthing* on the one side, and a democratical *Folkething* on the other. In Sweden and Norway the king made vain attempts to effect a union of the two kingdoms into one. In 1872 Sweden followed the general European current by adopting the principle of compulsory military service. On the 18th of September of that year Charles XV. was succeeded by his brother, Oscar II. The Left, which was in the majority in the Swedish parliament, reduced the civil list of the new king from 900,000 to 800,000 thalers, and objected so strongly to the expense of a coronation that the king ultimately defrayed the costs of his Swedish coronation from his own income. Norway still persisted in her resistance to union, and even refused to join in a coinage convention with Sweden and Denmark, although consenting to a postal union with those two countries.

It was hard for republican Switzerland to see France, which had so long been the object of its admiration, humbled, and Germany, which it had despised and scorned, raised to a place among the leading states. In Zurich the attack by a uniformed and un-

uniformed mob on the Germans at their celebration of the victory over France, March 9th, 1871, was a manifestation of a sentiment similar to that in Bucharest, and in general it may be said that the sympathies of Europe were with France and against Germany. The cantonal government proved remiss in dealing with the rioters, but the federal authorities did all they could to atone for the outrage. The efforts of liberal Switzerland were directed at this time toward a revision of the constitution, and thorough reforms in the army, the church, the school, the social laws, and the system of roads, railroads, and intercourse in general. In the sessions of 1871 and 1872 both houses of the federal congress took up the matter of constitutional revision, and by the 5th of March, 1872, had reached an agreement on all points. The revision was next submitted to a double vote, that of the cantonal governments and that of the people. The result of this was (May 12th, 1872) that of the twenty-two cantons thirteen voted to reject the revised constitution, while the popular vote stood 252,816 in favor of its acceptance, and 261,106 against it. This result was due to the hatred felt by the non-German cantons toward a work which had been branded as German, fear on the part of the priests of a decrease of their influence in church and school, and the particularism of the so-called *Cantonese*. The liberals did not lose heart, however, and in the session of 1873 the federal House of Representatives resolved to take up the revision once more. A few points were changed in the interests of cantonal sovereignty, while others, like the article defining the relations of church and state, received a more pronounced form. The new revision had again to pass through the ordeal of a double vote. April 19th, 1874, fourteen and a half cantons pronounced in favor of its acceptance, and seven and a half against, while in the popular vote 340,186 ballots were cast for it to 198,182 against. The revised constitution accordingly became law. The cause of this change in public sentiment between the years 1872 and 1874 must be sought in the intervening ecclesiastical troubles by which the French cantons had been driven into the liberal camp. Contrary to existing treaties, the Pope separated Geneva from the diocese of Freiburg, formed it into an independent bishopric, and appointed Mermillod, a pastor in Geneva, bishop of the new diocese. In spite of the prohibition of both federal and cantonal authorities Mermillod proceeded to ex-

ercise his episcopal functions, for which he was arrested, February 17th, 1873, and sent across the French frontier. The adoption of liberal church laws and the formation of an Old Catholic congregation in Geneva were the immediate results of this ill-advised action on the part of the Roman Curia. Almost at the same time steps were taken against Lachat, Bishop of Basel, whose episcopal residence was at Solothurn. As he had without authorization proclaimed the dogma of Papal infallibility, and removed and excommunicated pastors who refused to recognize it, and as he had answered with a refusal the demands of the diocesan representatives that he should withdraw the decrees of removal and excommunication — which he was not entitled to issue independently—the diocesan conference of January 28th, 1873, resolved by a majority of five to three to depose him from his office. This obliged him to give up his official residence, and on the 17th he left Solothurn for Luzerne. As the cathedral chapter obstinately refused to appoint an administrator of the diocese, the diocesan conference decided (December 21st, 1874) to disband the chapter and liquidate the episcopal property. The protest of several priests in the Bernese Jura against Lachat's deposition was answered by their removal by the Bernese government, which sent troops to put down their agitation, and finally expelled them from the Jura. This last measure, however, was adjudged unconstitutional by the federal senate and repealed. In other cases Senate and House of Representatives gave their firm support in spite of all protests to the anti-clerical measures of the cantonal governments. In his Encyclica of November 21st, 1873, the Pope condemned these measures in the most emphatic manner, and threatened the perpetrators with excommunication; whereupon Agnozzi, the Papal nuntius, received his passport. Switzerland had thus stepped into the foremost rank of the states which were doing battle against Romish ambition. January 17th, 1874, the people of Berne accepted with an overwhelming majority the liberal church law submitted to them by the great council of the canton, and at the university of Berne an Old Catholic theological faculty was set up, while the assembly of delegates of the Swiss Old Catholics on their part pronounced in favor of a national church and national episcopate.

During the years under consideration the United States had once narrowly escaped becoming involved in war with a Euro-

pean power. October 31st, 1873, the *Virginius* was captured by Spanish vessels, and the major portion of the crew shot, their offence being that, under cover of the American flag, they were conveying men and arms to the rebels in Cuba. This almost gave rise to a conflict between the United States and the Spanish republic; but Castelar's government, which found complications enough to attend to at home, considered it wiser to yield and make whatever reparation was required. In Mexico, after the death of Juarez (July 18th, 1872), Lerdo de Tejada was chosen president. Under him the authority of the state over the Catholic hierarchy was successfully maintained, and all monastic orders abolished. Among the republics of South America bloody partisan struggles took place in Peru, La Plata, and Uruguay; in Venezuela and Chili recalcitrant bishops had to be recalled to their obedience; in Ecuador the president himself inaugurated unlimited sway of the Jesuits. In the empire of Brazil the Bishop of Olinda—who, contrary to the laws of the country, published the Papal brief excommunicating the Free-masons—was tried before the supreme court (February 22d, 1874), and condemned to four years' imprisonment, with hard labor—a sentence which the emperor, Pedro II., commuted into simple imprisonment. Almost everywhere, after the proclamation of the dogma of Papal infallibility, the state either slavishly submitted to the Roman Curia or became involved in open conflict with it; but the arena where the battle waged fiercest was in the very centre of Europe.

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§ 29.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE AND THE CULTURKAMPF.

The relations of Germany to foreign powers were everywhere amicable. Although she had nowhere gained in affection, she had won increased respect on all sides. By Bismarck's despatch of December 14th, 1870, the way had been prepared for friendly intercourse with Austria; and the meeting of Emperor William with Francis Joseph, in Ischl and Salzburg, in 1871, was attended with such favorable results that the year 1866 seemed quite forgotten. The meeting of the three emperors, William, Alexander,

and Francis Joseph, in Berlin, in September of that year, was a triumph of the Bismarck policy. Each of the three sovereigns was attended by his minister of foreign affairs, and political conferences divided the time with court festivities. Formal alliances were not concluded, but unity of sentiment was manifested to the world. The meeting signified that the three sovereigns of the three eastern empires were and would remain united, and that Russia and Austria approved of the German victory, the establishment of a German empire, Germany's claims to a great historical future, and, in general, the ways and aims of the German imperial policy. All this was no threat against France, but it was, nevertheless, an indirect warning against all attempts at revenge. This meeting, which was followed by return visits from the German emperor in St. Petersburg and Vienna, was complemented by a visit from Victor Emmanuel, attended by two of his ministers, in Vienna and Berlin, toward the close of the same month. His journey was one of considerable political significance, for no one had more to fear than he from a Clerical France, whether guided by Chambord or MacMahon; and if he looked about for future allies to strengthen him against this foe, none could be found from whom so much was to be expected as from the German empire, the mighty adversary of France and the Vatican. Even princes who for decades had had no direct personal intercourse with the Berlin court now visited the German emperor. In 1872 he received a visit from the King of Holland in Ems, and in 1875 King Oscar of Sweden visited Berlin. With France diplomatic relations had already been resumed before the end of 1871. Count Arnim was the first representative of the German empire in Paris. In 1874 he came into conflict with Bismarck, toward whom he displayed an intractability resulting in open insubordination. This led to his removal, and the appointment in his stead of Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst. It was then ascertained that Arnim had abstracted important political documents from the archives of the German embassy in Paris. As all demands for their surrender were answered with refusal, he was arrested on the 4th of October, 1874—but, on account of his feeble state of health, was again allowed his freedom—and cited to appear before the criminal court. All Europe was interested in the trial. The most weighty despatches were read and published, and the world had another opportunity

to admire the consistency and far-sightedness of Bismarck's national policy. The despatches concerning Germany's position toward France, the French republic and the French pretenders, a contingent conflict between France and Italy, and the future choice of a Pope, attracted great attention. The trial ended, on the 19th of December, 1874, in Arnim's condemnation to three months' imprisonment; but both accuser and accused appealed from this decision. The appeal of the latter against the validity of the proceedings in the lower court was rejected by the court of third instance on the 20th of October, 1875.

The internal union of the German empire was completed in its essential features by the legislative action of the *Reichstag*. The laws regarding imperial mints, imperial notes, and a common banking system brought unity out of intolerable confusion in the department of finance. Lasker introduced a bill looking to the same unity in the matter of civil rights, and in 1874 a judiciary committee was appointed to draw up a law with that end in view. In the session of 1874 an imperial military law was laid before the house. The first paragraph of this bill ordained that the strength of the army on a peace footing, exclusive of commissioned officers, should be 401,659 men. The debate turned on the acceptance or rejection of this paragraph. Not merely the Clericals and other malcontents, but also the Party of Progress and the left wing of the National Liberals, opposed it. While the Social-democrats were in favor of reducing the time of service to one year, and the Clericals would have limited it to two, the parliamentarians saw in the permanent settlement of the strength of the army an interference with their rights, and claimed the power to determine the peace footing year by year in the annual budget. Moltke, in a long speech, passed in review the political condition of Europe and the military arrangements of Germany and the other powers, especially France, and urged the unconditional acceptance of the bill in the name of public safety. Great excitement and disquiet prevailed; meetings were held, addresses drawn up, and instructions sent to the delegates to vote according to Moltke's wishes. After protracted discussions in committee, it became apparent that the government measure could not obtain a majority in the *Reichstag*. A serious illness prevented Bismarck from throwing the weight of his presence and eloquence into the scales. The offer of the

clerical party to vote for the paragraph on condition of a change in the ecclesiastical policy of the government was rejected, and the plan of dissolving the *Reichstag* abandoned, on account of the great uncertainty as to the result of new elections. Finally a compromise was concluded between the government and the majority of the committee, by which the proposed peace-footing was to be adopted for seven years, from the 1st of January, 1875, to the 31st of December, 1881. This compromise was accepted by the *Reichstag*, with a majority of 224 to 146, and the bill finally became law. Not unjustly, some compared this iron seven-years' measure with the MacMahon septennate.

A complete and successful development of the imperial constitution was only possible in case the *Bundesrath* and *Reichstag* were clothed with the power to undertake, with the consent of the individual governments, expressed through their plenipotentiaries in the *Bundesrath*, necessary constitutional changes, to increase the competence of the central government, and to accept on the part of privileged states the renunciation of their reserved rights, without being obliged to obtain in these matters the additional consent of the people of the various states through their parliaments. The Democrats in the Würtemberg and the Patriots in the Bavarian parliament opposed any such plan, and declaimed about mediatization of the secondary states; but the ministers in both those countries favored the views of the imperial government, and a majority in both parliaments rejected the bills brought forward by the anti-nationalists. In November of 1873 the Saxon government won universal disapproval by taking quite the opposite position. In the matter of separate ambassadors, which was a sort of open question, Baden set a good example, as she had always done in national affairs, by abolishing all her embassies (October 24th, 1871). Würtemberg retained her embassies at Vienna and Munich, in addition to those in Berlin and St. Petersburg, but it was with great difficulty that a parliamentary majority was obtained for the first two. Bavaria went somewhat farther in the assertion of her sovereign rights, and allowed herself the luxury of special representatives in Dresden, Berne, and Rome. She also maintained an ambassador at the Vatican; and on the 30th of January, 1875, a new nuntius, Bianchi, was received in Munich. In view of all that had passed between Germany and the Vatican in the years 1871–'74, this

action was calculated to arouse considerable indignation. The change in Hesse—where the un-German minister, von Dalwigk, was dismissed in 1871, to be followed first by a different ministry, with the same policy, and finally, in 1872, by the national ministry of Hoffmann—made itself chiefly felt in the matter of ecclesiastical legislation. In Alsace and Lorraine the anti-German feeling of the major part of the population was maintained at white-heat by French and clerical agitation. The imperial government occupied a difficult position, but it displayed great prudence and energy in the measures which it adopted for the establishment of its authority. Vicar-general Rapp of Strasburg was expelled from Alsace-Lorraine on the 17th of March, 1873, as the head of a central committee which had for its object the organization of opposition to the government. Lauth, the burgomaster of Strasburg, expressed in his official capacity the hope that the French would soon regain possession, and was removed from office in consequence on the 7th of April, 1873. The common council protested against his removal, and was suspended for two years, and police-superintendent Back, as commissioner extraordinary, clothed with the rights and duties of both burgomaster and common council. The school system in the new provinces was an object of special solicitude to the imperial government. It was provided that the inspection and direction of the schools should be in the hands of the state authorities; that only the government should be consulted regarding the examination and appointment of teachers, the organization of the schools, and the course of instruction there given; that those schools which did not conform to the state regulations should be closed, and that in German-speaking communities only the German language should be taught in elementary schools after the 1st of October, 1873. Notwithstanding the expressed determination of the French and Clericals either to elect only men of the party of protest against German occupation or not to elect at all, district assemblies were introduced in 1873 for the management of the local affairs of the districts. By an imperial decree of October 29th, 1874, a territorial committee, with limited powers, was to be chosen from these district assemblies as long as the establishment of a parliament for Alsace and Lorraine seemed impracticable. This committee came into existence in 1875, with beneficial results.

In opposition to the existing anti-German parties a third party

was formed in 1873, calling itself *Alsatian*. The programme of this party, which had its head-quarters in Strasburg, was, while recognizing existing facts, to remain Alsatian, to withdraw into the shell of Alsatian particularism, and work exclusively for the promotion of the industrial interests of Alsace. Although having slight prospect of success, this party took an active part in the election for members of the *Reichstag*. These elections took place in other parts of the empire on the 10th of January, 1874, and in Alsace and Lorraine on the 1st of February, and were everywhere attended with great excitement. The Clericals achieved successes in the Prussian departments of Cologne, Münster, Aachen, and Oppeln, as well as in Bavaria, chiefly at the expense of the Conservatives. The Social-democrats were successful in nine electoral districts, six of which were Saxon. The total result was that 135 enemies of the empire were chosen, and 240 friends, including in the latter category the Party of Progress, and leaving out of consideration the Conservative party, which had dwindled to twenty-two members. In the ranks of the opposition the strongest contingent was that of the Clericals, who numbered 101, and to these on the side of the government were opposed 155 National Liberals. In Alsace-Lorraine ten Clericals were chosen, including the bishops of Metz and Strasburg, and five members of the party of protest. February 16th, 1874, these fifteen delegates entered the *Reichstag* in procession; but they soon deserted it again for the most part. Their time was chiefly spent in hollow declamations about the oppressive burden laid upon their country, although it was capable of proof that it had never been better administered than under the imperial government. Their bills for abolition of the law giving the first president in case of danger a sort of dictatorship for the maintenance of public safety, and for the repeal of the educational law in Alsace and Lorraine, were rejected by the *Reichstag*. The greatest sensation was caused by the introduction of a bill submitting to the population of Alsace and Lorraine the question whether they approved of the incorporation of their country in the German Empire. This measure, which broke the point of the Bishop of Strasburg's assertion that the Roman Catholics of the annexed provinces had accepted the Peace of Frankfort, was rejected by the *Reichstag* without debate, only twenty-three votes being cast in its favor.

Of the greatest importance to the present and the future were those measures which were directed, not against the Catholic Church and Catholic confession, but against the ambitious designs of the Vatican and its creatures. The existence of the modern state is totally incompatible with the dogma of infallibility. No law of the state is of any validity against the infallible principles and ecclesiastical laws of Rome, for if a state law is not in harmony with the arbitrary decrees of the demigod of the Vatican, the latter forthwith enjoins upon all Roman Catholics disobedience to the godless and invalid rules of the temporal state, and obedience to his own inspired mandates. Hence the imperial government, if it did not wish to pronounce its own destruction, could neither recognize the dogma of infallibility nor permit the removal of those clergy who were excommunicated by their bishops for refusing to accept it. The government must in self-defence protect such clergy in the exercise of their functions and the enjoyment of their privileges. This was the course pursued by the Prussian government toward Bishop Krementz of Ermland, in 1871, on occasion of his excommunicating a religious instructor in Brunswick for refusing to be bound by the obnoxious dogma. The arrogant demeanor of the bishop made it clear to the government in what a sorry position it had been placed by the legislation of 1850, aided by the short-sightedness and weakness of previous ministries. The paragraph assuring independence to each religious society had been attended with the result that, under King Frederic William IV., the bishops had done what they pleased, getting into their power the instruction in the public schools, committing the education of the children to the future clergy of the Roman Catholic Church, founding more cloisters every year, and holding the lower clergy in blind obedience. Consequently there existed not merely a state within a state, but an ecclesiastical state above as well as within the temporal. This state of things could not continue after the victories of Sedan and Paris and the establishment of the German Empire. Germany had not won on French battle-fields freedom to order its internal affairs according to its own pleasure, merely to let itself be reduced to slavery by the bloodless victories of the Vatican. It had not freed itself from the dictation of Paris to bow its neck beneath the crook of Rome. No German could for a moment admit the possibility of such a con-

dition of affairs; and as the Pope and his bishops held and sought to enforce the opposite view, a conflict between them could not be long delayed.

July 8th, 1871, the Prussian government decreed the abolition of the Roman Catholic department in the ministry of public worship and education (*cultus*-ministry), which had existed since the year 1841, and had proved a safeguard, not for the interests of the state, but for those of the Roman Curia. December 14th it laid before the Prussian parliament the school inspection law, according to which the inspection of all public and private educational institutions was to be confided to the state. The House, unwilling to trust the execution of such a law to the then *cultus*-minister, Mühler, who had made himself notorious by his bigoted orthodoxy and unevangelical intolerance, threw out the bill. This led to Mühler's dismissal, January 17th, 1872, and in his successor, Falk, Bismarck found the ally he needed. The school inspection law was again brought forward, and carried through both houses. In the mean time the *Reichstag* had expressed its opinion on the question under controversy. At the motion of the Bavarian *cultus*-minister, Lutz, whose power was no longer adequate to the task of curbing the episcopal Hotspurs in Bavaria, the "pulpit paragraph" was passed on the 28th of November, 1871, and thus a weapon against the seditious agitation of the ultramontane clergy put in the hands of the various governments. The quarrel assumed a still more aggravated form when the Pope declined (May 2d, 1872) to receive Cardinal Hohenlohe as the German ambassador at the Vatican; and on the 19th of June in the same year fresh fuel was added to the flame by the expulsion of the Jesuits, with their affiliated orders and congregations, from the German empire. In 1873 the *Bundesrath* decided that this included the Redemptorists, Lazarists, Priests of the Holy Ghost, and the Society of the Holy Heart of Jesus—all of which were accordingly compelled to evacuate German territory. May 14th, 1872, in the debate regarding the post of ambassador at the Vatican, the imperial chancellor said, "Of this you may be sure, that we will not go to Canossa, either in our ecclesiastical or political relations." In an address to the German Roman Catholic reading club, in Rome, June 25th, 1872, the Pope expressed himself as follows: "Be trustful and united, for some stone will surely fall to shatter the heel of this colossus." And in his allo-

cution of December 23d he spoke of the cruel persecutions in Germany, and of the "presumption" and "shamelessness" of the imperial government. Thereupon the Prussian secretary of legation, Stumm, who was in charge of the Prussian embassy in Rome, received orders from Berlin to take an indefinite leave of absence at once.

These were skirmishes with advanced guards and small arms, but the heavy guns were soon brought into action. The Prussian government had much ground to conquer in order to reach the point where it had stood before the accession of Frederic William IV. It was necessary to get into its hands once more the education of the clergy, to do away with the unconditional dependence of the lower clergy on the bishops, to bring contumacious bishops before the temporal courts, and, in case of need, to render them harmless, by lessening the moral and material means at their disposal for the prosecution of the strife, freeing congregations and individual citizens from clerical oppression, and giving them more freedom and independence with reference to the management of their religious concerns. For this purpose the government laid four church laws before the Prussian parliament of 1873, which were accepted and promulgated as laws of the state in the month of May, and are hence commonly known as the "May laws." The first of these was intended to prevent the conversion of religious punishment inflicted by ecclesiastical authorities on religious grounds into a social and civil penalty; the second concerned clerical education, requiring as a prerequisite to clerical office a gymnasium and university education; the third dealt with the matter of leaving the church; and the fourth established a royal court for the settlement of ecclesiastical questions. These laws were supplemented in 1874 by three additional acts. The Prussian parliament accepted the laws laid before it by the government regarding the administration of vacant Roman Catholic bishoprics, and requiring fuller specifications in case of the appointment of ecclesiastical functionaries; and on the 25th of April the *Reichstag* passed the law forbidding the unauthorized discharge of ecclesiastical office, by which the government acquired the right to expel from certain specified districts or from the empire at large, to imprison, and to deprive of civil rights ecclesiastical functionaries who, having been removed from any office, still persisted in the performance of the duties of that

office. The most important step of all was the passage (January 25th, 1875), after severe conflicts with the Clericals, of the imperial law introducing obligatory civil marriage, and registration of births, marriages, divorces, deaths, and the like, into which was inserted the provision that Roman Catholic ecclesiastics and members of religious orders could contract legal marriage.

The Pope did not let these measures pass in silence. Impolitic advisers persuaded him that Emperor William had given a very unwilling consent to the May laws, and would be glad to cause those laws to be carried out with as little strictness as possible, provided only he were applied to directly by letter from the Pope. Accordingly the exceedingly malapropos missive of August 7th, 1873, was despatched, in which the Pope endeavored to persuade the emperor to part with his ministers and express his disapproval of the measures of his chancellor toward the Church, and even ventured the assertion that the emperor, like every baptized Christian, stood in a certain relation to the Pope. In his answer of September 3d the emperor designated the Roman Catholic clergy as the originators of the quarrel, inasmuch as they had refused to render constitutional obedience to their temporal superiors, affirmed the unity existing between himself and his chancellor in the matter of ecclesiastical policy, and rejected as unevangelical the assumption that he could in any way regard the Pope as a mediator in his relations to God. This correspondence was shortly published in the *Reichsanzeiger*, and from all sides, from foreign lands as well as from Germany, addresses of thanks and approval poured in upon the emperor. In England, where Roman Catholicism had been making considerable progress, a meeting of sympathy was held on the 27th of January, 1874, and resolutions drawn up approving of the German imperial policy, while Gladstone came out in a pamphlet against the Vatican decrees and their political consequences. The Papal letter to the emperor had proved a complete fiasco. This only increased the hatred of the Clericals against the chancellor, who was made responsible for all the defeats of the party and held up as the deadly foe of the Catholic Church. The arrest of several bishops who obstinately disregarded the May laws and refused obedience to the state, the removal of Archbishop Ledochowski in 1874, and that of Bishop Martin of Paderborn, shortly after, only increased the anger of the Clericals. By their Press and by means

of associations the people were systematically stirred up against the government, and the leaders themselves did not scruple at alliance with the Social-democrats. One result of this intemperate agitation was the attempt of a Magdeburger cooper, Kullmann, on Prince Bismarck's life, at Kissingen, July 13th, 1874. For this Kullmann was tried at Würzburg, and condemned to fourteen years' imprisonment, with hard labor; while the Clericals were tried before the tribunal of public sentiment throughout the world and adjudged guilty of the crime. "Shake off the man (Kullmann) as you will, he still holds fast to your skirts," were the words Bismarck addressed to the fraction of the Centre, in the *Reichstag*, December 4th, 1874; and on the following day, when a debate had arisen with the Clericals regarding the proposed abolition of the embassy to the Vatican, to their dismay he made public a statement of Meglia, the former nuntius in Munich, to the effect that only a revolution could help the Church.

This was the end of the Pope's private letters; now began a period of infallible thunder and lightning. French bishops, who had a natural interest in protracting and intensifying the ecclesiastical conflict in Prussia, agitated with all their energies. In his Encyclica of February 5th, 1875, the Pope declared invalid the new Church laws, which had been accepted by the representatives of the people, signed by the emperor, and published as laws of the state; forbade all Roman Catholics to render obedience to them; and pronounced sentence of excommunication against the whole body of the Old Catholic clergy. A few days later he named the imprisoned Archbishop Ledochowski cardinal. It was evident that the imperial government must prepare to meet with an obstinate resistance to the new laws along the whole line from Posen to Aachen. It had to consider whether a clergy which held valid only those laws that met with the approval of the Pope should any longer live at the expense of the state. March 4th, 1875, Minister Falk laid before the Prussian *landtag* the so-called *sperrgesetz* (interdict), by which all payments on the part of the state to the bishops and other clergy were interdicted in all cases where the latter were unwilling to pledge themselves in writing to obey the laws of the state. After some excited debates the measure finally passed both houses. In addition to this a law was passed abolishing religious orders and kindred organi-

zations; another affecting the administration of property in the Roman Catholic churches; still another providing for a revision of that part of the constitution dealing with church affairs; and finally, at the motion of Petri, a bill was passed regulating the rights of the Old Catholics, which was in its essential points the same which had been adopted in Baden in the previous year.

There was no lack of protests against these laws on the part of the German bishops, nor of intervention on the part of the French and Belgian bishops in the shape of pastoral letters expressing their sympathy and abusing the German government. Toward its own clergy the latter maintained its position with unchangeable determination, at the same time addressing remonstrances to the governments of France and Belgium regarding the offensive pastoral letters of bishops in those countries. The Clerical cause seemed on the decline, nor was this altered by the result of the elections for the Bavarian parliament in July of 1875, although the Clericals then acquired a majority of two votes in the House. An address was adopted in which the dismissal of the existing ministry and the formation of a Clerical cabinet were demanded, but the king refused to receive the address, expressed his surprise at the language adopted by some of the participants in the debate, assured the whole ministry in a letter of October 19th of their possession of his full confidence, and called on all moderate men for their energetic support at the present moment. Parliament was then prorogued. The unexampled participation of all classes in the celebration of the chancellor's birthday, and the enthusiastic reception which Falk met with on his visit to the Rhine, showed very plainly on which side all the intelligence of the German Empire was arrayed. Nor was the feeling confined to Germany. On his return visit to Victor Emmanuel, in October of 1875, Emperor William was received with the greatest enthusiasm. The Italian people, whose newly-won unity is constantly threatened by plans for restoration of the Papal power, felt themselves drawn with bonds of sympathy to the man who had founded the German Empire and was at that moment engaged in deadly struggle with the Vatican, believing that, search where they would, they could find no more reliable and powerful allies than *Kaiser Wilhelm* and the German Empire.

SIXTH PERIOD. 1876-1881.*

§ 30.

TURKEY AND THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR.

In October of 1874 a collision between Montenegrins and Turks, resulting in a massacre, had taken place in Podgoritza. For this, in January of 1875, five Turks were condemned to death and twenty to imprisonment; but the Turkish government refused to permit the execution of the sentence, unless the Montenegrins implicated in the disturbance were surrendered, to be tried by Turkish courts on Turkish soil. Prince Nikita insisted on the unconditional punishment of the culprits, and prepared for war; but finally, through the mediation of the consuls of the three empires, the Porte was induced to recede from its demands, and orders were issued to the Governor of Scutari, in whose jurisdiction the Turkish prisoners had been tried, to execute the sentence of the court. In the mean time the prisoners had been allowed to escape, which did not prevent the Turkish government, however, from reporting the sentence executed. The whole affair aroused such indignation in Montenegro that an informal kind of war might be said to have already begun, and events in Bosnia and Herzegovina soon fanned this hidden fire into an open conflagration.

Great distress prevailed in the last-named provinces on account of the bad harvest of 1874; but the tax-gatherers, instead of taking this into consideration, carried off everything they could lay their hands on. According to the Turkish system, a tenth of all produce belonged to the government, but this was at times raised

* Condensed from Professor Müller's *Geschichte der Gegenwart.*

to an eighth or seventh. As the farmer of the taxes must also make his percentage, it not unfrequently came about that one-third of the produce was levied instead of one-tenth. To this must be added house, land, cattle, tobacco, and pasturage taxes; while, besides all these, the Christian population, not admitted to military service, were taxed for this involuntary dispensation. All these taxes, rendered doubly burdensome by the oppressive and unjust mode of their collection, were liable at any time to arbitrary increase on the part of the government. (For example, the house tax had been suddenly raised from four dollars and a half to thirteen dollars and a half.) Some of the peasants, driven to desperation, offered resistance to the tax-collectors, and were beaten or thrown into prison; others sent a fruitless deputation to the governor, Dervish Pasha. Hundreds of families fled with what they could collect to Croatia, Dalmatia, Montenegro, and Servia. In consequence of Prince Nikita's intercession, amnesty was promised to all those fugitives who would return; but no sooner did some of them venture back than the promise was broken. About this time occurred the Austrian emperor's trip to Dalmatia, and the report spread that the object of his visit was the acquisition of Bosnia and Herzegovina by purchase. This report, together with the outspoken sympathy of Servia and Montenegro, increased the excitement, and on the 6th of July, 1875, an insurrection broke out in Herzegovina. Orders had been given to collect the taxes in the village of Drashego, on the plateau of Nevesinye, by force. The revenue collectors and a mob of Mussulmans took advantage of the opportunity to plunder the inhabitants. The latter flew to arms and shot ten of the robbers dead. The news that a number of tax-payers had been shut into a house and burnt alive added fuel to the flame. The women and children were at once despatched to Dalmatia, and in a few days those parts of Herzegovina bordering on that province and on Montenegro were in open rebellion. The war was prosecuted with the greatest cruelty on both sides. The Turkish forces were small and poorly equipped. The mountainous character of the country afforded great advantages for the prosecution of an irregular warfare, and Dalmatia and Montenegro assisted the insurgents with men and arms, so that at the outset the balance of success was in favor of the latter. This induced Dervish Pasha to accept the proffered mediation of the

Roman Catholic bishop of Mostar and open negotiations. The demands put forward by the rebels as the condition of laying down their arms were: a thorough reform of the system of taxation, the substitution of native for Turkish officials, and the establishment of a native militia for the maintenance of public order in the province, and these demands the Porte was certain not to grant, except, perhaps, on paper.

According to the census of 1868, the Greek Catholics in Bosnia, including Herzegovina, numbered 431,200, the Roman Catholics 171,764, and the Mohammedans 418,315. A large part of the Mohammedan population consisted of the territorial nobility (the oldest in Europe), who, although of Slavic origin, were yet fanatical adherents of Islam, having found it to their interest to change their religion after the conquest of the country by the Turks. These took no part in the rebellion, and even the Christian population did not rise in a body. The success of the insurrection seemed to depend upon the attitude of Servia and Montenegro, and at the outset those two countries were induced by the consuls of the three empires to profess a strict neutrality. Nevertheless, the Herzegovinians did not lose heart, and by the beginning of August they had put into the field against the Turks a force of twelve to fourteen thousand men. The latter made great exertions to suppress the rebellion before it should give rise to diplomatic intervention of too serious a character, or involve the Porte in a war with the principalities. Dervish Pasha was succeeded by Reouf Pasha, and 30,000 or 40,000 soldiers were gradually collected in Herzegovina. Against such a force the insurgents could not hope to maintain the field; but by means of a guerilla warfare they harassed the Turks at every point, and when winter brought about a cessation of hostilities, the latter had made no real advance toward the suppression of the revolt.

In the mean time the three empires, fearing that the insurrection, if not speedily suppressed, might result in an Oriental war, had been making efforts to bring about an understanding between the Porte and its revolted subjects. Of the three, Germany was a comparatively disinterested observer; but, while Russia found the insurrection to her advantage, Austria was seriously embarrassed by a disturbance threatening to shake the *status quo;* and indeed, in order to understand Austria's attitude through this whole period, it must be borne in mind that the Austro-Hunga-

rian empire is not one firmly consolidated state, but merely a sort of agreement on the part of a parcel of states and provinces of differing nationalities and conflicting interests to maintain the *status quo.* August 18th, the ambassadors of these three powers tendered their good offices for the pacification of the revolt, and after considerable hesitation the Sultan accepted the offer. Server Pasha was sent as a commissioner to examine into the grievances of the insurgents, while the consuls of the six Great Powers undertook to induce the rebels to lay down their arms and present their complaints before the commissioner. Server Pasha went to Mostar and made promises; the consuls travelled through the disaffected districts—Germany, Austria, and Italy along the Austrian border, England, Russia, and France through the interior. By their interviews with the leaders of the insurrection the consuls ascertained that the latter would not lay down their arms, unless guarantees of the most tangible description were given for the execution of the desired reforms.

On the 2d of October the Sultan issued an iradé full of promises, and on the 12th of December a firman of similar character appeared. Members of the courts and of administrative councils were to be chosen by the people, without distinction of religious belief; suits between Mussulmans and Giaours were to be decided by the civil tribunals; arbitrary imprisonment was forbidden; tax-gatherers were made elective; the rights of property were secured; socage was abolished; the free exercise of their religion was guaranteed to the patriarchs and all other spiritual superiors; the right of holding public office and acquiring land was bestowed upon non-Mohammedans. All these blessings the indulgent Sultan promised to those who fulfilled their duties as true and loyal subjects, a permission seemingly intended to exclude the Bosnians and Herzegovinians from this glowing paradise of imaginary justice and good government.

These reforms were not worth the paper on which they were written, unless their execution was guaranteed and supervised by the Great Powers, a responsibility which the latter were unwilling to assume. It was with great difficulty that they were able to unite in a joint note. This was drawn up on behalf of the three empires by Andrassy, and, after having received the approval of the three remaining Great Powers, was presented to the Porte in an apologetic and inoffensive manner on the 31st of

January, 1876. Five points were insisted on as essential to the pacification of Bosnia and Herzegovina—unlimited religious freedom; abolition of the system of farming the taxes; the application of the direct revenue of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the benefit of those provinces; establishment of a special commission, consisting, in equal parts, of Moslems and Christians, to watch over the execution of the reforms; and improvement of the industrial condition of the country population. Mahmoud Pasha and his master went through the solemn farce of laying the propositions of the powers before a ministerial council, after which they were accepted, with some modifications of the third proposition, and published in an imperial iradé of the 13th of February. A second iradé on the 23d of the same month offered full amnesty to the rebels, safe return to the fugitives, protection against all oppression, a free gift of the necessary materials for rebuilding their houses, and corn for sowing their fields, together with remission of the tenth for one year, and all other taxes for two. By these poetical decrees the Porte was for the moment relieved from all interference on the part of the Great Powers, and at the same time furnished with an excuse for carrying out no reforms of any description whatever—for it took no prophet to foresee that the rebels, mindful of the way in which the *hatti-sherif* of 1839 and the *hat-hümayün* of 1856 had been executed, would not submit unless the promised reforms were guaranteed and supervised by the Great Powers.

The Andrassy note had become waste-paper, and the utterances of the Russian Press—for when the Russian Press ventures to speak on any political topic its utterances may be regarded as inspired, or at least approved, by the government—showed that Russia appreciated the necessity of armed interference, and chafed at the restraint put upon her by the other powers. The powers which specially exercised this restraint were England and Austro-Hungary. The latter shared with Russia the position of the most interested country; but, as already stated, its interests were ultra-conservative, inasmuch as any disturbance in the Balkan peninsula endangered the unsteady equilibrium of the composite empire. Both Germans and Hungarians were opposed to annexation, as that would increase the strength of the Slavic element, which both of them already found too strong. The increase of Servia or the erection of a new Slavic state would make Russian

influence in the Balkan peninsula too powerful. Furthermore, the Magyars (5,500,000 in number, ruling over 2,500,000 Roumanians, 1,500,000 Germans, and 5,000,000 Slavs), in their hatred of the Slavs in general, and the Russians in particular, actually sympathized with the Turks. Consequently, Austria could not venture to advance her own frontier, except under pressure of actual necessity, neither could she allow the erection of any new Slavonic states, or the increase of those already existing. Her natural policy was the maintenance, so far as possible, of the *status quo*, and for this purpose she sought the alliance of England, and showed herself willing to follow any plan the latter might propose. But England adopted a simple policy of obstruction, encouraging the Porte in its opposition to all reform, rejecting the plans proposed by other powers, and refusing to present any of her own; recognizing the principle of European concert, but doing all in her power to prevent the fact. At the outset she urged the Turk to put down the Herzegovinian insurrection with all speed, and used her whole power to bring about that result. It was English representations which led Austria, in the early spring of 1876, to guard her frontiers more carefully against the insurgents, and finally to withdraw all support from the refugees within her borders. One other stroke of English policy, Oriental in more senses than one, calls for mention here—namely, the purchase from the Khedive of Egypt, on the 25th of November, 1875, of 176,602 shares of the Suez Canal for £4,000,000.

In accordance with England's advice to suppress the revolt as soon as possible, and thus avoid all foreign interference, the Sultan raised Achmed Mukhtar Pasha to the chief command, and despatched him to the seat of the disturbance with fresh forces, toward the close of December, 1875. But the Andrassy note (not yet formally presented) led to a change of policy, in so far that on the 24th of January Ali Pasha, formerly ambassador at Paris, appeared in Mostar as governor-general of Herzegovina, commissioned by the Porte to appease the insurgents with promises. In addition to this two special commissioners arrived, supplied with a small sum of money—enough to make a pretence, but nothing more—for the assistance of returning fugitives. The Austrian government, acting under English influence, put a more effectual guard upon its frontiers toward Herzegovina and Montenegro, as has already been narrated; and Baron Rodich, the stadtholder

and military commander of Dalmatia, was directed to attempt mediation. His attempts were ineffectual, because the insurgents refused to put any faith in Turkish promises unsupported by foreign guarantees. After conferring with Rodich in Zara, Achmed Mukhtar and Ali Pasha published a proclamation on the 28th of March, 1876, promising special favors to all fugitives who would return and lay down their arms, but threatening the recalcitrant with confiscation of their property, and exclusion from the benefit of the reforms. At the same time a cessation of hostilities was proclaimed from the 29th of March to the 10th of April.

It is not impossible that up to this point the Russian government had been acting in good faith for the pacification of the disturbed districts. It was Russia which had prevented Montenegro from declaring war, and induced Prince Nikita, whose land was burdened with the support of 30,000 Herzegovinian fugitives, to use his influence, at least ostensibly, for the restoration of peace. But while England, and, following her lead, Austria were throwing all their influence into the scale against the insurgents, Russia stood forth as in a sense the champion of their just claims. On the 5th of April Vesselitzky, a private agent of Prince Gortchakoff, arrived in the Suttorina, and entered into negotiations with the insurgents. They demanded, as before, some guarantee for the execution of the promised reforms. Vesselitzky constituted himself their plenipotentiary, and after a conference with Rodich in Zara, and another with Prince Nikita in Chettinye, set out for Berlin, in order to present in person the address of the insurgents at the conference about to be held there.

Before the close of the armistice in the south an insurrection broke out in the north-west, in Turkish Croatia, the centre of the movement being the little garrison town of Bisca. This new revolt was liberally supplied with men and arms from Servia, and a force of 10,000 rebels, some of them Mohammedans, was soon brought together. Ibrahim Pasha, the governor-general of Bosnia, found the force of 15,000 men at his disposal entirely inadequate for the suppression of the revolt. On the 1st and 6th of April, at Palanka and Yagrenitza, his troops were defeated by the insurgents, the latter fighting under the battle-cry, "Long live the Emperor of Austria!"

In the south, on the close of the armistice, Mukhtar Pasha set

out from Gacko, through the Duga pass, to provision the hard-pressed fortress of Niksich, but was defeated and driven back with great loss. Undoubtedly the insurgents along the Montenegrin borders were assisted by Montenegrin volunteers. Mukhtar represented to his government that 7000 Montenegrins took part in the battle in the Duga pass, and orders were thereupon issued to establish a camp at Scutari, with a view to an invasion of Montenegro. Russia, whose protegé Prince Nikita was, called upon the other Great Powers to assist her in averting war, and General Ignatieff and Count Zichy, the Russian and Austrian ambassadors at Constantinople, denied absolutely the credibility of Mukhtar's report. The Sultan finally yielded to their representations, and professedly countermanded his orders. The same pressure was not brought to bear on behalf of Servia, and before the close of April 40,000 men were assembled in the Turkish camp at Nish, on the southern border of that principality.

The situation was daily growing more critical. Austria and England had accomplished nothing, and Russia was becoming tired of delays and promises. On the 10th of May Gortchakoff had a meeting with Bismarck and Andrassy in Berlin, and laid before them a memorandum based upon the Andrassy note. A truce of two months was to be proclaimed in order to settle the points in dispute with the insurgents, the execution of the promised reforms was to be supervised by the consuls of the Great Powers, and an international fleet was to be despatched to the support of the consuls. "More effectual" measures were held in view, in case nothing had been accomplished before the expiration of the two months. This memorandum was adopted by the three emperors, and communicated to the other three Great Powers. France and Italy accepted it without reserve, but England refused her assent, on the ground that the Porte had not yet had sufficient time in which to carry out the reforms, and that the suggestion of "more effectual" measures would lead the rebels to persist in their rebellion, while the supervision by foreign consuls was an inadmissible interference with the sovereign rights of the Sultan. The English cabinet even went so far as to communicate the contents of the memorandum to the Porte, and in effect advised resistance to the will of Europe by means of a dilatory policy—adding, however, that Turkey could rely on nothing more than moral support from England. The memorandum itself was never pre-

sented to the Turkish government, the course of events rendering it for the moment superfluous.

In the mean time an event had occurred at Salonika which involved the Porte in threatening complications with two of the neutral or disinterested Great Powers. A mob of Turkish fanatics murdered the German and French consuls, on the 6th of May, by the command or at the instigation of the chief of police, the disturbance which led to their interference having originated in an attempt on his part to carry off a Bulgarian maiden for his harem. Germany and France at once demanded satisfaction, and French, German, Italian, Russian, Austrian, and Greek ships of war appeared in the harbor of Salonika to protect the foreign residents; whereupon England despatched twelve iron-clads to Besika Bay, to guard the mouth of the Dardanelles. The peremptory attitude of the injured powers compelled the Porte, after some shambling and delay, to punish, not merely, according to its usual custom, ignorant tools and inoffensive lookers-on, but even pashas and a chief of police.

Great embarrassment was occasioned at Constantinople by the German demand of 300,000 francs for the widow of the murdered consul. Turkish finances were in such a condition that it was difficult to procure even this small sum. On the 5th of October, 1875, the Porte had declared itself unable to pay more than fifty per cent. of the interest on the debt, with the exception of that portion guaranteed by England and France. On the 1st of April, 1876, payment of the coupons due on that day was postponed until the 1st of July. Officials had received no pay for months, and been obliged to rely wholly on bribes, while the soldiers were left to subsist on plunder. But with all that the foolish extravagance of the Sultan continued unchecked. The lack of money made itself sorely felt everywhere, and rumor said that there was an abundance stored up in the vaults of the palace. The murder in Salonika, and the military fiasco in Bosnia and Herzegovina, were used by the reform party to increase the dissatisfaction. That party was hostile to Russia, and hence anxious for the downfall of the grand vizier, Mahmoud Pasha, and the Sheik-ul-Islam, both of whom were under Russian influence. Of a sudden great excitement displayed itself among the Softas, or students, of whom there were about 10,000 at various mosques in Constantinople. Providing themselves with arms,

they marched in crowds through the city, and drew up a programme, in which they demanded, among other things, an assembly of notables, and the recall of Ignatieff by the Russian government. They likewise clamored for the annihilation of the revolt in Herzegovina, and for war with Montenegro. On the 11th of May they presented themselves before the palace with arms in their hands, and demanded the removal of Mahmoud Pasha and the Sheik-ul-Islam. Their demands were granted; but, instead of Midhat Pasha, the man of their choice, Mehemed Rushdi Pasha was made grand vizier. This was counterbalanced, however, by the appointment of Hussein Avni Pasha, the soul of the movement, as minister of war and commander-in-chief of the army. This was only a beginning. Abdul Aziz was not the man for the energetic policy required by his new counsellors. His greed, his extravagance, his leanings toward Russia, had long since deprived him of all respect. On the 29th of May the grand vizier, the Sheik-ul-Islam, Midhat Pasha, and the minister of war resolved to dethrone this worthless and dissipated Sultan, and place the legitimate heir, Murad, eldest son of the deceased Sultan, Abdul Medshid, on the throne in his stead. Their plan was successfully carried out, and the deposed monarch was forthwith removed to the kiosk Top-Capu, and thence to the Palace of Therragan, where he seems to have committed suicide a few days later.

But before Abdul Aziz ceased to reign, one of the cruellest tragedies which modern history records had been enacted in Bulgaria. Ever since the Crimean war it had been the policy of the Turkish government to eradicate the Bulgarians, and settle Tartars and Circassians in the provinces south of the Danube, in order to form a strong bulwark against Slavic aggression from the north. The Tartars remained almost exclusively in the Dobrudsha; the Circassians spread through the mountainous regions of Bulgaria. Bravely though the latter had fought against the Russians in their native mountains, in Bulgaria they proved nothing more than lazy robbers. Work they would not; they lived by plundering the unfortunate natives. At length, inspired by the example of Herzegovina and Bosnia, and incited in all probability by Russian and Servian agents, after vain complaints and petitions, on the 1st of May, 1876, some young men raised the standard of revolt against such shameless oppression at Drenovo, near Tirnova. Almost at the same time an insurrection broke out in

the region between Philippopolis and Sofia, and soon the insurgents numbered about 10,000 men. Abdul Kerim, commander of the army in Roumelia and Bulgaria, could not muster more than ten or fifteen thousand regular troops, and so recourse was had to the expedient of commissioning Bashi-Bazouks—volunteers without uniform—or, in other words, arming the Mohammedan population to suppress the revolt. Even the prisons were emptied, and murderers were enrolled to put down the rebellion. Such a course could not fail to result in massacres of the most atrocious description. The insurrection was soon suppressed, but still the massacres continued. It seems to have been the intention of the Turkish government to break the spirit of the Bulgarian people finally and completely, and thus render any future revolt an impossibility. The number of the luckless victims of this barbarous policy has been variously estimated at from three to one hundred thousand.

Batak was the place which suffered most severely, as it is also the name best known in connection with the massacres. All the Bulgarian villages in the neighborhood had already been destroyed before the Bashi-Bazouks appeared at Batak, on the 12th of May. Hitherto the villagers of Batak had enjoyed immunity, and as they were under the special protection of Achmed Aga, the leader of the Bashi-Bazouks, they were in hopes that the storm might leave them untouched. Achmed Aga, as chief of the police of the district, called upon the inhabitants to surrender their arms. His demand was at once complied with. One of the men who brought the weapons was shot dead, and the rest were sent back with orders to bring all the gold and jewellery in the place. But, without awaiting their return, the Bashi-Bazouks fell upon the hapless village, proclaiming themselves commissioned by the Sultan to rob and murder all the inhabitants. The headman of the village was impaled upon a spit and roasted alive. Of the women, some were stripped naked, robbed of their jewellery, outraged, and then murdered—others were carried off to grace the harems of neighboring Turkish magnates. A correspondent, describing the appearance of the village a few weeks later, says: "The path was strewn with bones and children's skulls; on the hill lay one hundred and fifty whitened skeletons, still half covered with clothes. When the sack of the village was completed, the girls and women were brought to this spot, where, after the most terrible abuse,

they were slaughtered like cattle. . . . Before the church a hideous odor greeted us. The church-yard is surrounded by a wall six feet high. The space between this wall and the church was filled in three feet deep with corpses, which were covered with nothing but stone slabs. The church itself was full of mouldering pieces of flesh, half-burnt bones, and bloody garments. Opposite the church stood the school-house, where three hundred women and children sought refuge, and were burnt alive by the Bashi-Bazouks. . . . At the lowest estimate, 4000 corpses were lying unburied in the village. Before the massacre Batak numbered 13,000 inhabitants, it now numbers 1200. If we estimate the missing at 1000, there still remains a difference of more than 11,000 to be ascribed to the bloody account of the Turks."

The number of Bulgarian maidens offered for sale after the massacres was so great that in Philippopolis they were to be had for three or four lire apiece. A correspondent writing from that place on the 15th of August, says: "The actual participants in the May insurrection were long ago sent to their last account; since then the authorities have been casting into prison chiefly innocent men, who never thought of rising against the government. Of 1028 Bulgarians who were imprisoned at Tirnova, only four had been guilty of any acts of insubordination; the rest were prominent merchants, clergymen, teachers, and peasants. About eight hundred unoffending clergymen and teachers have been put to death. The rich merchants in Grabrovo, Tirnova, Lovatz, and other places were seized in their shops, and killed almost without exception; their property fell to the treasury, or rather to the officials, who shared it among themselves. The poorer prisoners were for the most part allowed to live. So far 5628 persons have been released from prison. The poor creatures are most of them thoroughly broken down, owing to the miserable provision made for them during their imprisonment. Many did not see the sun's rays for months, and were allowed no clean garments whatever. In addition to this, all of them wore heavy fetters on their hands and feet."

The American consul-general, Mr. Eugene Schuyler, who visited Bulgaria in person, reported that these atrocities were wholly unnecessary for the suppression of the revolt, and that they were not provoked by any similar conduct on the part of the Bulgarians. On the news of the Bulgarian disorders, the government

in Constantinople was earnestly requested to send regular troops to the disturbed districts for the preservation of the public peace. This request was not attended to, and the beys of Adrianople and Philippopolis acted in complete accordance with the wishes of the government in arming the Mussulman population, the weapons being supplied from Constantinople. The outrages were attributable no less to the regular troops than to the Bashi-Bazouks. All doubt as to the complicity of the government is dispelled when it is remembered that the worst offenders were rewarded — the commander of Pestuvizza with a silver medal, Tussoum Bey of Klissura with the Medshidi order, and Achmed Aga of Batak with promotion to the Yuzbashi.

The Bulgarian massacre could not fail to excite the greatest indignation in all Europe, but more especially in Servia and Montenegro. Servia had long hesitated between peace and war. She had to fear, not alone the superior strength of the Turks, but also the jealousy of Austria, or rather Hungary, which had no desire to encourage the dream of a great Servia. In February of 1876 the war party at length gained the upper hand, and made such open preparations for a campaign against Turkey that Austria and Russia united in a joint note, urging the Servian government to refrain from hostilities. There is every reason to believe that Russia's efforts to maintain the peace were at the last merely ostensible both in Servia and Montenegro. In view of their intimate relations with Russia, it is scarcely credible that either of those states, but more especially the latter, should have ventured upon a war with the Porte without a reasonable assurance of the Czar's approval. In Belgrade Austria was looked upon as the only obstacle; and popular indignation ran so high that on the 9th of April, the national festival, stones were thrown at the Austrian consulate. Austrian influence did not prove strong enough to hold the Servians back. On the 5th of May an unmistakable war ministry was formed, with Ristic as minister of foreign affairs; and on the 22d a national loan of 12,000,000 francs was decreed. The overthrow of Abdul Aziz was regarded, both in Belgrade and Chettinye, as a sure sign of war. Prince Nikita at once placed himself at the head of the Herzegovinian movement, and issued orders to the insurgents. On the 26th of June the latter proclaimed him as their prince, and two days later the Bosnian insurgents, imitating their example, proclaimed Prince Milan

prince of Bosnia. The Servian army had already been for some time assembled on the border, while the Turks had also collected a considerable force on their side of the line. After some diplomatic correspondence the Servian government despatched an ultimatum on the 27th of June, demanding the "removal from the Servian frontier of the Turkish army, together with the wild hordes of Bashi-Bazouks, Circassians, Arnauts (Albanians), and Kurds," the appointment of Prince Milan as viceroy of Bosnia, and the occupation of the disturbed provinces by the Servian army. The union of Bosnia with Servia, and Herzegovina with Montenegro, seemed to the Porte too high a price for the maintenance of peace; accordingly, on the 2d of July, the Servian army crossed the Turkish border; and at the same time Prince Nikita, who had already called into the field the whole able-bodied population between the ages of seventeen and sixty, announced to the Porte that he preferred open war to the state of virtual siege in which his principality was kept by the Turkish forces on the border.

The Servian field army numbered about 80,000 men; but of these only 3000 were regular troops, while there was, furthermore, no reserve from which to supply the losses of battle. This force was unwisely divided: the main army, under the Russian general Chernayeff, was stationed in the south-east, at Alexinatz, opposite the fortress of Nish; a small force, under Colonel Leshyanin, on the Timok, opposite Viddin; another small force on the Ibar, opposite Novibazar; and a fourth in the north-west, on the Drina. Russia manifested the liveliest sympathy for the Servians. Of the six to eight thousand foreign volunteers in the Servian army fully three thousand were Russians, and many of the officers were of the same nationality. Money and hospital stores were freely supplied from the Northern empire; the empress put herself at the head of the benevolent societies organized for the benefit of the Servians and Montenegrins; collections were taken up from house to house; and numerous ladies and physicians hastened to offer their services at the seat of war. The emperor maintained an attitude of reserve, but the whole nation saluted the Servians and Montenegrins as brothers fighting in the common quarrel of the Slavonic race. The Montenegrin army, consisting almost exclusively of militia, numbered 15,000 men, divided into two parts, in order to make head at the same time

toward the north and south. The insurgents in Herzegovina were under the command of the Prince of Montenegro, while those in Bosnia fought independently; and it is rather a significant fact that the activity in those provinces decreased in proportion as that of Servia and Montenegro increased. The Turkish army at the outset of the campaign numbered 150,000 men, under the command of Abdul Kerim; but this force was constantly increased by fresh troops from Asia and Africa, who were paid by means of Abdul Aziz's confiscated treasures. The Turks were seriously impeded, however, in their prosecution of the war by the fact that they were compelled to recognize the neutrality of the Danube; in addition to which the harbor of Klek, where re-enforcements were to have been disembarked for Mukhtar Pasha, was closed by the Austrians.

On the 2d of July Chernayeff crossed the Turkish frontier, and severed the communications between Abdul Kerim at Nish, and Osman Pasha at Viddin. But he was unable to maintain his position, and on the 14th Abdul Kerim became in his turn the invader. On the 4th and 5th of August the Servians were defeated at Knyazebac; but Abdul Kerim did not know how to improve his victory, and Chernayeff was allowed to fortify himself at Bania and Alexinatz. This position was attacked by the Turks on the 19th of August, but after six days' fighting they were repulsed. The attack was renewed on the 28th, but with the same result. An attack on the 1st of September was more successful, and after eleven hours' fighting the Turks carried the Servian position before Alexinatz; but again they failed to improve their victory, and Chernayeff was allowed to intrench himself between Alexinatz and Deligrad. On the 11th and 16th the Servians assumed the offensive, but were repulsed. The campaign had lasted ten weeks, and had resulted slightly to the disadvantage of the Servians; their main army, together with the army of the Timok, had been worsted, and the smaller forces operating in the north-west and south-west had proved too weak to accomplish anything. For the rest, although the Montenegrins had been victorious both in the north and south, all the other allies on whom Servia had counted had failed her utterly. Neither Roumania nor Greece had moved; Bulgaria was crushed, and the Bosnians were held in check by the Turkish troops which had been sent thither. Russia offered nothing more than private

assistance and semi-official encouragement. Servia and Montenegro were left alone to carry on an unequal struggle with the Turkish empire. It was no wonder, therefore, that the demand for peace should make itself heard in Belgrade, and on the 16th of September a ten days' armistice was concluded.

This armistice was the direct work of the Great Powers. The Gortchakoff memorandum had never been presented to the Porte, on account of the revolution of May 30th. The leaders of that revolution, Hussein Avni Pasha and Midhat Pasha, while agreed in their hostility to Russia, differed radically in regard to internal policy. The former belonged to the old Turks, and clung to ancient forms and customs; the latter believed in pretending to rule according to European methods. Although hostility to Russia and a desire for change led them to sink their differences for a time, it is doubtful how long this agreement would have lasted. But fate solved the difficulty. On the 15th of June Hussein Avni Pasha and Rashid Pasha were murdered by a dissatisfied Circassian officer named Hassan. Their places in the cabinet were supplied by Abdul Kerim and Savfet Pasha, the former minister of justice. The whole revolution, of which this was the closing episode, was a defeat for Russian diplomacy, and had the effect of replacing Count Ignatieff by Sir Henry Elliot as the confidential adviser of the Porte. On the 9th of June, in the House of Commons, Disraeli expressed himself full of hope and confidence in reference to the new Turkish era thus inaugurated. Perhaps it was unwillingness to hamper the new government in its work of reform which led the English ambassador at Constantinople, or the English government, or both, to suppress the information in their hands regarding the atrocities in Bulgaria. As indicating the sentiment of a large body of the English people at this juncture, it may be worth recording that the London *Times* also suppressed the communications of its correspondent regarding the massacres, so that the first information which reached the English people came through the columns of the *Daily News*, on the 26th of June. The same information had been for some time in the possession of Sir Henry Elliot; but the ministry, when questioned in Parliament, denied all knowledge of such events. Ultimately, however, they were forced to send a commissioner to investigate the alleged outrages. As fuller news arrived a revulsion in public opinion set in, and the government

finally saw itself obliged to instruct the English ambassador in Constantinople (September 5th) that so much public indignation had been aroused by the late events in Bulgaria that, even in the extreme case of a war with Russia, England would not be able to interfere for the protection of the Ottoman empire. On the 21st of September Elliot was directed to request an audience with the Sultan, and demand compensation for the sufferers, punishment of the offenders of high rank, and the appointment of an efficient commissioner, either himself a Christian or surrounded by Christian counsellors, to whom should be intrusted the temporary administration of Bulgaria. The Turkish government did none of these things; the ringleaders in the massacres, such as Achmed Aga, were rewarded, and only a few underlings punished.

England's pro-Turkish attitude naturally excited the greatest indignation in Russia, where all classes of the population were clamorous for war with Turkey. The emperor, as has already been narrated, preserved an attitude of reserve, and dissuaded Servia and Montenegro from war, at the same time that he made no effort to restrain his subjects from rendering assistance to those states, and permitted Russian officers to take service in the Servian army. The alliance of the three emperors compelled him to consider Austrian interests, and be guided in his direct policy by Austrian wishes. On the 8th of July a meeting took place at Reichstadt between Alexander and Francis Joseph, attended by their respective chancellors, at which it seems to have been decided that no armed intervention should be attempted for the present, and that neither state should in any case act independently of the other. Germany, as the least interested, whose business it was to act as mediator, and reconcile, so far as possible, the conflicting views of her two colleagues, naturally assented to this arrangement. It has already been indicated that the position of the Austro-Hungarian government was no easy one, and the Servian war certainly did not tend to make it easier. In Cisluthania sympathy was strongly enlisted on the side of the oppressed Christian populations of the Balkan peninsula, while the Hungarians, in their hatred of the Slavs, showed themselves ardent admirers of the Turks. General Klapka, one of the heroes of 1848, arrived in Constantinople on the 21st of July, and put himself at the disposal of the Turkish government, his intention being to raise a Hungarian legion to fight under the crescent against the

Christian Slavs. This project met with the hearty approval of the Hungarian Press. On the 23d of October the students of Pesth expressed to Minister-president Tisza their wish to hold a torch-light procession in honor of the Turkish consul, and on the 13th of January, 1877, a deputation of Hungarian students presented Abdul Kerim, the conqueror of the Servians, with a sabre, as a "pledge of the intimate friendship between the two countries." The Magyars were also influenced by interest as well as sentiment, for they perceived that a strong Slavonic state to the south must result in giving the five million Slavs in Hungary a share in the government of that country. The conflicting views of the two great divisions of the empire seriously hampered Andrassy's policy, and forced conservatism upon him. Although a Hungarian, he realized the benefits accruing to the Austrian empire from the alliance of the three emperors, and recognized the fact that the interests of the country at large could not be subordinated to the wishes of a handful of Magyars. The policy which he favored aimed at a Christian administration of all those Turkish provinces in which the Christian population was in the majority, and the ultimate application of force, if necessary, to attain this result. In this way he hoped to avoid the necessity for a partition of the Ottoman empire, and the erection of dependent, or independent, Slavonic states.

In addition to England and the Magyars, one other friend of Turkish rule should be mentioned, namely, the Pope of Rome. The ground of this friendship was indicated in an article in the *Voce della Verita*, a Vatican sheet, to the effect that the rule of the Turkish crescent was preferable to that of the Greek Catholic cross. This alliance, which restrained from revolt the Roman Catholic population in Bosnia and Herzegovina, was very welcome to the Porte, and the latter showed its gratitude by settling certain difficulties which had arisen regarding the Armenian Church, and promising to bestow special privileges on its Roman Catholic subjects.

The Sultan with whom Servia must negotiate a peace was no longer Murad V. The "reformer of the Turkish empire," after a reign of three months, fell a victim to an incurable brain trouble, due to overmuch enjoyment of the pleasures of the harem, excessive use of intoxicating liquors, and the effects of his three years' imprisonment; and on the 31st of August his brother, Abdul

Hamid II., was declared Sultan in his stead. Murad V. had been a mere nonentity, and at first his brother seemed inclined to follow in his footsteps and leave the government entirely in the hands of the ministers. The Great Powers, which had been negotiating in Constantinople and Belgrade with a view to peace, left it to the Porte to propose the terms, and on the 14th of September the latter laid before their representatives the plan of a treaty containing, among others, the following conditions: occupation by Turkish troops of the four fortresses which had been handed over to Servia in 1866, payment of a war indemnity, construction of a railroad under Turkish control between Nish and Belgrade. These conditions were unacceptable, and almost resulted in a declaration of war on the part of Russia; but diplomacy averted the danger for the moment by arranging a truce of ten days, afterward extended to sixteen, in which to reconsider the terms proposed. England, which had heretofore refused to act in harmony with the other powers, and evidently desired to prove herself the arbiter of the Orient, was allowed to propose terms of peace. Accordingly, on the 25th of September Sir Henry Elliot, supported by the ambassadors of the other powers, submitted to the Porte the following propositions: restoration of the *status quo ante* in Servia and Montenegro, the establishment of administrative autonomy in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria, and the execution of the reforms indicated in the Andrassy note. The official answer, communicated on the 2d of October, while accepting the first two conditions, refused autonomy to the three provinces, on the ground that a constitution, including a central parliament, was about to be granted to the whole empire, and all branches of the administration thoroughly reformed. The rumor of a proposed naval demonstration on the part of the powers was answered by a threat to remove the capital to Adrianople; the hint of a joint occupation of Turkish provinces by Austria and Russia was met by the threat of an appeal to Islam. An attempt to lengthen the armistice was also unsuccessful, and resulted only in increasing the bitterness of England and Turkey toward Russia, to whose charge they attributed the failure of the negotiations.

But before matters had reached this point hostilities had been again resumed. Servia refused to consent to the prolongation of the armistice to sixteen days, inasmuch as the ten days' armistice

had not been strictly observed. Accordingly, on the 28th of September Chernayeff, who had taken advantage of the truce to proclaim Prince Milan king of Servia, and cause the army to take the oath of allegiance to him, resumed the offensive, destroyed the two bridges which Abdul Kerim had thrown across the Morava, and attacked the Turks in their positions. When victory seemed within his very grasp, Hafiz Pasha arrived on the scene with 33,000 fresh troops, and the Servians were repulsed. After a long pause, on the 19th of October the Turks attacked the Servian positions, and by the 31st of that month Alexinatz had been taken and destroyed, and the way opened into the interior. The greatest consternation prevailed in Belgrade in consequence of these defeats, and telegram after telegram was sent to Livadia entreating succor from the Russian emperor. Servia's tiny ally, Montenegro, on the other hand, had been more successful, and both to the north and south of their beggarly little patch of mountains the Montenegrins had entered Turkish territory as victorious invaders.

On the 30th of October, Ignatieff, in an interview with Savfet Pasha, informed the latter, in the name of the Russian emperor, that unless within twenty-four hours the Porte signified its willingness to conclude an armistice with Servia of six weeks or two months, Russia would break off her political relations with the Sultan. What Turkey might venture to refuse to the united demands of the disunited Great Powers she did not dare to refuse to Russia alone, and on the 31st of October a two months' truce with Servia was signed. England at once proposed a conference of the powers on the basis of the integrity of the Ottoman empire, with a view to establishing administrative autonomy in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria; and after some objections on the part of the Porte, all the powers accepted her invitation and sent delegates to the conference at Constantinople.

On the 2d of November the Czar, in a conversation with Lord Loftus, the English ambassador at St. Petersburg, pledged his word that he did not aim at the acquisition of Constantinople, and that in case it became necessary to occupy Bulgaria, the occupation should be merely temporary. He did not believe that anything could be accomplished without a display of arms, and suggested that Austria should occupy Bosnia, and Russia Bulgaria, while the English fleet should appear before Constantinople.

In a despatch of the 3d Lord Derby expressed himself satisfied with the Czar's assurances respecting his intentions. But it soon appeared that the English government was not satisfied after all. On the 9th of November, at the Lord Mayor's banquet, Lord Beaconsfield, after glorifying the strength and resources of Great Britain, said, "In a righteous cause, England is not the country that will have to inquire whether she can enter upon a second or third campaign. In a righteous cause England will commence a fight that will not end till right is done." The allusion was manifest, and the Emperor Alexander's speech to the nobles at Moscow on the following day was an evident answer to the challenge contained in the English Premier's words. If he could not succeed in obtaining with the concert of Europe, he said, such guarantees as he thought it necessary to exact, he was firmly determined to act independently, and was convinced that all Russia would respond to his summons.

These utterances were ominous. On the 13th the Czar ordered the formation of six army corps out of the divisions stationed in the military districts of Odessa, Charkoff, and Kieff, and appointed Grand-duke Nikolai Nikolaievitch their commander. A Crimean army was also to be formed under the command of General Semyeka, and large re-enforcements were ordered for Loris Melikoff in the Caucasus. In an explanatory circular Gortchakoff informed the Great Powers that Russia was determined not to rest until justice had been done to the Christian subjects of the Porte. On the 18th of November a loan of 100,000,000 roubles was ordered, which was taken up in the Russian empire within eight days. Orders were also issued placing the railroads at the disposal of the military authorities, the export of grain and horses was forbidden, torpedoes were laid at the entrances of the most important Black Sea harbors, and other necessary preparations made for war. These measures called forth, not alone diplomatic protests and inquiries from the English cabinet, but also counter preparations, and on the 18th of November it was announced that, in case Bulgaria were occupied by Russian troops, England would occupy Gallipoli and Constantinople, in order to secure the Bosporus and the Dardanelles against the Russian fleet. A war between Russia and Turkey was everywhere regarded as certain, and the fear was entertained that England or even Austria might also become involved. It was generally felt that the peace of

Europe depended on the attitude of Germany, and men asked what Bismarck's policy would be. In answer to an interpellation in the *Reichstag* by Richter, on the 5th of December, Bismarck gave it to be understood that Germany would support Russia in her demands relative to the Christian subjects of the Porte, and that in case of war Austria's neutrality was assured; Russia was to make no conquests, and Austrian interests were to be provided for. He also took occasion, at one of his parliamentary receptions, to express the belief that England would not be a party to the war.

During the interval preceding the conference Turkey was not idle. Military preparations were pushed forward, and at the same time a constitution intended to checkmate the approaching conference was under preparation. On the 21st of November this instrument was completed, under the direction of Midhat Pasha, and laid before the Sultan for his signature. As it conferred upon the Christians political equality with the Mohammedans, Mehemed Rushdi Pasha, a fanatical old Turk, opposed it; but on the 19th of December his resignation was tendered, on account of "ill health," and Midhat Pasha became grand-vizier in his stead. On the 23d the new constitution was published in the presence of the dignitaries of the realm, while cannon thundered forth their welcome to the new-born sham. It is needless to mention all the beneficial provisions of this document, for they were never executed, and it was not intended that they should be. The constitution was to serve as an excuse for paying no attention to the advice of Europe. That advice was prepared in a preliminary conference, from which the representatives of the Porte were excluded, lasting from the 12th to the 20th of December. The reforms proposed were practically the same as before. As the only means of securing their execution, Ignatieff advocated the occupation of the disturbed provinces by Austria and Russia, and the appearance of the English fleet in the Bosporus. Neither the Austrian nor English representatives would consent to this proposition, and finally, at Lord Salisbury's suggestion, it was determined to execute the reforms under the protection of Belgian troops. The conference proper was opened on the 23d, Savfet Pasha presiding. Count Chandordy had scarcely presented the proposition of the Great Powers when the sound of cannon was heard, and Savfet Pasha announced that a constitution

had been granted and a new era had begun. This did not have the desired effect, however, and on the 1st of January the Porte found itself obliged to lay before the conference a counter-proposition. On the 15th of January the powers as an ultimatum presented their demands in a somewhat modified form, omitting among other things the condition with reference to the employment of foreign troops, but giving their representatives a voice in the selection of governors, and providing two commissions appointed by the Great Powers for the general supervision of the reforms.

The position of the Porte was difficult in the extreme; for if these two conditions were accepted, the independence of the Turkish government was lost; while, if they were rejected, war was inevitable. On the 18th of January a meeting of the Extraordinary Grand Council was called, at which two hundred and fifteen persons were present, including the Grecian patriarch and delegates from the Armenian patriarch, the Bulgarian exarch, and the Grand Rabbi. The council advised resistance, and on the 20th the Porte communicated to the conference its rejection of the two obnoxious conditions. But these conditions were the very kernel of the whole matter, inasmuch as they contained a guarantee for the execution of the reforms. In their stead the Porte offered no guarantee but promises, and so the conference came to a close, and all the powers withdrew their ambassadors as a sign of their displeasure. On the 5th of February Midhat Pasha, the only man in whose intention and ability to introduce reforms of some description Europe had any faith, was removed from his office and banished, in accordance, so Savfet Pasha informed the powers, with article 113 of the constitution—Midhat's own constitution—which gave the Sultan the right to banish all who might be designated by the accredited organs of the police as dangerous to the state. Edhem Pasha, an old Turk and a Russian-hater, became grand-vizier, but Mahmoud Damad Pasha, the Sultan's brother-in-law, was the real dictator of Turkish policy.

After the failure of the conference, direct negotiations were opened with Servia and Montenegro, and on the 1st of March a peace was signed with the former state, by which the *status quo ante* was restored, with the stipulation that the Turkish flag should be planted on the citadel of Belgrade along with the Servian.

With Montenegro matters did not run so smoothly. Turkey would not consent to any cession of territory; and finally, on the 13th of April, negotiations were broken off, and both sides prepared for a renewal of the war. But this time Prince Nikita was to have an ally more powerful than Servia.

On the 31st of January Gortchakoff addressed a circular to the Great Powers, asking what they intended to do, now that their advice had been rejected. England proposed a year's probation. Gortchakoff inquired what was to be done at the close of the year, as "Russia could consent to such a probation only on condition that the Great Powers pledged themselves to joint measures of coercion" in case Turkey failed to carry out the reforms within that time. Such a pledge England was unwilling to give, and the plan of the English cabinet, so far as it can be said to have had one, seems to have been to shut its eyes and try to believe the assurances of the Porte. In pursuance of this policy, the Queen's speech, on the 8th of February, expressed confidence that the evidence afforded by the late conference of the existence of European concert could not fail to exert great influence on the Sultan's government. But Russia would not so readily abandon the policy of joint action on the part of the Great Powers, and in the beginning of March Ignatieff undertook a mission to Berlin, Paris, Vienna, and London—professedly on account of his eyes. Finally, on the 31st of March, the six powers signed a protocol calling upon the Porte to make peace with Montenegro, reduce its army to a peace footing, and carry out the desired reforms. The execution of these reforms was to be watched over by the representatives of the powers; and, in case they were not carried out, the latter reserved to themselves the right of indicating the measures which they considered necessary to the welfare of the Christian populations in the dominions of the Sultan. The object of the protocol, which was a feeble echo of the Constantinople conference, was to convince the Porte of the continued existence of the European concert. Before signing it Shouvaloff, who represented Russia, stated that if a peace were concluded with Montenegro, and the Porte showed itself ready to accept the advice of Europe, a special ambassador might be sent to St. Petersburg to treat regarding disarmament. (On the 3d of March the Czar had ordered the formation of eight additional army corps and a grenadier corps.) Lord Derby, on behalf of

England, read a statement to the effect that the English government consented to the protocol only on condition of the mutual disarmament of Russia and Turkey, otherwise it must regard it as null and void. To such a shift were the powers reduced, in their attempt to preserve a decent appearance of concert, that they had virtually yielded to the demands of the Porte. The protocol itself was nothing more than the programme of the Constantinople conference, minus the two clauses which Turkey had found objectionable. But this emasculated concert was rendered worthless by the explanations appended by Russia and England respectively, for it was morally certain that Turkey would not accept the Russian conditions, and in that case England would regard the protocol as null and void.

The London protocol was presented to Savfet Pasha on the 3d of April, and the Porte refused to accept it. Montenegro the Sultan regarded as an integral part of his dominions, and if peace were not concluded, the fault lay with Prince Nikita and not with his suzerain. The reforms should be carried out so far as they did not interfere with the constitution, and no farther. A special ambassador could be sent to St. Petersburg only in case the Czar on his part sent a special ambassador to Constantinople. On the 19th of April, in the English House of Lords, Lord Derby announced that the Porte had been warned to expect no assistance from England—nevertheless, on the 30th of the previous month, England, without consulting the other powers, had sent Sir Austin Layard, a warm friend of the Turks, as ambassador to Constantinople. The Turkish answer to the protocol was received in St. Petersburg on the 12th of April, and on the 13th orders were issued to mobilize the whole Russian army. On the 24th of the same month the emperor issued a manifesto ordering his troops to cross the Turkish frontiers; and on the same day a circular note was sent to the powers, informing them of the fact. In his answer to this circular, Lord Derby expressed his regret at Russia's action, which he regarded as a violation of the Treaty of Paris of 1856; at the same time, however, he announced the intention of the English government to observe a strict neutrality in case British interests were not interfered with. Those interests were somewhat more closely defined shortly after as being English communications with the East. For the protection of those communications the Suez canal must not be in

any way obstructed, Constantinople must remain in the hands of its present possessors, and the existing regulations with regard to the Dardanelles and Bosporus must be maintained. It was also indicated that the occupation of Bulgaria for any longer time than was absolutely necessary might occasion unpleasant complications.

The position of Roumania between the two belligerents rendered its alliance a matter of importance to both sides. On the 16th of April a convention was concluded with Russia, by which free passage through the principality was conceded to the Russian army, together with the use of the railroads, post, and telegraph; and it was also provided that the Roumanian commander-in-chief should establish magazines at all important points, excepting Bucharest, in the rear of the Russian army of operation. As this convention was a virtual declaration of war with Turkey, orders were issued on the 18th to concentrate 10,000 men at Bucharest, and two days later the mobilization of the whole army was commanded. Prince Charles assumed the chief command in person. His available troops, thoroughly equipped, and well provided with all the necessaries of war, numbered 38,000 infantry and 8200 cavalry, with 120 field guns. Leaving the eastern part of his country to the Russians, the prince took up a defensive position between Krayova and Kalafat, which he maintained until the early part of September.

The Russian army entered Roumania on the 24th of April, but its progress toward the Danube was very slow. There was but one railroad leading from Bessarabia to the Turkish frontiers, and this had been rendered useless at places by the heavy rains, while from the same cause the roads were almost impassable. The Turks had it in their power to increase the difficulties of the Russian advance by the prompt destruction of the railroad bridge across the Sereth at Barboshi, but allowed the opportunity to slip from their grasp. Skobeleff's cavalry brigade, pushing forward with all speed, accomplished the distance from the Russian frontier to Barboshi in one day. Infantry and artillery followed; Galatz and Braila were strongly garrisoned, and the possession of the bridge secured. The Turks had expected great things from their Danube flotilla, but their expectations were doomed to disappointment. Batteries were erected at Braila and other points, and the passage of the river at Reni and Matshin was obstructed by torpedoes. (Later, torpedoes were also utilized for

the protection of Russian bridges across the Danube.) On the 11th of May a Turkish monitor was blown up by a shell from the Braila batteries, and a few days later an iron-clad turret-ship was disabled. On the 26th of the same month two Russian officers, Dubasheff and Shestakoff, succeeded in blowing up a Turkish monitor in the Matshin canal by means of torpedoes. These calamities damped the ardor of the Danube flotilla, and reduced it to inaction. The Turkish fleet in the Black Sea, on the other hand, proved of great value, enabling the Turks to send troops and provisions by water, while the Russians were confined to land communications.

On the 6th of June Emperor Alexander, accompanied by his chancellor, arrived in Roumania and took up his head-quarters at Playesti, north of Bucharest, where Grand-duke Nicholas had already been since the 15th of May. The waters of the Danube were still 16 feet above the normal level, rendering the passage of the river for the present impracticable. The army under the grand-duke's command consisted of nine army corps. Of these the 7th and 10th had been left behind, to guard the coast between Odessa and the Crimea; the 14th was stationed between Galatz and Braila, the 11th at Oltenizza and Giurgevo, the 8th at Simnitza, the 9th at Turnu-Magurelli, and the 12th, 13th, and 4th farther back, at Saleasa, Alexandria, and Bucharest. This disposition made it evident that the main passage of the Danube would take place between Simnitza and Turnu-Magurelli, opposite the Bulgarian fortresses of Sistova and Nikapoli. How strong the Turkish forces opposed to the grand-duke's army were it is scarcely possible to estimate even approximately. According to the most probable guess there were 20,000 men in the Dobrudsha, 10,000 in Silistria, 30,000 in Rustchuk, 20,000 in Shumla, and 35,000 in Viddin, making a total of 115,000. In addition to these, a reserve army, about 30,000 strong, was formed to the south of the Balkans, and a number of soldiers were brought back from Montenegro. These were all regulars; the number of the irregulars it is impossible even to conjecture. These forces were under the chief command of Abdul Kerim Pasha, who arrived at Shumla on the 17th of April, and distinguished himself, so long as he remained in command, by complete inaction, failing from first to last to do anything to hinder the Russian advance or thwart the Russian plans.

Before the Russian armies crossed the Danube Gortchakoff made one more attempt to bring England over to the side of Russia, or secure her neutrality. For this purpose Shouvaloff had an interview with Lord Derby on the 8th of June. In case Turkey would yield before the Russian army crossed the Balkans, the conditions of peace were to be the establishment of an autonomous Bulgarian state, under the suzerainty of the Porte, but with an independent administration and its own militia; an increase of territory for Servia and Montenegro, and such a settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina as should insure protection to the Christians in those provinces. As indemnity for the costs of the war, Russia was to acquire the part of Bessarabia which had been taken from her in 1856, and the harbor of Batoum, with adjoining territory. Roumania was to be repaid for the loss of Bessarabia by a part of the Dobrudsha, or by independence from the Porte. If Austria desired compensation, Russia was willing to allow her to appropriate Bosnia and a part of Herzegovina. Lord Derby was of opinion that Turkey would not accept these conditions, even if England united with Russia in urging them upon her. As to England's own attitude toward them he was wholly non-committal. The real object of the negotiations had been, not to win England's co-operation in exerting pressure on the Porte, for it was certain that the Porte would not yield, but to sound the English cabinet as to the conditions which might be exacted without provoking war with England, and by making the latter an accessary to insure her neutrality. But the attempt proved abortive, and Russia was forced to enter upon the campaign uncertain what to expect from the English government.

In the night of the 21st of June the Russians crossed the Danube in boats at Galatz, and dislodged the Turks from the heights of Budyak. On the 23d Matshin was occupied by the Russians, and by the 28th the whole of the 14th army corps, commanded by General Zimmermann, was on the right bank of the river. The Turks now abandoned the Dobrudsha, and fell back on the line of defence between Czernavoda and Küstendshe (Trajan's Wall); but this also was abandoned after a faint resistance, and occupied by the Russians on the 19th of July. The passage of the main army took place at Simnitza on the night of the 26th, the 8th army corps leading the way. By three o'clock on the afternoon of the 27th Sistova was in the hands of the Russians, and the Turks

were in full retreat, some toward Nikopoli, others toward Tirnova. On the same day a proclamation was issued to the Bulgarian people announcing their freedom from Mussulman oppression, and calling upon them to render the Russian army all the assistance in their power. On the 29th the emperor transferred his head-quarters to Simnitza. On the 2d of July a bridge across the Danube was completed, and by the middle of that month four army corps (8th, 9th, 12th, 13th) were on Bulgarian soil, the 11th and 4th still remaining on the left bank.

For the next few weeks the Russians met with no check, and almost with no resistance. Advancing southward along the Iantra, Biela was taken on the 1st of July, Tirnova on the 7th, and Drenovo and Gabrovo on the 10th. On the 12th Grand-duke Nicholas, accompanied by Prince Cherkassky, who was intrusted with the reorganization of the civil administration of Bulgaria, took up his head-quarters in Tirnova. On the 13th General Gourko, with the advance-guard of the 8th army corps, consisting of four battalions of riflemen, the Bulgarian legion (six battalions), and some cavalry, commenced the passage of the Balkans by the Hankiöi pass to the east of the Shipka. On the 14th he was in the Tundsha valley, and his Cossacks had destroyed the telegraph wires at Yeni-Sagra. On the 17th, in spite of the opposition of Reouf Pasha, he occupied Kasanlik and Shipka, at the southern extremity of Shipka pass. On the 18th his forces entered the pass from the south, co-operating with Prince Mirski, who had entered it with two regiments from the north, and on the 19th both the Shipka and Hankiöi passes were in the hands of the Russians.

The Russian advance had been along the line of the Iantra; in order to secure that line, it was necessary to reduce the fortress of Nikopoli, and accordingly General Krüdener, with the greater part of the 9th corps, was detailed for that duty. On the 16th of July, after a three days siege, the garrison, consisting of two pashas and 6000 men, surrendered to the Russians. Selvi and Lovatz were also occupied by small detachments, so that the greater part of Central Bulgaria, with the Balkan passes, was in the hands of the invaders. From those passes Russian cavalry were despatched still farther southward; Eski-Sagra, Karabunar, and Yamboli were occupied, and on the 25th Russian horsemen appeared in Kaskiöi and Hermanly, between Philippopolis and Adrianople.

The Russian advance had been so rapid and unchecked that the Turkish authorities, filled with consternation, already regarded Adrianople as lost, and fearfully expected to see the victorious enemy before the gates of the capital itself, while fugitives from all sides, seeking refuge in Constantinople, increased the confusion that already prevailed. In Dogma-Bagtshe, the Sultan's palace, there was even some talk of removal to Brousa, in Asia Minor. But first it was resolved to try a change of ministers and generals, and accordingly Savfet Pasha, Redif Pasha, minister of war, and Chairulla Effendi, the Sheik-ul-Islam, were removed from their posts. Mustapha Pasha was made minister of war, and the fanatical Kara Chalil Effendi Sheik-ul-Islam, while Mehemed Ali Pasha, a descendant of the Huguenots, Detroit by name, from Magdeburg, in Prussia, was appointed commander of the army of the Danube. Aarifi Pasha, formerly Turkish ambassador in Vienna, was intrusted with the conduct of foreign affairs. He at once issued a circular note announcing to the powers that, owing to the barbarities perpetrated by the Russians and Bulgarians, the Porte could not engage to prevent the Mussulman population from resorting to reprisals, and massacring all the Christians whom they could find. This caused a panic among the foreign population in Constantinople, and many fled to Athens or the Prince's islands. As it was in reality nothing more than a threat of the most atrocious description, calculated to excite the Mussulman population to the commission of inexcusable outrages, the English and German ambassadors at once protested, and on the 1st of August Aarifi was replaced by Server Pasha.

The Russian victories had caused scarcely less consternation in London than in Constantinople. On the news of the passage of the Danube, Admiral Hornby, with thirteen iron-clads, was at once despatched to Besika Bay. The crossing of the Balkans induced the English cabinet to send 3000 men to Malta. The English ambassador, Layard, was now directed to inquire, semi-officially, whether the Porte desired the English fleet to enter the Dardanelles, for the better protection of Constantinople. The Sultan, mindful of the fate of the Spanish Gibraltar and the Italian Malta, refused his consent to such a measure unless England was willing to enter into an alliance of offence and defence with Turkey. Layard then suggested that English troops should occupy Gallipoli; but to this the Porte attached the same conditions.

Not prepared to act solely on their own responsibility, the English ministers next sought to form an alliance with Austria; but Andrassy, certain of a recompense for his neutrality, was not willing to abandon the alliance of the three emperors, and so England was obliged to content herself with a position of observation in Besika Bay and at Malta.

The four Russian army corps in Central Bulgaria were so disposed as to form three separate armies. Two corps, under the command of the Czarevitch, operated toward the east, against the Turkish positions at Rustchuk, Rasgrad, and Shumla; a third, toward the south, occupied a position extending from Tirnova to the southern extremity of the Shipka pass; while General Krüdener, with the 9th army corps, faced toward the Osma and the Vid. On the 17th of July the last named commander received word that hostile troops had appeared in the neighborhood of Plevna. Three regiments sent to dislodge them were defeated, on the 20th, with a loss of 66 officers and 2771 men. Some time before this, Osman Pasha, commander of Viddin, had proposed to Abdul Kerim to leave a small garrison in Viddin, occupy Nikopoli with all the troops at his disposal, and from that point threaten the Russian right flank; but his proposal had been rejected, and he had been ordered to remain where he was. Finally, about the middle of July, he received permission to carry out his plans; but it was too late; and before he could reach Nikopoli that fortress had already capitulated. Instead of retreating to Viddin, however, Osman turned southward, and selecting the unfortified village of Plevna as the most favorable for his purpose, improvised there, in a few days, a fortification of the first rank. After the defeat of the Russians on the 20th, a Turkish column was despatched against Lovatz; and with Plevna and Lovatz in their hands, Osman's 30,000 men were in a position to checkmate the Russian plans completely. The Russian generals had been taken at unawares; it was to them as though a hostile army had fallen from the skies. The advance in the Tundsha and Maritza valleys was stopped, the Czarevitch's army was condemned to inaction, and all available troops were sent in hot haste to the support of General Krüdener. Handing over Nikopoli to the Roumanians, the latter officer, with 38,000 men, advanced against Osman's position at Plevna; but in the mean time the strength of the Turkish army had been raised to 50,000. The

second battle of Plevna was fought on the 30th of July; and although the Russian troops conducted themselves with the greatest valor, they were repulsed with a loss of 8000 men. The Turks stained the record of their victory by barbaric cruelty, putting to death all the wounded prisoners who fell into their hands.

This victory caused a genuine panic at Russian head-quarters; but, fortunately for the Russian generals, Osman failed to follow up his success, and contented himself with strengthening his position and bringing up re-enforcements. It was evident that they had underestimated the strength of their opponents, and pushed forward without sufficient forces. Grand-duke Nicholas at once transferred his head-quarters from Tirnova to Biela. The two army corps which had been left behind as a coast-guard were ordered to the front; the guard corps, the grenadier corps, and other regular troops were mobilized; 185,467 reserve and *landwehr* troops were called out, and an additional levy of 206,000 men commanded. But the regular troops could not reach the seat of war before September, and the others were not ready for action in time to take any direct part in the campaign. Hitherto the Czar had refused to accept the co-operation of the Roumanian army, on account of Austria's fear that a strong and victorious Roumania might exert too great an attraction on the Roumanians in Hungary; but now the Austrian objections seem to have been withdrawn, so that a new alliance of offence and defence between Russia and Roumania called forth no protest. Two divisions of the Roumanian army crossed the Danube at Korabia on the 2d of September, a third was already in possession of Nikopoli, and the fourth remained at Kalafat. The command of the army of investment before Plevna was conferred on Prince Charles, and the Russian general Zatoff was appointed his chief of staff.

On the 30th of August Osman awakened from his lethargy sufficiently to attack the Russian positions at Pelifat and Selvi, but both attacks were unsuccessful. On the 3d of September the Russians again assumed the offensive. General Imeritinski, with 20,000 men, carried Lovatz by storm, and joined the Russian army of investment before Plevna. With this addition, that army consisted of nine infantry and four cavalry divisions, with 400 guns; and on the 11th a general attack on the Turkish positions was ordered. The Roumanians on the north succeeded in taking the Grivitza redoubt, but the Russian centre was repulsed,

while an intrenchment which had been captured by Skobeleff on the south was recaptured by the Turks on the following day. This third battle of Plevna was in reality a Russian defeat; for the Grivitza redoubt, which had cost 14,000 men, was commanded by a second redoubt, the Plevnitza, which still remained in the hands of the Turks.

South of the Balkans, also, the Turks had developed more activity since the change of ministers and commanders. There Suleiman Pasha, who had distinguished himself by an energetic and brilliant but resultless march through the very centre of Montenegro in the month of June, had taken the place of Reouf Pasha, the former commander of the army of the Balkans. Recalled from Montenegro for the defence of the southern provinces, he embarked on Turkish transports at Antivari on the 16th of July, landed at Dedeagh, advanced by rail to Hermanly, and from there directed his march toward the Shipka pass. On the 30th and 31st of July Reouf Pasha, without awaiting his arrival, attacked General Gourko in a fortified position at Eski-Sagra, and was repulsed. On the night of the 31st Suleiman arrived. Forming a junction with the remnant of Reouf's defeated forces, he surprised the Russians in their intrenchments, and routed them utterly early on the morning of August 1st. Some of them fled toward the Shipka, others toward the Hankiöi pass. Suleiman followed, burning and massacring as he went, and with about forty battalions took up a position directly in front of the Shipka. Instead of sending a detachment to attack the Russian garrison, which numbered about 4000 men, in the rear, while the main army assailed them in front, Suleiman hurled his whole force against the southern entrance of the pass, and for four weeks, from the 19th of August to the 17th of September, wasted his men in useless attacks upon the Russian positions. On the 23d of August the Turks had almost succeeded in forcing a passage, when General Radetzki arrived on the scene with re-enforcements. Before daybreak on the 17th of September 3500 Turkish volunteers, advancing in three columns, surprised the Russians on Mount St. Nicholas, the highest point in the pass, and drove them out of their intrenchments. Suleiman at once telegraphed to Constantinople, "The Shipka is ours!" But the news was premature. By noon of the same day the Russians were again in possession of the heights, no re-enforcements having arrived for the

support of the Turkish storming columns. This was the last serious attempt to dislodge the Russians from their position. Suleiman was shortly after transferred to the army of the Danube, and Reouf Pasha, his successor, contented himself with an attitude of observation.

The army of the Danube, to take command of which Mehemed Ali Pasha had been recalled from Montenegro, consisted of two army corps and an unknown number of irregular troops. To these were opposed, on the Russian side, two army corps, commanded by the Czarevitch. The Turkish forces were stationed behind the Black Lom. The Russians crossed that stream toward the close of August, but were defeated in a number of engagements and driven back toward Biela. If the enemy succeeded in gaining that place, the bridge over the Danube at Sistova must fall into their hands, and the armies before Plevna and in Shipka pass be threatened in the rear. Accordingly, all available positions between the Lom and the Iantra were fortified, and every effort made to defend the line of the latter stream against the Turks. Mehemed Ali, on his part, received orders from Constantinople to carry the line of the Iantra at any cost; but after a defeat at Cherkovna, on the 21st of September, he fell back again to his original positions. This led to his removal, and on the 4th of October Suleiman Pasha arrived in Rasgrad to succeed him in the command of the army of the Danube. Instead of making at once a vigorous attempt to carry the line of the Iantra, as was expected of him, Suleiman spent more than a month in strengthening the Turkish positions at Rustchuk and Rasgrad, and gathering re-enforcements from the Dobrudsha and other points, and it was not until the middle of November that he passed over to the offensive. Several attacks were made on the Russian left wing between the 18th and 26th of that month, but these were merely intended to serve as a cover for the main assault directed against the enemy's right. On the 4th of December Fuad Pasha, with 20,000 men, defeated the enemy's advance-guard, and pursued them as far as Yakovitza, near Tirnova; but instead of following up his success and attacking that place at once, he waited until the 6th. By that time re-enforcements had arrived, and the attack of the Turks was repulsed. Suleiman then made a serious attempt to break through the Russian left wing. Unsuccessful there also, he imitated the example of his successor, and fell back

across the Lom. The Turkish soldiers had everywhere proved themselves good fighters, but their leaders had no conception of military strategy. No general plan of operations existed, each army acting independently of the others, and consequently, even if temporary advantages were gained, ultimate defeat could not be avoided.

The unsuccessful attack of the 11th of September had shown that Plevna was not to be carried by storm. A pause of about a month ensued while the Russians were waiting for re-enforcements. Toward the end of September Totleben, the hero of Sebastopol, arrived to direct the engineering operations necessary to a regular siege. It was resolved to surround Osman's position, and leave him no other choice than to capitulate from lack of provisions or make an attempt to break out. The arrival of the Guard and Grenadier corps in October enabled the Russians to complete the investment toward the west, and close the road to Sofia. In Orkanye, between Plevna and Sofia, a second Turkish army, under Chefket Pasha, had been formed, by means of which Osman was furnished with re-enforcements and supplies, and on the 11th of October, in order to secure the communications between the two armies, 12,000 men had been placed in strongly fortified positions at Gornyi-Dubnik and Telish. On the arrival of the Guard-corps a Russian army of the west was formed, and General Gourko was intrusted with the task of capturing the Turkish positions to the west of Plevna. Passing to the south of that place he crossed the Vid, and attacked Gornyi-Dubnik on the 24th of October. At the same time, in order to divert Osman's attention, and prevent him from falling upon the rear of Gourko's forces, a bombardment was opened along the whole line, as though in preparation for an assault. The manœuvre was successful; Gornyi-Dubnik was taken by storm, and four days later Telish capitulated. Gourko's army at once spread itself out to the north and south. On the 25th of November Etropol was taken, and on the 21st the Roumanians occupied Rahova. The whole country from the Balkans to the Danube was in the hands of the Russians, and Plevna was completely isolated. The operations of Gourko's army compelled Mehemed Ali Pasha, who had succeeded Chefket, to abandon Orkanye, and retreat across the Balkans to Sofia, leaving a garrison in the Etropol pass.

Each week saw the iron ring around Plevna grow smaller as one position after another fell into the hands of the Russians.

On the 12th of November Grand-duke Nicholas called upon the Turkish commander to avoid useless loss of life by surrender, since there was no longer any possibility of relief; but the latter refused, announcing his determination to fight "to the last drop of our blood for the honor of our country." At length provisions failed, and a desperate attempt to break through the Russian lines was resolved upon. On the evening of December 9th, leaving the sick and wounded behind in Plevna, the Turkish army concentrated on the Vid. At daybreak of the 10th they began their advance toward Viddin in two columns. But the enemy was fully informed of their plans. As soon as the fortifications were abandoned by the Turks they were occupied by the Russians. The Roumanians and the Grenadier corps received the attack of the Turkish troops, and hurled them back on the intrenchments, now occupied by Russian soldiers. The Turks fought with desperation. Osman himself was wounded in the leg. Finally, at 12.30 P.M., the white flag was raised, and the Turkish army surrendered at discretion. Ten pashas, 2000 officers of the line, 128 staff-officers, and 36,000 men, besides the sick and wounded, fell into the hands of the enemy. (The fact that no Russian or Roumanian prisoners were found in Plevna is but one more proof of Turkish barbarity. In answer to a reminder from the German government that the Turkish soldiers were guilty of constant violations of the Geneva convention of 1865, to which the Porte was a party, subjecting the Russian wounded and prisoners to barbarous abuse, the Turkish government naïvely replied that the provisions of that convention were not yet known to the soldiers, but that it would cause them to be translated into Turkish, and communicate them to the troops.) The joy at Russian head-quarters was unbounded, for the capture of Plevna set the army free to cross the Balkans and march on Adrianople. The emperor greeted generals Totleben, Imeritinski, and Janetzki with the words, "This is wholly your work, and especially thine, Edward Ivanovitch" (Totleben). Osman Pasha, congratulated by his conquerors and lauded by the world, was sent as prisoner of honor to Charkoff. For almost five months (July 19th to December 10th), with inferior numbers and improvised fortifications, he had held in check the whole Russian army of occupation, inflicting upon it during that time a direct loss of at least 30,000 men.

The capture of Plevna enabled the Russians to resume an energetic offensive at all points. The Roumanian army at once began the siege of Viddin. General Zimmermann's army in the Dobrudsha was strengthened, and that of the Czarevitch was raised to 75,000 men. A reserve of three infantry divisions was stationed at Tirnova. The Shipka army, under General Radetzki, was increased to 60,000 men, and that of General Gourko to 75,000. These two latter, operating in concert, were to advance on Adrianople, the former crossing the Balkans by the Shipka, and the latter by the Etropol pass; while, as a connecting link between the two, General Karzoff, with a smaller army, was to force the passage of the Trajan pass. On Christmas morning, leaving a detachment on the north side of the Baba-kenak pass, to conceal his movements and keep the Turkish garrison employed, with the main part of his army Gourko commenced the passage of the mountains by a circuitous route, in order to attack the enemy in the rear. The difficulties in his way were enormous; the cold was intense; the mule-tracks, which formed the only roads, were covered with ice and snow; and at places the ascent could be accomplished only by means of steps cut in the ice, up which the cannon were pushed with infinite trouble. The descent was still more difficult, and it proved a well-nigh impossible task to bring down the cannon and horses in safety; but by the evening of the 30th all difficulties had been overcome, and two days later the Turkish positions were in the hands of the Russians. This necessitated the evacuation of Sofia; and on the 4th of January, for the first time since 1434, a Christian army was in possession of the old Bulgarian capital.

By order of the Turkish minister of war, Suleiman Pasha, leaving garrisons in the fortresses of Eastern Bulgaria, had crossed the Balkans to oppose the Russian advance and protect Roumelia, while Fuad Pasha had been appointed commander of the army originally commanded by Chefket. Pushing that army before him, Gourko entered Ichtiman on the 11th of January, Tatar-Basardshik on the 13th, and Philippopolis on the 16th, after defeating Fuad Pasha at Kadikiöi on the preceding day. At Philippopolis he formed a junction with a part of the forces of Karzoff and Radetzki. The former of these had effected the passage of the Trajan pass on the 3d of January, with the thermometer at

—22 R. (17 below zero, Fahrenheit), driving the small Turkish garrison before him. On the 5th the left wing of Radetzki's army, under General Mirski, and the right wing, under General Skobeleff, commenced the passage of the mountains east and west of Shipka pass. On the 8th Skobeleff was at Senovo and Mirski at Yanina, and on the 9th, after a nine-hours battle, Vessel Pasha, Reouf's successor, finding himself surrounded, surrendered to the Russians with 32,000 men and 66 guns. This victory opened to Radetzki's troops the road to Adrianople, and seriously threatened the rear of Suleiman's army.

On the 16th Fuad was again defeated at Bestalitza, and forced to take refuge in the Rhodope mountains. Suleiman himself was driven back toward Adrianople; but Russian troops intercepted his march, and on the 19th, abandoning the road to Adrianople, he turned southward, with the intention of reaching the coast and transferring the shattered remnant of his army by water to Constantinople. On the 20th the Russian columns united in Adrianople, and from this point detachments were sent out as far as Charlu, on the road to Constantinople, and Rodosto, on the Sea of Marmora.

The campaign in Armenia in so far resembled that in Bulgaria that the Russians greatly underestimated the strength of their opponents, so that preliminary successes were followed by disasters, which were again retrieved on the arrival of sufficient re-enforcements. The commander-in-chief of the Russian armies operating in Armenia was Grand-duke Michael, the stadtholder of the Caucasus and a brother of the Czar, but General Loris Melikoff, an Armenian, was intrusted with the actual conduct of the campaign. The Turkish commander-in-chief was Mukhtar Pasha. On the 24th of April, 1877, four Russian columns crossed the Turkish frontiers. The Rion column, under General Oklobyio, advancing from Poti and St. Nicholas against Batoum, was defeated by Dervish Pasha on the 24th of June, and driven back across the border. The second column succeeded in taking Ardahan on the 17th of May. Of the third column, a part invested Kars, but the main body, under Loris Melikoff himself, crossed the Soghanly mountains, and advanced against Erzeroum. At Sevin they were defeated by Feisy Pasha, and compelled to recross the Soghanly mountains, abandon the siege of Kars, and return to Alexandropol. The fourth column, under General Tergukassoff, took

the fortress of Bayazid on the 30th of April, and advanced as far as Delibaba, with the intention of forming a junction with the third column; but the retreat of the latter forced Tergukassoff on his part to retreat, followed by Ismail Pasha to the Russian frontier town Igdir, destroying Bayazid on the way. By the middle of July the Russian armies held the same position which they had held before the declaration of war, excepting only that Ardahan was still in their possession. Re-enforcements arrived toward the end of September, and on the 2d of October an unsuccessful attack was made on Mukhtar Pasha's strong position at Aladsha. The attack was renewed on the 15th with complete success; the Turkish right wing, consisting of twenty-two battalions, was forced to surrender, while the left was obliged to take refuge in Kars. General Melikoff at once commenced the siege of that place, which was finally taken by assault on the night of November 17th, while General Heimann, with the remainder of the third column, formed a junction with Tergukassoff and followed Mukhtar Pasha toward Erzeroum. On the 4th of November their united forces attacked Mukhtar and Ismail in their position on the heights of Deve-Boyun, near Erzeroum, and obliged them to retreat behind the walls of Erzeroum itself. That city was finally evacuated by the Turks on the 21st of February, 1878, after the conclusion of a truce.

Russian victory was now secure. The Turkish empire seemed tottering to its fall, and the neighboring and subject states each prepared to appropriate the largest possible share of the booty. The recall of Suleiman Pasha and Mehemed Ali, with all available Turkish troops, had enabled the Montenegrins to reduce Niksich, Antivari, and Dulcigno; and on the 29th of January, 1878, Prince Nikita led his army across the Boyana with the intention of investing Scutari in northern Albania. The Servians also, after the fall of Plevna had rendered Russian victory inevitable, bravely took up arms, and succeeded in reducing Nish, as well as a few other places of less importance. The insurrection in Bosnia and Herzegovina still continued. Crete was in rebellion—the insurgents demanded union with Greece—only the fortresses remaining in the hands of the Turks. Thessaly and Epirus were also in open revolt; and on the 12th of February, 1878, 12,000 Grecian soldiers appeared to support the rebels, and take possession of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Epirus in behalf of the government at

Athens. But the quarrels of the doctors, which had so long preserved the "sick man" from dissolution, intervened once more to save him.

Austria still preserved her attitude of neutrality. The Poles and Hungarians urged active interference in behalf of the Turks; the Bohemians and south Slavs were equally loud in their demands for co-operation with Russia. Pesth was the head-quarters of the Turcophiles, and greeted with illuminations all tidings of Mohammedan victories; while Agram, the capital of the south Slavs, welcomed with rejoicings the news of Russian success. (In September of 1877 the Austrian authorities discovered on the south-eastern frontier of Transylvania a depot of arms and munition for some 6000 men. An investigation revealed a conspiracy on the part of a number of Poles and Hungarians to make an inroad into Roumania, destroy the railroad at Busco and Marachesti, threaten the Russian line of communications, and form a junction with a Turkish column which was to advance from Silistria.) But Andrassy's government, supported by the German element, steered skilfully between this Scylla and Charybdis of Turcophiles and Russophiles, maintaining the strictest neutrality, although no state was in reality more deeply interested than Austria in the final settlement of the Eastern Question—for Austrian interests would not permit Russia to dominate the mouth of the Danube, or exercise an overweening influence in the Slavonic states of the Balkan peninsula.

On the side of England, the danger of some interference seemed more imminent. Russophobia was on the increase, and the utterances of both ministers and Press grew steadily more warlike. The fall of Plevna and the advance on Constantinople increased the excitement. In London Parliament was summoned to meet on the 17th of January, and in Constantinople Layard became a regular attendant at the meetings of the Turkish ministers. On the 12th of December the Porte had addressed a useless circular to the Great Powers asking their interference for the conclusion of a peace with Russia. Toward the end of that month, by Layard's advice, the Sultan wrote a letter to Queen Victoria asking her mediation, and the latter at once telegraphed to the Czar urging peace, and tendering her good offices. The Czar replied that, if the Sultan were desirous of peace, he must apply directly, and not through other powers; and an inquiry

from the English cabinet regarding the conditions to be exacted elicited merely an evasive answer.

On the 19th of January Server and Namyk Pashas appeared in the Russian head-quarters at Kasanlik, as Turkish plenipotentiaries, to negotiate a peace. But the negotiations progressed slowly; for the Turks were full of hopes in Lord Beaconsfield and the action of the English Parliament; while the Russians, on their part, awaited fresh victories. The queen's speech at the opening of parliament contained an announcement that, in case the hostilities between Russia and Turkey were unfortunately prolonged, "some unexpected occurrence may render it incumbent on me to adopt measures of precaution." At the same time, the chancellor of the exchequer, Sir Stafford Northcote, announced that he would ask for a supplementary estimate of six million pounds for naval and military purposes. This looked ominous, and Russia found it to her interest to hasten the negotiations. On the 31st of January preliminaries of peace and a cessation of hostilities were signed by both sides. In accordance with the terms of this armistice, the Turks evacuated and surrendered to the Russians all fortresses still in their possession north of a line from Derkos, on the Black Sea, to San Stefano, on the Sea of Marmora. The English government, fearful for "British interests," now began to act in earnest. It was announced in parliament that England, supported by Austria, would not recognize any private treaty between Russia and Turkey, but would insist that the terms of peace be submitted to a congress of the Great Powers. On the 31st of January, in the face of a protest from the Porte, the English fleet received orders to repair to Constantinople "for the protection of the life and property of English subjects." Gortchakoff at once announced to the Great Powers that in that event Russia would find it necessary to march her troops into Constantinople for the protection of the Christian subjects of the Porte. A compromise was finally effected; and on the 13th of February Admiral Hornby, with six ships, passed through the Dardanelles, and came to anchor at the Prince's Islands, about ten miles below the capital.

Every effort was now made on the part of the Russians to accelerate the conclusion of a definite peace, and on the 3d of March, 1878, the treaty of San Stefano was signed by Ignatieff and Nelidoff on behalf of Russia, and Server Pasha and Sadullah Bey,

Turkish ambassador in Berlin, on behalf of Turkey. By this treaty Montenegro, in addition to its independence, received Niksich and Gacko, with the adjoining territory in the north, while its boundaries were extended to the Sea of Scutari and the Boyana river on the south. Servia also became independent, and received a considerable increase of territory to the south and west—her most important acquisition being the town and fortress of Nish. Roumania, whose independence was recognized, received the lower Dobrudsha from Turkey, in return for the cession of Bessarabia to Russia. Bulgaria, with the Black Drina for its western boundary, and extending southward to the Ægean sea at the mouth of the river Karassu, was to be a self-governing, tributary principality, with a prince chosen by the people and confirmed by the Porte, with the consent of the Great Powers. By way of preparation for self-government the new principality was to be administered for two years by a Russian commissioner, and be occupied at its own cost by 50,000 Russian soldiers. The reforms indicated by the Constantinople conference were to be carried out in Bosnia and Herzegovina; Crete was to receive the organization promised in 1868; and a similar form of administration was to be introduced in the remaining Christian provinces. The war indemnity to be paid to Russia was fixed at 1,410,000,000 roubles: 900,000,000 for the expenses of the war; 400,000,000 for the injuries inflicted on Russian commercial interests; 100,000,000 for the insurrection in the Caucasus excited by Turkish agents, and supported by Turkish troops; and 10,000,000 as compensation for the losses inflicted on Russian subjects within the borders of the Ottoman empire. In view of the condition of Turkish finances Ardahan, Kars, Batoum, Bayazid, and the territory between the Russian frontier and the Soghanly mountains were to be accepted by Russia in lieu of 1,100,000,000 roubles, thus reducing the actual amount of the money indemnity to 310,000,000 (about $248,000,000). It was also provided that the Bosporus and the Dardanelles should remain open for the merchantmen of all neutral powers during peace and war alike.

England and Austria at once declared this treaty unacceptable, and demanded a European congress. Russia consented, but would only agree to submit the treaty of San Stefano to the *perusal* of that body, reserving to herself the right of accepting or rejecting

the recommendations of the congress at her pleasure, and argued that the questions concerning Turkey and herself were for Turkey and herself to settle between them. England, on the other hand, demanded that the treaty of Paris of 1856 should form the basis of negotiation, and that all the paragraphs of the treaty of San Stefano should be submitted to the congress, to be accepted or rejected by it. At the outset Austria seemed likely to side with England in spite of the alliance of the three emperors. The Austrian-Hungarian delegations were convened at Pesth on the 7th of March, and Andrassy demanded and obtained an extraordinary credit of 60,000,000 gulden. Although he denied that the annexation of Bosnia and Herżegovina was the object of his policy, it was nevertheless apparent that the occupation of those provinces was imminent. To the formation of a Bulgarian principality Andrassy expressed a determined hostility; and he advocated farther the strengthening of the Grecian element in the Balkan peninsula as a balance to the Slavic. To remove his objections Ignatieff was despatched to Vienna toward the end of March; and, as the result of his mission, an understanding was reached with the Austrian government. But with England the case was different. The withdrawal of Lord Derby from the cabinet (Lord Carnarvon, the only other peace member, had already withdrawn), and the calling out of the reserves looked as though England would go to war in support of her view of the case. The greatest activity prevailed in the English arsenals and dock-yards, and on the 29th of April the first instalment of Indian troops which the cabinet had ordered to the Mediterranean, 6000 men in all, embarked at Bombay for Malta. On the 1st of April Lord Salisbury, the new minister of foreign affairs, formerly secretary for India, had issued a circular note to the effect that England would not enter into a congress which was not free to discuss the whole treaty of San Stefano. Gortchakoff's answer showed equal firmness on the part of Russia.

Both parties seemed steering toward war, and there was a time when people daily expected the news of a collision on the Bosporus. The Russians sought to obtain possession of Buyukdere, one and a half hours from Constantinople, on the Bosporus, near the Black Sea, under pretence of shipping the troops from that point for Odessa. Against this project Layard protested, and the English fleet received orders to anchor before Constanti-

nople in case the Russians seized Buyukdere. As the Russian government persisted in its demands, and two Russian ships—of which it was said that they were provided with torpedoes for the purpose of closing the Bosporus against the English fleet—appeared in the roads before Buyukdere, the Turks began to fortify the heights, in order to thwart any attempt to seize the place suddenly. This action on the part of the Turks, as well as the delay in the surrender of Varna and Shumla, and the Mohammedan insurrection in the Rhodope mountains, was attributed by the Russians to English machinations. Grand-duke Nicholas was superseded by General Totleben; shore batteries were erected along the whole coast from Rodosto to San Stefano, in order to prevent the landing of British troops; re-enforcements were despatched from Russia to strengthen the army before Constantinople; collections were made in Moscow and other places for the equipment of privateers; and men and officers from the Russian navy were sent to the United States to take possession of the ships which were to be purchased there. All Europe waited in breathless suspense; at any moment a tiny spark might kindle a terrible explosion.

Every European state was interested in preventing such a catastrophe, and diplomacy exerted itself accordingly. Finally, a means of adjusting the quarrel was found. Count Shouvaloff conducted direct negotiations between the two capitals, and through his exertions a secret agreement was signed in London on the 30th of May, by which the difficulties in the way of the proposed congress were at length removed, and the threatened war averted. It was arranged that Bulgaria should be divided into two provinces, the one north and the other south of the Balkans; the former to be a tributary state, and the latter to possess a semi-autonomous administration under a Christian stadtholder appointed by the Porte, with the consent of the Great Powers. Bayazid and the valley of the Alashkert were to be restored to Turkey, on account of their importance to the trade between that country and Persia, and the little district of Khotur was to be surrendered to the latter state by the Sultan. The Russian government also made some farther concessions of minor importance, and promised that in the future the Russian boundaries should not be extended toward Asiatic Turkey. As to the retrocession of Bessarabia to Russia by Roumania, England

agreed to make no objections, inasmuch as the other powers did not oppose it, and English interests were not directly involved, but reserved for the discussion and decision of the congress the passage of the Russian troops through the principality.

The two last-named points—the cession of Bessarabia and the passage through Roumania of the Russian troops—encountered, as was to have been expected, bitter opposition from Prince Charles's government. By the treaty of San Stefano, besides ceding Bessarabia to Russia in return for a part of the Dobrudsha, his dominions were to remain open to the Russians for two years for the passage of troops to and from Bulgaria, while Roumania was, furthermore, left to make her own terms with Turkey in regard to a war indemnity—which was equivalent to saying that she was to receive no indemnity whatever. Bratiano, the minister-president, undertook a mission to Berlin and Vienna to win support for his government, but without success, and the Emperor William with his own hand wrote a letter to Prince Charles, urging him to put no difficulties in Russia's way with regard to the cession of Bessarabia. Roumania showed considerable spirit; but without support from some of the Great Powers nothing could be accomplished, and the mere protest of the Roumanian government called forth from Gortchakoff threats of a resort to the peremptory measures of occupying Roumania and disarming the Roumanian army. Russia certainly cannot be accredited with either gratitude or generosity in her treatment of a valiant and efficient ally. Roumania was an objectionable barrier between her and the Slavonic regions to the south and south-west. Furthermore, Roumania was too independent. Russian policy dictated the formation in the Balkan peninsula of small Slavonic states, which should be entirely under Russian influence, and Roumania was an obstacle in the way of that policy.

For somewhat similar reasons, Grecian claims were not viewed with much favor in St. Petersburg. Greece looked with longing eyes on Thessaly—where, out of a total population of 384,230 souls, 341,850 were Greeks—and Epirus, which numbered 415,965 Greeks as against 318,955 Turks and Albanians. The prospect of a division of Turkey had caused the greatest excitement in Athens. On the 29th of March, 1877, parliament voted the formation of a new reserve of 20,000 men, raising the whole force at the disposal of the Grecian government to 34,000. The

Russian declaration of war increased the excitement. A national *mobile* guard was formed, the reserves called out, twelve battalions of volunteers raised, torpedoes purchased, and orders issued to establish camps on the northern frontier. Volunteers poured in from the Grecian provinces under the dominion of the Sultan, and were at once enrolled in the ever-increasing army. These preparations led the Porte to address complaints, not to Greece, but to France and England. The latter thereupon exerted her influence at Athens for the purpose of holding the Grecian government back, and English threats and English promises were successful in restraining the little kingdom until the favorable moment was past. The proper time for action was immediately after the fall of Plevna, but the opportunity was allowed to pass, and when at last, on the 2d of February, 1878, fearful of being excluded from the division of the spoils, the government ordered 12,000 Greek troops across the frontier, it was already too late; the armistice had set the Porte at liberty to utilize a part of its forces for the protection of its southern borders. When the Constantinople cabinet decided to send Hobart Pasha to the Piræus with a fleet of iron-clads, and at the same time land troops in Thessaly, Athens was seized with a panic, and on the 7th of February, by the advice of the Great Powers, especially England, the Grecian general, Soutzo, received orders to lead his troops back to Lamia. (This was a deadly blow to the insurrection in Thessaly, and by the display of a little energy, accompanied by abundant promises of amnesty, the Turks succeeded in effecting its complete suppression by the end of March.) In return for her general amenity to English advice the English cabinet promised King George's government to use its influence in behalf of Greece at the approaching congress.

The congress met in the north wing of Bismarck's palace (the Radzivill palace), in Berlin, on the 13th of June, the German chancellor presiding. Besides Turkey and the six Great Powers, Greece, Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro had also sent delegates, but these latter had not been formally invited, and were admitted only to such sittings as dealt with the special interests of the states they represented. The first question before the congress was the Bulgarian one. The English representatives aimed at reducing the new principality to the smallest possible dimensions, putting every possible hinderance in the way of Russian in-

fluence, and, so far as possible, maintaining Ottoman supremacy in East Roumelia—the name which was to be given to the Bulgarian state south of the Balkans. As was the case in most of the other matters in dispute, the real decision was reached in private consultations between the representatives of the states especially interested, and then formally adopted by the congress. It was provided that Bulgaria, bounded on the south by the Balkans, should form a self-governing, tributary principality, under the suzerainty of the Sultan, with a prince chosen by the free vote of the population and confirmed by the Porte, with the consent of the Great Powers. No member of any European reigning house was to be eligible as prince. The organic law of the principality was to be settled by an assembly of notables, to be held at Tirnova before the choice of the prince, the basis of this law to be the equality of all religions and confessions in so far as political rights and liberty of teaching and preaching were concerned. The provisional government, which was not to endure more than nine months from the date of the signature of the treaty, was to be conducted by a Russian commissioner, assisted by a commissioner from the Porte, together with the consuls of the signatory powers, the representatives of those powers constituting a court of appeal in case of disagreement. The principality was to assume a part of the Turkish debt, and pay an annual tribute to the Porte estimated on the basis of its average revenue. The Turkish army was to evacuate Bulgaria at once, existing fortresses were to be razed within a year, at the expense of the country, and no new ones were to be erected.

The province of East Roumelia, to the south of the Balkans, was to remain under the immediate political and military dominion of the Porte, but with an autonomous administration and a local militia, officered, however, by the Sultan. For the protection of the frontiers, the latter potentate was also allowed to erect fortresses and maintain garrisons—of regular troops only. The governor of the province was to be appointed by the Sultan, with the approval of the Great Powers, for five years, and a European commission was to organize the province in conjunction with the Porte, and administer the finances until the organization was completed. The Russian army of occupation in Bulgaria and East Roumelia, numbering not more than 50,000 men, and maintained at the expense of the inhabitants, was to evacuate both provinces

ed with the sanitary and naval police duty in the port of Antivari. Austria also acquired the right to construct a road and railroad through Montenegro. The independence of Servia and Montenegro was recognized on condition that full freedom and political equality were accorded to the members of all religions. Servia received an addition to her population of 280,000 souls, her most important acquisition being the city and fortress of Nish. She also assumed a part of the Turkish debt. The recognition of Roumanian independence was conditioned on the cession of Bessarabia to Russia, and the admission to political equality of the members of all religions—a condition which had special reference to the Jews. In compensation for Bessarabia Roumania was to receive the Dobrudsha and the islands at the mouth of the Danube. The Grecian question was taken up in the sittings of the 5th and 6th of July. Despite all her promises, it was not England, but France, which stood forth as the champion of Grecian interests. Waddington wished to hand over to Greece all the Grecian provinces in Turkish possession, but this met with approval from no one, least of all, however, from England and Russia. Finally it was *recommended* that the southern part of Thessaly and Epirus should be ceded to Greece, the Salambria and Kalamos rivers forming the new boundary line. In case the Sultan and the King of the Hellenes could not come to some understanding, the Great Powers were to have the right of offering their mediation. As to Crete, the Sultan undertook "scrupulously to apply the organic law of 1868."

The last session of the congress was held on the 13th of July, and the delegates dispersed to their respective capitals, each of them, excepting Count Corti and Karatheodori Pasha, bringing some acquisition for his government. From one point of view the congress was a great game of grab. Germany, having already received her share in 1870, now had to make good her promises to Russia. The latter acquired Bessarabia and a slice of Armenia. England appropriated Cyprus, and assumed a sort of protectorate in Asia Minor. Austria occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina, and took a long step on the road toward Constantinople. France obtained a lien on Tunis, and only Italy had no share in the distribution of the spoils.

The treaty had been made; the next step was to execute it. England at once took possession of Cyprus, and Layard laid be-

fore the Turkish government a comprehensive project of reform in all branches of the administration. The success of this and all subsequent plans and projects of reform in Asia Minor was summed up in a despatch of the 27th of April, 1880, shortly before Layard's recall. In this despatch he says that the Turkish empire had never been in so disorganized and critical a condition. The impossibility of an improvement he attributes to the fact that the Porte promises everything that is demanded and never keeps its promises, making use of every possible description of chicane and deception to protract decision and invent excuses for inaction. He had exhausted every diplomatic means without avail, and if anything was to be accomplished he held it necessary to pass beyond mere threats. Only in Syria Midhat Pasha, forced upon the Turkish government by the pressure of England, succeeded in executing the desired reforms, and conducting an efficient government, until, in the spring of 1881, a charge of murdering the Sultan Abdul Aziz was trumped up against him, and he was condemned to death—afterward commuted to imprisonment in Arabia.

Like England, Austria took possession of her share of the booty at once, but not without the most obstinate resistance. Finding it impossible to form any convention with the Porte regarding the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina—inasmuch as the latter demanded that a limit should be set to the period of occupation, while the Austrian government meant that the occupation should be perpetual, or, in other words, an annexation—Andrassy determined to act without a convention, and on the 29th of July, 1878, General Philippovich, with three divisions, received orders to cross the frontier. Bashi-Bazouks, Bosnian beys, the Albanian League, and Turkish regulars united in opposing the Austrian advance, and two out of the three columns into which Philippovich had divided his forces met with disaster. Thereupon the three divisions were increased to three full army corps, and by the 4th of October both provinces were in full possession of the invading army. Within the next three years Austria, by dint of threats and diplomacy combined, concluded railroad and commercial treaties giving her a general control of railroad communications in the Balkan peninsula, a practical monopoly of the Danube, and a politico-commercial dictatorship in Servia. In 1881 an Austrian occupation of Bulgaria seemed at one time imminent.

The present policy of the dual empire, in which it is strongly supported by Germany, is to make Austrian influence dominant on the road to Constantinople.

Russia, in order to secure the more rapid obedience to those articles of the treaty of Berlin which concerned her interests, announced that her troops would maintain their position before Constantinople until all the provisions of the treaty had been executed. This hastened the evacuation of Shumla, Varna, and Batoum; and, accordingly, in September the Russian positions before Constantinople were evacuated, and Totleben transferred his head-quarters to Adrianople. The Turkish troops at once took possession of San Stefano, Chekmedye, and other important positions; but, some places being left unoccupied by the soldiers on both sides, the Mohammedans, who had fled before the Russian advance and were now on their way home again, seized the opportunity to massacre all the Bulgarians they could find. The Russian retreat was at once changed into an advance, and some of the places already occupied by the Turks were again seized by the Russians. The difficulty of coming to an agreement regarding the war indemnity, and those points of the treaty of San Stefano which had not been touched upon in the Berlin congress, gave rise to a farther conflict, and at one time a renewal of the war seemed not improbable. Finally, however, on the 8th of February, 1879, an additional treaty was concluded between Lobanoff, Russian ambassador at Constantinople, and Karatheodori Pasha, Turkish minister of foreign affairs, by which the treaty of San Stefano was declared binding, in so far as its provisions were not expressly superseded by the treaty of Berlin, and the war indemnity was fixed at 802,500,000 francs.

In Bulgaria the constituent assembly, consisting of two hundred and eighty-six members, partly elected by the people, partly appointed by the government, was opened at Tirnova on the 23d of February, 1879, by the Russian governor-general, Prince Dondukoff. Admission was refused to the delegates from Thrace and East Roumelia, and a strict observance of the treaty of Berlin with respect to the territorial limitation of the principality was enjoined upon the somewhat recalcitrant majority. An elaborate and liberal constitution was adopted on the 28th of April, and on the 29th the new national assembly, consisting of two hundred and fifty members—twenty-two of them Mohammedans—was

convened, and proceeded at once to elect Prince Alexander of Battenberg, nephew of the Russian empress, and son of Prince Alexander of Hesse, prince of Bulgaria. The new prince, a second lieutenant in the Prussian *garde du corps* at Potsdam, who had fought during the last war in the Russian ranks, entered his capital, Sofia, on the 15th of July, after visiting the various European sovereigns, beginning with the Czar, and ending with the indignant Sultan. On the 3d of August the Russian army evacuated Bulgaria, but Russian influence remained behind. The prince threw all the weight of his position on the side of the Conservatives. On the 5th of December the radical national assembly was dissolved, but the new elections resulted still more favorably for that party. Finally, in May of 1881, the prince, by the advice of the courts of St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Vienna, resorted to a *coup d'état*, dissolved the assembly, and abolished the constitution. By dint, apparently, of bribery and intimidation, with Russian gold and Russian officers, a conservative assembly was returned, which met at Sistova in July to furnish the prince with a constitution more to his tastes, and perhaps better adapted to the needs of the population.

The organization of East Roumelia proved a task of great difficulty. By the treaty of Berlin an international commission was charged with the organization of the province and the provisional administration of the finances. In this commission Russia represented the wishes of the people; and England, which represented the interests of the Porte, accused her of fostering hopes among the East Roumelians of a union with Bulgaria. It was feared that an insurrection might break out on the withdrawal of the Russian troops, and it was certain that this would be the case if Turkey insisted on her right to occupy the Balkan passes, thus forming a military cordon between East Roumelia and Bulgaria. Finally, the Czar sent General Obrutcheff to Constantinople to arrange a compromise. The Czar pledged himself for the maintenance of order in the province of East Roumelia, and agreed to remit the 20,000,000 francs, or thereabouts, due to Russia for the maintenance of Turkish prisoners during the war, in consideration of which the Sultan pledged himself "provisionally" not to exercise his right of garrison in Burgas, Ichtiman, and the Balkan passes. Thereupon General Obrutcheff repaired to Philippopolis and read in the cathedral of that place a mani-

festo announcing to the Roumelian Bulgarians these concessions on the side of the Porte, and warning them to observe the treaty of Berlin and be satisfied with their present position. The popular leaders, whose hopes were dashed by this announcement, finally resolved to accept the situation, but at the same time to maintain their military organization intact; and so this difficulty was settled. The constitution was completed on the 26th of April, 1879, and Prince Vogorides (Aleko Pasha), a Bulgarian Christian, formerly Turkish ambassador in Vienna, was appointed governor-general for five years—a position of great delicacy, inasmuch as whatever measure pleases the Porte is sure to excite the displeasure of the Bulgarian population, and *vice versa.* At the very outset the new governor fell into disgrace with the Sultan by discarding the official Turkish *fez* and adopting the national Bulgarian *kalpak*, and by forming his cabinet exclusively of Bulgarians and foreigners. Nevertheless, his administration seems to have been efficient and successful, and the budget for 1880–'81 promised a surplus of receipts over expenditures. The evacuation of East Roumelia by the Russian troops began on the 3d of May, 1879, and on the 27th of July the last Russian soldier embarked at Burgas.

In the European provinces which still remain under the direct administration of the Sultan the promised reforms have never been carried out. In Macedonia Turkish misrule resulted in an insurrection, which was suppressed with the most atrocious cruelty (some palliation for which may, however, be found in the outrages upon Mohammedans of which the Bulgarians had here and there been guilty in that province). The present condition of Macedonia is similar to that of Bulgaria before the rebellion of 1876. The government is entirely one of caprice and oppression on the part of the Mohammedan rulers, and the whole region is rendered insecure by robber bands, whose depredations the Turkish officials are either unwilling or unable to restrain. Layard's despatch of April 27th, 1880, to which reference has already once been made, asserts that "the organic laws provided for by the 23d article of the Berlin treaty have not yet been published; with the exception of Adrianople, the prescribed *gendarmerie* does not exist; and hence in Macedonia, Thessaly, and Epirus life and property are insecure, anarchy prevails, and robber bands plunder with impunity." In 1881 the situation is still unchanged.

The operation of the promised religious freedom was illustrated, in December of 1879, by the arrest of Dr. Kölle and the Mollah Ahmed Tevfik. The latter, a professor in some mosque at Constantinople, had assisted Dr. Kölle, an agent of the British Bible Society, in the translation and publication of psalms and religious tracts. For this offence against Mohammedan law Kölle's papers were seized, and Tevfik was condemned to imprisonment or death. Layard at once announced that he would demand his pass if Kölle's papers were not restored within three days, Tevfik released, and the chief of police, who had ordered the arrest, dismissed. At length, on the 6th of January, 1880, Tevfik was interned in the island of Chios, Kölle's papers returned to him, and a written apology addressed to Layard on the part of the chief of police. In point of fact, the Berlin treaty has exerted no influence whatever in the matter of religious freedom. The same degree of freedom which existed before that treaty exists now, and the Christian has no rights now which he did not have then; in other words, Christians have rights as against one another, but not as against Mohammedans. As for the much-vaunted parliament which was to have achieved such vast reforms, it had met with a quiet death even before the meeting of the Berlin congress; on the 14th of February, 1878, it was prorogued *sine die*, and the paper constitution was committed to the waste-paper basket. To complete this brief sketch, it may be added that the organic law of 1868 was never carried out in Crete, and that at the present time (1881) that island is in a state of semi-revolt which is fast becoming chronic.

To the recommendation of the congress, relative to the cession of territory to Greece, Turkey paid no heed whatever; the Turkish government seemed resolved the rather to turn into a wilderness the whole district which it had been advised to cede. In spite of the promised amnesty, the Thessalian insurgents were mercilessly executed, whole villages were burnt to the ground, and the Bulgarian horrors were imitated in Thessaly. A Greek note of July 17th, with regard to the territory to be ceded, remained unnoticed by the Porte. In a second note the Grecian government demanded, by the 6th of September, an answer with reference to the appointment of a commission for the settlement of a new boundary line. As no answer was returned, a circular note was addressed to the signatory powers on the 9th of that

month calling in their mediation. This drew out a circular despatch from Waddington, asking the other powers to unite with France in exerting pressure on the Porte. In the mean time the Grecian government, in order to be prepared for all contingencies, had raised the strength of the active army to 18,000 men, and that of the reserve to 37,000, and obtained from parliament an additional credit of 35,000,000 francs. At last, in December of 1878, Turkey consented to appoint plenipotentiaries — among them Mukhtar Pasha—to consider the question of a new boundary line. Mukhtar and his associates met the Greek commissioners in Prevesa on the 8th of February, 1879; but, as they refused to recognize the treaty of Berlin as the basis of negotiations, and pursued a simple policy of obstruction, the conference fell through, and the Greek delegates returned home (March 19th). Again the Grecian government appealed to the Great Powers, and again Waddington attempted to induce the other powers to unite with France in exerting pressure on the Porte. (The fall of Waddington, December 29th, 1879, deprived Greece of her principal advocate. But the rôle of Grecian champion thus abandoned by France was taken up a few months later by England, when Gladstone succeeded Beaconsfield in the government in April of 1880). At last, after much negotiating, it was proposed to send a politico-technical commission to Thessaly and Epirus to search for an advisable border line, but this project was abandoned when the Porte announced its inability to guarantee the safety of such a commission. France then proposed an after-conference for the settlement of the Greek question, and England called upon the other powers to unite with her in presenting to the Porte identical notes with reference to Greece, Montenegro, and Armenia.

These notes were presented on the 12th of June, 1880. The Porte was informed that representatives of the various governments would meet in Berlin on the 16th of that month, for the purpose of fixing a new boundary line between Greece and Turkey, and that immediately thereafter a commission would repair to Thessaly and Epirus to settle on the spot any minor matters of detail. The necessity of a settlement with Montenegro, and of the execution of the promised reforms in Armenia, was also urged upon the Sultan's government. As the Great Powers decided not to admit Turkish or Grecian plenipotentiaries, the Porte announced that it would not regard the decisions of the conference

as binding. The new line proposed by France (Russia, contrary to her former policy, proposed a still more northern one) was the same which had been suggested by Prince Leopold of Coburg, when the Grecian crown was offered to him in 1830. Starting from the mouth of the Mavrolongos river, considerably farther north than the point chosen by the Berlin congress, it followed the course of the mountains until the Kalamos was reached, from which point westward to the Ionian Sea that stream was to serve as the boundary. The decision of the conference was communicated to the Turkish and Grecian governments in the form of a joint note on the 16th of July, but as the Great Powers were not prepared to enforce the decision of the conference by armed intervention, this joint note had no more effect than the former identical ones. Gladstone's proposal to settle the Grecian difficulty, like the Montenegrin, by a naval demonstration, met with a decided refusal from the cabinets of Berlin, Paris, and Vienna; and England and Russia, with or without Italy, although in favor of active measures, were not prepared to move alone. Consequently the Greeks, despairing of assistance from the Great Powers, and realizing that the continued agitation and the enormous expenses consequent upon the maintenance of a large body of men were speedily driving them into bankruptcy, resolved to act for themselves, and seize by force of arms the territory allotted to them by the conference. As this would certainly have caused a general conflagration, the Great Powers, especially France and Germany, brought all possible pressure to bear to restrain the impatient Hellenes, and convince them that, single-handed, they could gain nothing and might lose everything. Diplomacy left no means of settling the difficulty untried—excepting only the resort to actual force—but for a long time without apparent result. Both sides prepared for war, and gathered armies on the frontiers. Finally, in March of 1881, an arrangement was reached by which Janina and Prevesa, with the greater part of Epirus, were to be left in the hands of the Turks, while in Thessaly the boundary between the two countries was to be substantially the same as that marked out by the treaty of Berlin; and, by autumn of that year, the ceded territory had already been evacuated by the Turks.

Like Greece, Montenegro also had great difficulty in obtaining from the Porte the territory allotted to it by the congress; but

in this case it was necessary to overcome not alone the procrastination of the Porte, but also the hostility of a part of the population of the ceded districts and of the Albanian League. Mehemed Ali, one of the Turkish representatives at the Berlin congress, was commissioned with the pacification of Albania and the conduct of the negotiations with Montenegro; but he and the greater part of his retinue were killed by fanatics at Diakova on the 6th of September, 1878. The government did nothing toward the punishment of the murderers, and the Turkish Press praised the deed. In October the leaders of the league resolved to put 8000 men in the field at Podgorizza, to prevent the surrender of that place to Montenegro, and, in order to secure the greater freedom of action, they demanded from the Porte the recognition of Albanian autonomy and the appointment of native officials. Finally, however, in February of 1879 Prince Nikita succeeded in obtaining the surrender of Podgorizza. But the attempt to gain possession of the Albanian districts of Gusinye and Plava, which had been assigned to Montenegro by the treaty of Berlin, was attended with greater difficulties. The Arnauts (Albanians) who inhabited those districts took up arms, and even attacked a Montenegrin frontier post. Prince Nikita finally set a time within which the refractory districts must be handed over; and when this time passed without any action on the part of the Turkish government, he threatened to occupy Gusinye by force and punish the inhabitants for their resistance. The Porte thereupon (December 13th, 1879) appealed to the Great Powers for their mediation, and new negotiations were commenced. The Albanian League occupied the region in dispute, and Mukhtar Pasha, with a Turkish army, remained inactive on the borders. At length, after much negotiating, a new convention was concluded on the 12th of April, 1880, by which the district of Kutshi-Kraina, on the little stream of Zem, was substituted for Gusinye and Plava; but the Turks, instead of carrying out the convention, handed over this district to the Albanians. In a collective note of April 25th the Great Powers called upon Turkey to re-occupy the district and surrender it to the Montenegrins. The Turks promised and procrastinated, Turkish troops went over to the Albanians, Turkish commanders allowed provisions and military stores to fall into their hands, and an Albanian, Abeddin Pasha, was appointed Turkish minister of foreign affairs. Montenegro was not

strong enough to assert her rights by force of arms, and of the Great Powers Germany, Austria, and France were averse to military intervention. England proposed a naval demonstration, and in a collective note of August 3d the Porte was called upon to surrender the Kutshi-Kraina district, or, as an alternative, the Dulcigno district, within three weeks, under pain of a demonstration by a fleet of the Great Powers. The Sultan promised to cede Dulcigno if sufficient time were given him, and Riza Pasha was sent to Albania with 2000 men. But the Albanians occupied Dulcigno and fortified the neighboring heights while Riza looked on. Accordingly, an international fleet, consisting of twenty ships, with 7300 men and 136 guns, under the general command of the English vice-admiral Seymour, assembled in the harbor of Ragusa, and on the 20th of September the naval demonstration before Ragusa began. England and Russia were willing to convert this theoretical demonstration into a practical reality, but Germany, France, and Austria would not consent. The moral influence of the fleet was not sufficient to enable the Montenegrins to wrest Dulcigno from the superior forces of the Albanians and Riza Pasha, which together numbered 15,000 men, and nothing was effected. Diplomatic pressure was once more brought to bear in Constantinople, and at last the representations of Count Hatzfeldt, the German ambassador, induced the Porte to yield. Dervish Pasha was sent to Scutari, with orders to effect the surrender of Dulcigno to the Montenegrins. On the 22d of November, with eight battalions, he attacked the Albanian positions. These were carried after a sharp fight, and on the following day the Turks took possession of the town. On the 27th of the same month it was handed over to the Montenegrins, and the tedious dispute was at an end.

Servia was more fortunate than Greece or Montenegro, inasmuch as her share of the Turkish territory was already in her possession, and could, therefore, give rise to no diplomatic difficulties. Neither did the religious equality upon which the recognition of Servian independence had been conditioned by the Great Powers occasion any difficulty, and on the 26th of January, 1879, the Skuptshina, by a unanimous vote, abolished the constitutional provision limiting the political rights of Jews resident in Servia. In Roumania, however, the Jewish question was far more difficult of settlement. The circumstance that a large part

of the landed property of the Roumanian nobles was mortgaged to Jews rendered a complete and immediate emancipation of that people dangerous from an economic point of view. Austria and Russia recognized Roumanian independence without awaiting the fulfilment of the condition, but the other four Great Powers insisted upon its fulfilment as a prerequisite to their recognition. Finally, in October of 1879, the difficulty was settled by the passage of a law providing that every foreigner, without distinction of religion, might obtain the privilege of citizenship by application to the government, followed by ten years' residence in the country, during which time the applicant must prove himself a useful citizen, and that only Roumanian citizens could acquire landed property in the principality. This solution proved satisfactory, and the four remaining Great Powers at once recognized Roumanian independence. In 1881, with the consent of all the powers, Roumania became a kingdom, and King Charles I. was added to the list of European constitutional monarchs.

It remains to say a word concerning Turkey's most important vassal state, Egypt, which had sent 6000 men to assist the Porte in its war with Russia. The sale of Suez Canal shares to England in the year 1875 was necessitated by the Khedive's lack of money. His already formidable financial difficulties were increased in that year by a war with Abyssinia. This war, which continued through the whole of the following year, resulted in disaster to the Egyptian forces, and led to a successful insurrection against the Khedive's authority in Darfour, in the year 1877. At the time of the purchase of the canal shares Ismail Pasha also requested from England a competent financier to exploit his budget and act as general financial counsellor; and Mr. Cave, with a staff of experts, was accordingly sent to Egypt in December of 1875. Cave's mission, and the purchase of the canal shares, excited the jealousy of France, and England saw herself compelled to share with that country the guardianship of the Khedive's finances. The state of those finances grew worse and worse, for Ismail Pasha understood the art of borrowing and wasting money as well as his suzerain, the Sultan Abdul Aziz. At length a French and English commission, which had been appointed to find some remedy against the impending bankruptcy, recommended, among other things, the surrender to the state of the Khedive's vast private property. This recommendation was

accepted by him on the 22d of August, 1878, and his own private domain and those of the various princes were made over to the state. On the 23d of August Nubar Pasha, the most efficient and upright of the Egyptian statesmen, was intrusted with the formation of a new cabinet, in which Wilson, an Englishman, administered the finances, while de Blignières, a Frenchman, had charge of the department of public works. Great hopes were built upon this new departure, and another Egyptian loan was put upon the market. But the Khedive could not long endure the limitation of his powers involved in the existence of a responsible ministry, and the close scrutiny of his pecuniary eccentricities by foreign financiers, and accordingly Nubar Pasha was overthrown by a military insurrection on the 18th of February, 1879. The Khedive's attempt to rid himself of the two foreign ministers met with resistance on their part, both Wilson and de Blignières refusing to surrender their positions without the express permission of their governments. At last, on the 19th of June, the two western powers informed the Khedive that he must either abdicate peacefully or be deposed by force. (The real agent in the matter of the deposition was, singularly enough, the German empire.) English influence was also brought to bear upon the Sultan, and on the 26th Ismail received orders from Constantinople to abdicate in favor of his son, Tevfik. In return for this action on the Sultan's part Egyptian dependence on Turkey was rendered somewhat closer, and it was provided that customs or commercial treaties, as well as all treaties regulating the position of strangers toward the government, or toward the country in general, must first be submitted to the Sultan for his approval; that no new loans should be contracted without the sanction of the Porte and the express consent of the Egyptian bondholders; and that the peace strength of the Egyptian army should not exceed 18,000 men. To avoid offence to Mussulman susceptibilities, a native ministry was formed; but the practical management of the finances was placed in the hands of English and French commissioners. These commissioners pronounced Egypt bankrupt, and an international committee of liquidation was formed, in which all the European Great Powers were represented. The liquidation law drawn up by this committee was signed by Tevfik on the 18th of July, 1880, and Egypt went into formal bankruptcy, England and France acting as receivers.

By the arrangement of 1879 the government consisted of the Khedive, a council of ministers, and two controllers, Mr. Colvin and M. de Blignières, appointed by England and France respectively; but the whole power lay in the hands of the latter, or, rather, in the hands of the governments they represented. Under this system Egypt was regarded as a financial undertaking, and governed accordingly. From this point of view the control has been a complete success, and Egyptian finances have already been placed on a tolerably secure foundation; but from another point of view the success of the new system has not been so complete. Ismail Pasha left behind him an army of almost 100,000 men. The controllers reduced that number to about 9000. This threw out of employment a large number of officers and men, and thus created a considerable body of malcontents. The Mohammedan revival also, which is at present affecting so large a part of Islam, was not without its effect in Egypt. A strong feeling of fanatical hatred was developed against the giaours and their rule. On the 9th of September, 1881, the whole army, under the command of Achmet Bey el Araby, a Mohammedan zealot, colonel of an Egyptian regiment, surrounded the Khedive's palace in Cairo, and extorted from him the dismissal of the Riaz ministry, and the appointment of Sherif Pasha and a cabinet independent of foreign control. For the present the political dictatorship remains in the hands of Araby Bey; but so long as the financial control is not attacked, and the rights of foreigners are respected, England refuses to interfere, and France must pursue the same policy. Of the two parties opposed to foreign influence, the autonomous and the pan-Islamitic (the latter seeks to form a close union of all Mohammedans, under the spiritual dominion of the Sultan—a revival of the Caliphate), the former is the one at present in power.*

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* In Roumania, with a population of about 5,376,000; the Jews number 400,000, and the Gypsies 200,000. These Jews are the so-called Ashkenasim, or Polish Jews, who have come in from Russia in the last few decades; while the 75,000 Jews in the Balkan peninsula are Sephardim, or Spanish Jews. In Bulgaria the Jews number about 9000, the Greeks 50,000, the Bulgarians 1,100,000, and the Turks perhaps 400,000. In East Roumelia the Jews number about 4000, the Greeks 43,000, the Bulgarians 570,000, the Turks 180,000, and the Gypsies 20,000. In the immediate Turkish possessions the Jews number about 55,000, the Greeks 1,200,000, the Bulgarians

§ 31.

RUSSIA.

THE treaty of Berlin left Russia dissatisfied, and put an end to the cordial relations hitherto existing between that empire and Germany. Gortchakoff had been outwitted. He had protected the German rear in 1870 as effectively as if he had actively taken part in the war, thus enabling Bismarck to annex Alsace and Lorraine, and exact whatever indemnity he saw fit; and now, when Russia's turn had come, Germany, instead of supporting the Russian claims, allowed other states to impose unfriendly conditions, and herself sought to push Austria into Russia's would-be place, as heir-apparent to the "Sick Man." Alexander's ardent admiration and affection for his uncle, the Emperor William, seemed at one time the only obstacle to war between the two empires. In 1879 and the first months of 1880 the Russian Press teemed with attacks on Germany and Austria, both political and personal (for example, great indignation was excited in Berlin by the insistence of a St. Petersburg paper on the striking resemblance of the German women to the bovine species, both in their inner nature and their outward appearance), and the German Press remained no whit behind. The increase of the tariff in Russia to ten per cent. on goods of all sorts was regarded as a direct blow at German industries, Germany being the country specially affected; and a similar interpretation was put upon the persistent policy of Russianization pursued in the semi-German Baltic provinces. The people of both empires showed a tendency to magnify the most indifferent actions into deliberate insult and intentional injury; but there was, nevertheless, in the actions of the Russian government sufficient foundation for German accusations of ill-will. Two

1,000,000, the Turks 1,200,000, the Gypsies 50,000, the Albanians (principally Mohammedan) 1,000,000, and the Roumanians 100,000. In the immediate Turkish possessions in Europe the Christians of all confessions outnumber the Mohammedans by about 600,000, and in Bulgaria and East Roumelia the relative discrepancy is still greater.—*Estimates from Andrée's Atlas*, 1881.

hundred thousand Russian soldiers were massed on the German frontiers in Poland and Lithuania, leaving the interior almost stripped of troops at a time of great disturbance and discontent.

Russia had just emerged victorious, but bankrupt, from a war with Turkey, in which, according to the official report, the Russian loss had been 321,000 men. That war had revealed certain deficiencies in the military system, rendering a reorganization of the army advisable; and this reorganization, which was to give Russia an armed force of about 2,000,000 men, was scarcely yet completed. Bankrupt, disaffected, and disorganized, she was in reality in no fit plight to undertake a war with Germany. Aware of this, Gortchakoff sought the alliance of France and Italy; in order to neutralize which Bismarck, in the summer of 1879, contracted an alliance with Austria. A Russian alliance with France was rendered a final impossibility by the refusal of the latter state, in March of 1880, to extradite Hartmann, accused of an attempt on the life of the Czar. The somewhat questionable and uncourteous conduct of de Freycinet's ministry, in spiriting Hartmann across the Channel before Orloff, the Russian ambassador, had had an opportunity to present all his proofs of the prisoner's identity—it should be added, however, that no extradition treaty existed between the two countries—and the rather free utterances of the Paris Press, so incensed the Russian emperor that Orloff was directed to leave Paris for a time, and all idea of a treaty seems to have been abandoned. The attempt on Alexander's life in the Winter Palace, at St. Petersburg, February 17th, 1880, and the subsequent "reign of terror" for the poor Czar—calling forth, as they did, the warmest sympathy from "Kaiser Wilhelm"—were also efficient factors in the preservation of peace, by strengthening the strong bond of personal friendship between the two sovereigns. Men came at last to feel that, though the Czarevitch or the Crown Prince might go to war, so long as the two emperors lived war between Russia and Germany was an impossibility.

The last few years of Alexander's life were filled with a pathetic and fruitless struggle against a hidden foe. His clemency reaped the cruel harvest of Nicholas's despotism. The really great reforms achieved by Alexander II., following after the savage tyranny of his father, served for the moment to corrupt rather than improve the nation. When the wall that Nicholas had

erected between his empire and the rest of Europe was removed, advanced ideas rushed in like a flood; but, as the nation had not been educated to receive them, their effect was rather to destroy all that existed—moral, social, and political—than to promote civilization and good government. The past had become impossible; the future was not yet ripe. The government—a complicated bureaucracy, as well as an absolute autocracy—was corrupt to the core; and, however well-disposed an autocrat may be, corruption and bureaucracy do not readily lend themselves to any reform, much less to the sweeping revolution which a comparison of Russian conditions with the conditions of Western Europe induced many to regard as an absolute and immediate necessity. In the year 1874 a "social revolutionary" party was formed; and from this, again, toward the end of 1876, the "People's party," which aimed at the overthrow of the existing political *régime* and the formation of a new administration on a socialistic basis. Out of the "People's party," about the middle of the year 1878, was developed a new organization—the "Terrorists." These extreme Nihilists believed in the use of the most desperate and bloody means for the attainment of their ends, and, beginning with the murder of obnoxious officials, rapidly progressed to that of the emperor himself. The present strict, thorough, and secret organization of Nihilism—with a directory and an executive committee, without whose knowledge and consent nothing can be undertaken—was not perfected until the middle of the year 1879.

Eighty per cent. of the Nihilists belonged to the educated classes, sixty per cent. of these being students of medicine, technology, and agriculture; while twenty per cent. were peasants, Jews, smugglers, and people of inferior education. Their adherents, in the army and among the official class, were numerous. They were in possession of a large Press, and found means to disseminate their publications far and wide among all classes of the population. Immediately after the war with Turkey, in 1878, they began to demand a constitution, and, in the name of the people, declared war upon the whole existing governmental system. Turkey had a constitution and a parliament, and the blood of 300,000 Russians had been shed to obtain similar institutions for Bulgaria. Was Russia alone unworthy of such freedom? Their demands, printed in secret, and published broadcast

through the land, could not fail to win adherents by opening people's eyes to the terrible abuses under which they lived; and the half culture of the so-called educated classes, the venality of officials, the uncertainty of judicial proceedings, each and all helped to increase the evil. The demands of the Nihilists were a constitutional government, abolition of the infamous *third division* (secret police), more humane treatment of political prisoners, reforms in the judicial system, and a prohibition of the inquisitorial proceedings by which confessions were extorted from political prisoners by starvation, thirst, and the knout. The *third division*, in particular, with its irresponsible processes and its infamous system of inquisition, was a source of constant irritation and a perpetual incitement to revolt. It had been established by the Emperor Nicholas, in the year 1826, to detect corruption and repress revolution. It was independent of the law, and from its proceedings lay no appeal. The chief of this department was responsible to the emperor alone. Although the secret police could inflict no criminal punishment, their discretionary power was enormous, for they could place under police inspection, banish into distant cities, or imprison for life whom they would, without being obliged to give account of their proceedings to any one whatever. And the more pronounced the Nihilistic agitation became, the more despotic and unjustifiable were the proceedings of the government and its secret agents; so that, in the years 1879 and 1880, 60,000 persons were sent to Siberia by "administrative order," without any trial, merely on suspicion of holding revolutionary opinions.

The desperate character of Nihilism, infecting the very women and nerving their arms to the commission of the most atrocious deeds, began to reveal itself in 1878. In that year General Mesenzoff, chief of the *third division*, was murdered in St. Petersburg, and unsuccessful attempts were made to assassinate officials in Odessa. The resulting investigations, and the acquittal by a jury of Vera Sassulitch, who had attempted to take the life of Trepoff, the mayor, if he may be so called, of St. Petersburg, first revealed to the government the extent of the evil, and the widespread sympathy of the population. Resort was had to the severest measures of repression; trial of political offenders by jury was abolished, and military law established in its place. The Slavic committee in Moscow, so useful during the war, was sup-

pressed, on account of the democratic elements which were mingled in its pan-Slavic agitation. Several ministers, among them the minister of justice and the minister of the interior, were removed; and Adjutant-general Drentelen was appointed chief of the *third division*. Efforts were also made to distract popular attention from internal evils by military activity; but all in vain—the agitation only assumed a more definite form. A Nihilistic executive committee pronounced formal sentence of death on obnoxious officials, and its sentences were inevitably executed. The daring and activity of the conspirators were appalling. Their agents were ubiquitous, and woe betide the Nihilist who confessed, for he was certain to be found murdered, with a paper affixed to his person, narrating the cause of his death. On February 21st, 1879, Prince Krapotkin, governor of Charkoff, was assassinated, and in all the larger cities a proclamation was posted, signed by the executive committee at St. Petersburg, ascribing his death to the tyrannous and brutal crimes of which he had been guilty.

On the 25th of March an unsuccessful attempt was made to assassinate Drentelen in St. Petersburg. Secret printing-presses were discovered, and Nihilistic conspirators were condemned to death or deportation; but Nihilism was only spurred on to the commission of more desperate deeds. On the 31st of March a proclamation appeared, addressed to "Mr. Alexander Nikolaievitch," in which it was announced that for the time being the emperor's life was safe; but that his officials, "the hell brood of bloody despotism," must be exterminated by fire and sword. On the 14th of April an attempt was made to shoot the emperor, while walking in the neighborhood of the Winter Palace. It was evident that the Nihilistic executive committee had hundreds of resolute men and abundant means at its disposal; and it was also evident that the government, by introducing none of the required reforms, was driving into active or passive participation in the crimes of the Nihilists many who, under other circumstances, might have proved good citizens. Men who disapproved of the atrocious deeds of the conspirators, yet found themselves in partial sympathy with their aims, were at last driven into active participation in the crimes they abhorred by the tyranny of the secret agents of the government. It seemed to them as well to be Nihilists as to be punished for being so.

But the emperor and his advisers were afraid to make any con-

another name, "department of imperial police," which was united with the ordinary police, and placed directly under Melikoff's control as minister of the interior. A lull ensued in the activity of the Nihilists, and a general hope was entertained that the conciliatory measures of the new dictator might defeat the desperate schemes of the conspirators; but this hope was doomed to disappointment. The effect of Melikoff's measures was scarcely perceptible outside of St. Petersburg. The complicated bureaucratic system of administration in the Russian empire practically left unlimited power in each province in the hands of the governor of that province, and this power seems in many, if not most, cases to have been exercised in an arbitrary and unjustifiable way, so that thousands of innocent persons were still sent to Siberia on mere "administrative order," thus supplying the Nihilists with plentiful cause of complaint. The *directory* and *executive committee* had before this time been forced to leave the country and establish themselves, no one knows where—perhaps in Austria; but the activity of their agents had suffered no check.

On the 13th of March, 1881, as the emperor, attended by an armed escort, was driving through the streets of the capital, his carriage was wrecked by the explosion of a glass bomb filled with dynamite; and as the monarch alighted from the shattered vehicle another bomb, exploding at his feet, completed the work of assassination. On the 14th his eldest son was proclaimed emperor, under the title of Alexander III. The Nihilists forthwith addressed a proclamation to the new emperor in justification of their deed, denying that there was any real government in Russia, or anything better than a "camarilla," which had reduced the masses to "beggary and ruin;" proposing a complete amnesty, to be followed by the election of a popular legislative assembly by universal suffrage; and offering to conform unconditionally to the decision of such an assembly, and refrain "from violent proceedings against the government" which it might sanction. The emperor was, furthermore, threatened with assassination in case the Nihilists concerned in the murder of Alexander II. were put to death. For a time he seems to have wavered between a comparatively liberal and an ultra-repressive policy; but the advocates of severity prevailed. Melikoff was superseded by Ignatieff, and at once left, or was banished from, the country. Recourse was had to the policy so long pursued by Nicholas, and the endeavor

of the present administration is to bar out western ideas and civilization from the Russian empire. The emperor has become a prisoner in remote palaces, surrounded by an army, and accessible to no one. It is impossible not to believe, with the Nihilists, that the end of all this must be a terrible convulsion, affecting all Russia, and perhaps a second French Revolution, involving the whole of Europe. That this result is feared by Bismarck is evident; and the meeting of the Russian and German emperors in Dantzic, in September of 1881, and the proposed meeting of Alexander III. and Francis Joseph, seem to indicate a renewal of the alliance of the three emperors for the purpose of combating Nihilism. Pressure has also been brought to bear upon Switzerland, and threats have been resorted to with a view to forcing that republic to limit its objectionable hospitality; in consequence of which the authorities have prohibited a Nihilistic congress, and forbidden Nihilistic demonstrations.

The policy of the new emperor in Central Asia seems likely, under the influence of internal danger, to be less aggressive than that of his predecessor. In 1879 a "punitory expedition," consisting of 20,000 men, with 15,000 camels, under General Lazareff, was sent out to chastise the Tekke-Turcomans; but the real objective of the expedition was Merv, an important post, from which both Medshed, in Persia, and Herat, in Afghanistan, are readily accessible. Lazareff died on the march; and his successor, Lomakin, was defeated at Dengiltepe, on the 9th of September. In the following year a new expedition was sent out under General Skobeleff, who succeeded in defeating the Tekke-Turcomans and taking Geoktepe and Askabat; and there the Russians have halted for the present. A quarrel regarding the district of Kuldsha almost involved Russia in a war with China, in the years 1879 and 1880. The Russians had taken possession of this province in 1871, on account of the temporary inability of the Chinese to control the inroads of the robber tribes residing there, but professed themselves ready to restore it on repayment by the Chinese government of the costs of occupation, and a guarantee against farther predatory incursions. A treaty to this effect was concluded by the Chinese ambassador, in St. Petersburg, in 1879, after the Celestial government had succeeded in subduing the revolt in Kashgar; but this treaty was rejected by the home authorities, and the unconditional restitution of the district de-

manded. At length, in 1880, a new treaty, confirmed by both parties, was concluded, by which the province was restored to China, with the exception of a small district in the north-west, which was reserved for those of the inhabitants who might prefer to remain under Russian rule.

At a time when the Jewish question is exciting so much attention everywhere, it will not do to pass on to other countries without recording the Jewish riots which broke out in Kieff and other governments in the spring and summer of 1881, resulting in bloodshed, and assuming such proportions that the interference of the police became necessary. The Jews residing in Russia number about 2,600,000. They are confined by law to certain localities, and are especially numerous in Poland and the Ukraine. Within the last thirty or forty years 400,000 have emigrated to Roumania, numbers are constantly leaving Russia for Germany, and a movement is now on foot which promises a large emigration to the Iberian peninsula.

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§ 32.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

THE Russian advance in Central Asia has long been a source of uneasiness to a large part of the English nation, from a belief that it must ultimately endanger British rule in India, the Conservative leaders in general regarding Russia as England's natural enemy. Disraeli did, indeed, state, in the House of Commons, in May of 1876, in answer to an interpellation from Cochrane, that Russia had a great mission in the East, and that Russian conquests in Asia furthered the cause of civilization, and should give the English people no occasion for uneasiness; but this state of mind was merely temporary; and it is even doubtful whether it was a state of mind at all, for, in defence of the new title, Empress of India (*Indiæ Imperatrix*), which was conferred upon the Queen in April of that year, he argued that, to avoid disaffection in the Indian empire, in view of Russia's near approach, it was necessary for the British sovereign to bear a title not inferior to that of Russia's autocrat. This change of title was a sequence to the expen-

sive journey to India undertaken by the Prince of Wales in the winter of 1875–'76, with a view to dazzling the eyes of Indian potentates and peoples by a vision of England's power and splendor. Both were parts of a new and imposing scheme of imperial policy, which soon involved England in expensive and inglorious wars in Africa and Asia, and came near embroiling her in an affray with Russia for the protection of the Turk, as has been already narrated in a previous section.

It was characteristic of this new policy—more prone to brilliant foreign aggression than tame domestic improvement—that Lord Lytton, the poetical governor-general of India, should attempt to disregard and conceal a serious famine, involving great loss of life, in a part of the empire under his control, at the same time that he was contriving the annexation of new territory. In 1877, by a treaty with the Prince of Beloochistan, Quetta, in the Bholan pass, on the road to Kandahar and Cabul, was occupied by a British garrison. The Ameer of Afghanistan, Shere Ali, who regarded Beloochistan as a tributary province, and saw in the annexation of the tributary a preliminary to the conquest of the suzerain, displayed from this time forward a disposition to seek a Russian alliance. On the 22d of July, 1878, a Russian ambassador, General Stolyetoff, appeared in Cabul, with a suite of several officers and a guard of Cossacks, while a larger escort remained in waiting on the frontier; and, on the 5th of September, General Kaufmann received a return embassy from the Ameer in Tashkent. This was a breach of the understanding by which a sort of neutral zone had been established between the English and Russian possessions in Asia, and was afterward explained by the Czar's government as part of their preparations for war at a moment when war with England seemed imminent. At the time English inquiries at St. Petersburg were answered with prevarications and denials; and when the fact of Stolyetoff's mission was at length admitted, it was explained as a mere act of courtesy on General Kaufmann's part, for which the central government was not responsible. Simultaneously with these intrigues in Cabul an expedition against Merv was in preparation, which, if it had been successful, would have enabled Russia to seize Herat, and contend for the mastery of Afghanistan on equal terms with England. Lord Lytton, who had in the previous year vainly endeavored to conclude a treaty of offence and defence with

Shere Ali, including the maintenance of English agents at Herat, Kandahar, and Cabul, now sent Sir Neville Chamberlain as ambassador to Cabul, with an escort of about 1000 men. The commandant at the mouth of the Khyber pass refused to permit this force to enter Afghan territory until he had received farther instructions from his master. On the 2d of November an ultimatum was sent to the Ameer; and, as no answer was received by the 20th, the British troops were ordered to invade his territories. The time granted appears to have been insufficient. The answer, dated November 19th (which an Afghan officer delivered in Dakka on the 30th), while offering to receive a temporary embassy, with a moderate escort, declined, for reasons apparently valid, to receive a permanent resident, or an army under the name of an escort; but the English were already on the road to Cabul.

On the 13th of December, leaving his son, Yakoob Khan, behind him, as his representative, Shere Ali, attended by General Rosganoff—who had remained in the Afghan capital after the departure of the Russian embassy, professedly detained by the Ameer against his will—fled to Mazarisherif, near Balkh. From this place he sent four ambassadors to Tashkent, to entreat the assistance of the Czar; but Russian relations with England had undergone a change, and his request was refused. On the 21st of February, 1879, Shere Ali died; and a few days later Yakoob Khan succeeded in driving out or reducing to submission the various pretenders to the throne, and establishing himself in Cabul as his father's successor. On the 8th of May he appeared in the British head-quarters at Gundamak, between Jellalabad and Cabul; and on the 26th of the same month a treaty was concluded by which the Khyber and Peiwar passes, and the Pishni valley remained in the hands of the English, who were to hand over the surplus revenue to Yakoob Khan. Jellalabad and Kandahar were restored, an annual subsidy of £60,000 was guaranteed to the Ameer, and an English resident, with a suitable escort, was to be received in Cabul. In accordance with the terms of this treaty Sir Louis Cavagnari, with an escort of about seventy men, appeared in the Afghan capital on the 24th of July, 1879, and the English troops began to evacuate the Ameer's territory. The events of 1841 were repeated almost in their details. On the 3d of September a mutiny broke out in Cabul, and Major Cavagnari was massacred, with his whole escort. Anarchy pre-

vailed in all parts of the country, the Ameer's authority being nowhere respected. He himself took refuge in the English camp, abdicated his faint semblance of power, and was despatched to India, under grave suspicion of participation or connivance in the massacre. To avenge Cavagnari's murder General Roberts entered Cabul on the 13th of October, and at once instituted a reign of terror, hanging, it is said, twenty-five or thirty persons daily. The Afghan chiefs now managed for a time to lay aside their private animosities; and a force of 30,000 men, under Mahomed Yan and other leaders, obliged Roberts, who had but 7000 men at his disposal, to evacuate Cabul and concentrate his forces in the fortified camp of Sherpur, nine or ten miles away. On the 24th, however, he succeeded in scattering the enemy's forces and retaking Cabul; and on the same day General Gough arrived with a re-enforcement of 2000 men. An amnesty was at once published, from which only the leaders of the "insurgents" were excluded; and those who did not submit seem to have been treated as rebels against lawfully constituted authority. The question now was to find some chief who could maintain himself upon the throne; that is, who was strong enough to hold the numerous and unruly chieftains of the various tribes in some sort of subjection, and who would at the same time preserve friendly relations with England. The most promising candidate seemed to be Abdurrahman, a direct descendant of Dost Mahomed, who had just returned from an enforced retirement in Russian dominions, and with him negotiations were forthwith commenced. The Liberal government, which came into power in April of 1880, decided to abandon the "scientific frontier" and retire within the former boundaries; but the task of getting out of the country proved almost as difficult as that of getting in had been. At last, on the 22d of July, Mahomed Yan and a number of other chieftains having acknowledged Abdurrahman as their sovereign, the English authorities recognized him as Ameer, and prepared to evacuate the country, without embarrassing him and endangering his position by forcing him to conclude a formal treaty of any description. Five days later, at Kushk-i-Nakhud, Ayoub Khan, of Herat, with a force of 12,000 men, utterly defeated General Burrow, with 3000, and forced him to take refuge in Kandahar, leaving 1240 Englishmen dead or wounded on the field, besides native troops. Ayoub followed him up, and com-

menced the siege of Kandahar, but abandoned it again on the approach of General Roberts from the north. The latter, handing over Cabul to Abdurrahman, and evacuating the whole northern part of Afghanistan, reached Kandahar, after a brilliant march, on the 31st of August, 1880. On the following day he attacked Ayoub Khan at Sangiri, utterly scattered his forces, and sent him in wild flight back to Herat. Little by little the remaining positions in Afghanistan were surrendered to the natives; and at last, abandoning Kandahar, the English troops retraced their steps across the Bholan pass, leaving the Afghans to their own devices —that is, during part of the year to gather their own or their neighbors' crops, and during the remainder to wage a semi-predatory warfare. When Abdurrahman's troops desert to Ayoub, Ayoub is victorious; and when Ayoub's troops desert to Abdurrahman, the tables are reversed; and one rules at Herat and the other at Cabul, and still others elsewhere; and many neither rule nor are ruled. More than $80,000,000—made a burden on the already embarrassed Indian exchequer—had been thrown away, and 50,000 lives of friend and foe wasted, to re-establish anarchy in Afghanistan, and revive among the natives the bitter hatred toward England which time was gradually wearing out. Russia could not have wished for any greater success.

British South African policy cannot plead the excuse of the Russian spectre. The government aimed at the creation of a South African confederation. Of the European states in Southern Africa, Cape Colony and Natal were directly under British rule, while the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic were independent colonies. In addition to these four European states, there were several more or less highly organized native ones, the chief of which was the Zulu kingdom, to the north of Natal, consisting of a number of petty tribes, united under the headship of Cetewayo. The new policy aimed at the formation of a confederation under British control, embracing all the European states, and the subjugation or gradual extinction of the native kingdoms. The Transvaal, the independence of which had been recognized by England in 1852, comprised a vast stretch of country, thinly peopled by about 40,000 Dutch Boers and 1,000,000 negroes. The former, who had emigrated from Cape Colony to escape from British rule, were fanatical and intolerant Old Testament Christians. In addition to general bad treatment

of the natives, under the name of "apprenticeship," they seem to have practised a sort of slavery. Finally they became involved in war with Secocoeni, chief of the Mantatis — who is said to have received secret assistance from English sources—and their very existence was seriously threatened. Some of the dissatisfied Boers now applied for annexation to England, and Sir Theophilus Shepstone was despatched to Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal, to open negotiations with that end in view. "British interests" were also threatened by a proposed railroad connecting the Transvaal with Delagoa Bay, a Portuguese possession. In spite of the protest of President Burgers and the *Volksraad*, or popular assembly, Shepstone, on the ground that these did not represent the true sentiment of the country, annexed the republic to England. English troops marched in; and on the 12th of April, 1877, the English flag was hoisted in Pretoria. It seems probable that the home government actually believed that Burgers and the *Volksraad* did not represent the real wishes of the population. That opinion once adopted, repeated protests and remonstrances failed to find a hearing with either government or people. It may be that "British interests" increased the general deafness; at least, in 1878, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, colonial secretary, explained the grounds of the annexation to be the necessity of opening new markets for English goods; and in the same year, in order the better to control this new market, Delagoa Bay was purchased from the Portuguese for the sum of £600,000, and orders were issued for the construction of a railroad from that point to the Transvaal. Lucia Bay, to the south of Delagoa, was also a desirable acquisition. This was in the hands of the Zulus; and, in order to gain possession of it, Sir Bartle Frere, who had been sent to South Africa as lord high commissioner, to carry out the confederation policy, deliberately picked a quarrel with Cetewayo, although the latter had always shown himself disposed to maintain the most friendly relations with his English neighbors. Lord Chelmsford invaded the Zulu country with about 10,000 men; but, in his contempt for a savage foe, he allowed himself to be completely outgeneralled. One column was annihilated at Isandula, on the 22d of January, 1879; a second, under Colonel Pearson, was besieged in Ekowe; and a third, under Colonel Wood, was obliged to retreat to Utrecht, in the Transvaal. Inspired by Cetewayo's success, the Basutos also rose, un-

der their chief Morosi, and destroyed an English provision train at Lüneburg, in the Transvaal, on the 12th of March. The danger to the white settlers in Natal was imminent. Troops were despatched with all speed from England, India, and Mauritius; while the Irish Press was jubilant over the news of English disaster. In the House of Lords the Marquis of Lansdowne moved a vote of censure against the government on account of its policy in South Africa. In his answer to this motion, which was defeated by a vote of 156 to 61, Lord Beaconsfield admitted that Sir Bartle Frere had overstepped his powers, but insisted, nevertheless, that he was the right man for the place. Lord Chelmsford, also, was at first retained in his position as commander-in-chief; but before long Sir Garnet Wolseley was sent out as civil and military governor in Natal and the Transvaal, and lord high commissioner for the direction of English relations with the natives, thus superseding Lord Chelmsford, and limiting Sir Bartle Frere's sphere of activity to the Cape Colony. As soon as re-enforcements reached him Chelmsford had again assumed the offensive, and succeeded in relieving Colonel Pearson. Wolseley's arrival redoubled his activity; and on the 4th of July, at Ulundi, he completely defeated Cetewayo's army. The brave chief's followers deserted him; and on the 28th of August, after a sixteen days' chase, he himself was captured. Morosi and Secocoeni were subdued shortly after—the former falling in battle, and the latter being taken prisoner; and so, after costing £4,500,000—no part of which the colonists would consent to pay—the Zulu war, which had acquired a sort of an international character by the death of Prince Napoleon (June 1st, 1879), while engaged in a reconnoissance, was at an end.

But this did not terminate English troubles in South Africa. The Boers still continued to protest against annexation, and, at a meeting held on the 10th of December, 1879, determined not to submit to English rule. Krüger was chosen president, and a fruitless conference was held with Sir Garnet Wolseley. Gladstone's accession to power did not alter the situation, and a memorial presented by Krüger and Joubert, asking for the restoration of their independence, met with a refusal. Toward the end of the year 1880, taking advantage of a new rising of the Basutos and other tribes, the Boers resolved to assert their independence by force of arms. Five thousand men were soon collected; Joubert

was chosen commander-in-chief, and Krüger president of the republic—and hostilities began. Several successes were won, and, to the surprise of the whole English nation, the Boers proved themselves excellent fighters; but it was, of course, manifest that, however brave they might be, a mere handful of farmers could not maintain a successful struggle against the inexhaustible resources of the British empire. The justice of their cause was universally acknowledged, even in England; but, inasmuch as "civilized" policy forbids all retraction in dealings with weak or semi-civilized states, it was assumed on every side that the war would be prosecuted and the Boers subdued. Gladstone's government, however, convinced at last by their stubborn resistance of the injustice and bad policy of the annexation, granted their demands, and restored their independence—so far, at least, as the administration of their internal affairs was concerned. By the terms of the treaty England reserved a nominal suzerainty, the management of the foreign relations of the republic, and the right of interference for the protection of the natives; while the Boers conceded the principle of religious toleration, and abolished slavery. It was the more difficult for England to make such concessions because Sir George Colley, the commander of the British forces, had just been defeated and slain in a rash attack on Majuba Hill, undertaken to redeem his reputation from the disgrace of previous defeat at the hands of undisciplined irregulars. In conclusion, it should be added that, notwithstanding England's vast outlay of men and money, the plan of a South African confederation proved an utter failure, Cape Colony refusing its consent to such a scheme.

This great activity in foreign affairs—a reaction against the unenterprising foreign policy of the Liberal administration, which had been overthrown in 1874—was balanced by inaction in domestic matters; and had it not been for the Irish agitation, we should have absolutely nothing to record in the home field. The Irish people, without manufactures and without commerce, are wholly dependent upon agriculture. The land is in the hands of comparatively few holders, and those, to all intents and purposes, foreigners, of alien religion, who are a burden on the land, bringing little money in and taking much out. The prevailing English sentiment regards the Irish as incapable of managing their own affairs, so that not only is the Irish secretary invariably

an Englishman—and frequently offensively so—and not only is Irish legislation framed by English legislators, without much reference to Irish wishes or comprehension of Irish peculiarities, but the landlords, as a rule, feel themselves at liberty to interfere with and regulate the affairs of their tenants in the most minute and personal details. Moreover, until the summer of 1881, the laws left in the hands of the landlords practically absolute power with reference to rents and evictions. A law limiting this power was passed in 1870, as a result of the Fenian agitation, but proved ineffectual, inasmuch as the tenants were allowed to contract themselves out of its operation, and landlords were always able to find tenants willing to do so. Agitation was recommenced; the cry of home rule was raised once more; and in 1876 a policy of more or less systematic obstruction was begun by some of the Irish members in the House of Commons, under the lead principally of Parnell. This obstruction consisted in long and irrelevant speeches, with repeated motions to amend or adjourn, and was intended, by perpetually obstructing the business of the imperial parliament, to induce the English to give Ireland a parliament of its own. The bad harvests of 1879 and 1880 increased the distress. Before the Conservative ministry went out of office agrarian outrages had already commenced, and the collection of rents was everywhere fast becoming an impossibility. The elections for a new parliament, which began on the 30th of March, 1880, and resulted in the return of three hundred and forty-two Liberals, two hundred and forty Conservatives, and sixty-three Home-rulers, forced Beaconsfield (Benjamin Disraeli, created Viscount of Hughenden and Earl of Beaconsfield, August 12th, 1876), to lay down his office, and compelled the queen, much against her personal wishes, to intrust Mr. Gladstone with the formation of a new cabinet. A bill was at once brought forward appropriating money for the relief of minor tenants evicted for non-payment of rent. Notwithstanding the combined opposition of the Conservatives and Home-rulers, this measure passed the House by a majority of sixty-six, but was thrown out in the House of Lords by a vote of two hundred and eighty-two to fifty-one (August 4th); and nothing more was attempted during that session. Among the chief opponents of the bill in the Upper House was the Marquis of Lansdowne, a great Irish landholder, who laid down the position of under-secretary of state for

India to oppose what he regarded as the socialistic and revolutionary character of the bill.

In Ireland the excitement was on the increase. The Land League had been formed, and had found numerous adherents everywhere, but especially in the western counties. The non-political demands of its more moderate members were fair rent, fixity of tenure, and free sale—the so-called "three F's." Violent measures were resorted to, and still more violent language indulged in. Parnell went to America, to solicit assistance from Irish-Americans. No rent was paid, landlords were shot, evictions were resisted. Parliament reassembled on the 6th of January, 1881, and Parnell's followers at once commenced a policy of the most factious obstruction. The debate on the address occupied the unprecedented time of eight days. Then the ministry brought forward a coercion bill suspending the *habeas corpus* act in Ireland, and bestowing on the lord-lieutenant extraordinary powers for the suppression of the disturbances. The obstruction in parliament became only the more obstinate; until at last it was evident that the House of Commons, like other legislative bodies—excepting the Hungarian and Swedish parliaments—must adopt some form of the *clôture*, or "previous question." The crisis was reached on the morning of Wednesday, February 2d—after the House had been in uninterrupted session since the evening of the previous Monday—by the arbitrary exercise of the Speaker's prerogative, for the purpose of closing the debate; whereupon the Home-rulers left the House in a body. On the following day a rule was adopted by which, at the motion of the ministry, a measure may be declared "urgent" by a vote of three to one in a house of three hundred; and so soon as urgency has been declared the Speaker is obliged to put the question without adjournment or debate. The coercion bill was passed, as well as an arms bill, forbidding the possession of arms in certain districts; and finally the land bill was brought forward. This bill, which in substance granted the "three F's" demanded by the agitators, drove the Duke of Argyll out of the cabinet, and frightened, if it did not alienate, the whole body of Whigs, or conservative, land-holding Liberals. It gave the tenant absolute fixity of tenure as long as he paid a "fair rent;" and in case of disagreement between landlord and tenant, that is to be determined for a period of fifteen years by the decision of a court, at the end of which time a re-

adjustment may be made. In case of eviction for any cause the tenant is entitled to compensation for his improvements—such compensation to be paid by the landlord, or obtained by free sale to the highest bidder; and no tenant paying less than $750 a year is allowed to contract himself out of the operation of the act. In addition to this a land commission was to be created, armed with power to advance money to tenants for the purchase of their farms, or the reclamation of waste lands, or for the purpose of assisting would-be emigrants. The bill, although opposed by the Parnellites, or extreme members of the Home-rule party, because it did not abolish landlords altogether, and by the Conservatives because it deprived the landlords of too many of their rights, passed the House on the 29th of July by a vote of 220 to 14, most of its opponents refraining from voting. In the Lords, where Lord Salisbury had become the leader of the Opposition by the death of Lord Beaconsfield, on the 19th of April, it met with serious opposition, and was finally returned to the House (August 9th) loaded down with amendments radically altering its character. There was for a time considerable fear entertained of a collision between the two Houses, resulting in a dissolution, but this result was happily avoided. The Lords withdrew their opposition, and the land bill, with its main features unchanged, received the royal sanction and became law on the 22d of August. At first the Land-leaguers seemed inclined to give the new measure a trial, but their tactics soon changed, and a policy of obstruction began. Hitherto a mild use had been made of the extraordinary powers conferred upon the government by the coercion act, but in October a change of policy was resolved upon. The government began to arrest all persons regarded as dangerous. Parnell himself was lodged in Kilmainham Jail, in Dublin, on the 13th of October. At the instigation of the Irish-Americans, to whom the Leaguers were indebted for so large a portion of their funds, the chiefs of the League answered this action of the English government by the publication of a "no rent" manifesto. This led to the prohibition of the Land League as a seditious organization, and also forced the Roman Catholic hierarchy to pronounce against it. The ultimate effect of the land law it is as yet impossible to predict, but the present condition of the Irish question is eminently unsatisfactory.

§ 33.

AUSTRO-HUNGARY.

The annexation to Austro-Hungary of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in accordance with the provisions of the Berlin treaty, has already been narrated. A dispute at once arose as to which of the two halves of the dual empire should receive the newly-acquired provinces; and it was settled that, like Alsace and Lorraine, in the German empire, they should be imperial lands, belonging neither to Austria nor Hungary, but governed directly by the common imperial government. The *sandshak* of Novi-Bazar was not occupied in 1878; the resistance met with in the other parts of the annexed region, and the necessity of economy, inducing Andrassy to confine the occupation as much as possible; but in 1879, a convention having been at last concluded with the Porte, Austrian troops took possession of that district also, thus building a wall of division between Servia and Montenegro, and giving Austria the command of the road to the Ægean Sea. The attitude of the different parts of the empire, with regard to the whole Eastern question, had obliged the premier, with the support of the Austrian and Hungarian ministers, to take the law into his own hands. He had found it expedient to act first, and ask the wills of the popular representatives afterward. This course excited much dissatisfaction, especially among the Constitutional party in Cisleithania. The budget laid before the Austrian and Hungarian delegations in Pesth, in November of 1878, was severely attacked in the budget commission of the former by the Constitutional party, under the lead of Herbst, who was hostile to Andrassy and aimed at his overthrow. The latter finally obtained a vote of indemnity for the 41,000,000 gulden by which the original appropriation of 60,000,000 gulden had already been exceeded, as well as an additional 35,000,000 gulden to cover the expenses of the occupation for the year 1879, but not until the whole matter had been referred to the *Reichsrath* (Austria) and the *Reichstag* (Hungary), with the object of

subjecting his policy to a more searching and public criticism, and thus exerting a more efficient check upon his actions. It was plain that, although they consented to accept an accomplished fact, the Constitutional or German party were not satisfied with Andrassy's policy in the matter of the annexation; and it is also plain that, if he had confined himself to strictly constitutional measures, Bosnia and Herzegovina could not have been annexed, nor the Berlin treaty concluded. The annexation, and indeed the Berlin treaty in general, cost Austria the friendship of Russia, but proportionally strengthened her alliance with Germany. It was evidently Bismarck's policy to push Austria forward on the road to Constantinople, thus checkmating Russian ambition in that direction, and at the same time definitively excluding Austria from all participation in German affairs; and Austria had accepted the part assigned her. The threatening attitude of Russia led to the formation of a still closer alliance between the two middle powers in the summer of 1879, and in the autumn of 1881 Italy also entered into the alliance. But before this time (October 8th, 1879) Andrassy had laid down his office and been succeeded by Baron von Haymerle. The reasons for this change are not clear, but at least it has led to no change in the Austro-Hungarian foreign policy. The death of Haymerle (October 10th, 1881), and the appointment in his place of Count Kalnoky, formerly minister at St. Petersburg, will in all probability be equally inappreciable in its effect on the foreign policy of the Hapsburg empire. The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina were not without effect on the internal affairs of the Austrian half of the dual empire. The dissatisfaction of the German liberal Constitutional party with the policy of the government led to the resignation of Prince Adolf Auersperg on the 15th of February, 1879. As the elections for a new *Reichsrath* were near at hand, no permanent successor was appointed; but Stremayr, minister of instruction and worship, was intrusted with a provisional presidency. The new elections, in May, resulted in a defeat of the Liberals by the Conservatives, assisted by the party of historical rights (Federalists), *i. e.*, those who aimed at preserving the individuality of the various countries comprised in the western half of the empire, and perhaps transforming the existing dualism into a triple or quadruple confederation. From one point of view the result of the May elections (190 Conservatives and 160 Liberals)

may be described as a victory of the Slavic over the German element, and as such it was followed by the return of the old Czechs to the *Reichsrath*, from which they had seceded in 1877. A new cabinet was formed in August, with Count Taaffe, formerly stadtholder of the ultramontane province of Tyrol, as minister-president, but von Stremayr and von Horst, members of Auersperg's cabinet, were allowed to retain their portfolios. In spite of this concession of two seats in the cabinet, the Liberals of all shades resolved to unite in opposition to Taaffe's government, and a common programme was adopted, demanding, among other things, increased economy and a diminution of the military budget. Another form of opposition displayed itself in the Conservative Upper House, where Schmerling, with the two Auerspergs and Cardinal Kutschker, Archbishop of Vienna, formed a "Constitutional party," in opposition to the demands of the Czechs. The opposition of the Conservative majority of the Lords was, therefore, wholly concerned with the federalistic tendencies of the new ministry, while the Liberal minority among the Commons opposed its conservative as well as its federal tendencies. The address adopted by the majority in the Lower House, advocating decentralization and increase of the powers of the separate provincial parliaments, recognized the constitution merely as an existing fact, and not as an inherent necessity; that of the House of Lords was conceived in a diametrically opposite spirit.

The most important bill laid before the new *Reichsrath* was that fixing the strength of the army (800,000 in war and 255,000 in peace) for the next ten years, thus removing the whole matter beyond the sphere of parliamentary control. As this involved a change of the constitution, a two-thirds vote was necessary to its passage. So long as the Liberals united in opposing the measure it was impossible to obtain the requisite majority. Finally, however, more than forty Liberals yielded to the pressure brought to bear upon them by the government, and on the 20th of December the bill passed the House by a vote of 223 to 105. This measure, although from a civil and political point of view undoubtedly dangerous, on account of the power it put in the hands of the government, was of great value from a military standpoint, by removing the army for a definite time beyond the possibility of popular interference. In government circles the maintenance of a powerful armament was considered necessary, in

order that Austro-Hungary might maintain its position among the European powers; but on economic grounds a reduction of the military expenditure was earnestly to be desired, for each year the budget contains a deficit, and the empire itself is virtually bankrupt.

April 19th, 1880, an order was issued by the ministers of the interior and of justice requiring imperial officials in Bohemia and Moravia to make use, in all official dealings, of the language of the parties concerned. This involved the dismissal of a number of German officials who could not speak the Czechish tongue, and was the signal, wherever the Slavs were at all numerous, for an attack on the German language. In Bohemia feeling ran so high that the attacks were not confined to the language alone, and a number of outrages were committed against persons, especially in Prague. Home rule, or the erection of the "Bohemian crown-lands" into a separate kingdom, united with Austria by a mere personal union, was the substance of the Czechish demands. All this led to a ministerial crisis; Stremayr, Horst, and two other ministers resigned, and their places were filled by more pronounced or more pliant adherents of the federal policy. This change excited considerable apprehension in Hungary, the Magyars dreading the effects of Slavic ascendency in Cisleithania on the Slavs in the eastern half of the empire. For the maintenance of their own position the Magyars had sought to limit Slavic power in Hungary by every means in their power, without over-scrupulousness as to the character of the measures adopted, provided only the desired end was obtained. This had led them to postpone a final settlement with Croatia, which bore a relation to Hungary similar to that of the latter to Austria, and to delay the incorporation with that kingdom of the portion of the old military frontier that should of right have fallen to its share. By this means the number of Croatian representatives in the *Reichstag* was decreased, and Slavic influence proportionally diminished. These and other measures, by which the Magyars sought to keep the power out of the hands of the Slavs, might be interfered with in case the latter gained the upper-hand in Cisleithania. Toward the Germans, also, and the German language, the Magyars displayed a hostility in no respect inferior to that of the Czechs. Not content with driving out all German officials of every description, they even went so far as to close the German theatre in

Pesth, and took into consideration the advisability of prohibiting German religious services among the Saxons of Transylvania.

The finances of the eastern half of the empire are, if possible, in a worse condition than those of the western. Hungarian financial policy is notoriously bad. The land is rich, but each year the budget displays a deficit. Little or no money, however, is laid out on necessary improvements—as witness the destruction of Szegedin, in 1879, by an inundation of the Theiss, owing to defective and neglected dams—all is squandered on the *Honved* army. The agricultural system is antiquated. The administrative system is so bad, and the rule of the Magyars so intolerable, that large numbers of Slavs and Germans have left and are leaving the country, many of the former emigrating to Bulgaria.

The relations of Hungary to Austria during the period under consideration are also deserving of notice. The settlement concluded by Beust in 1867 expired in the year 1877. That settlement had been peculiarly favorable to Hungary, and the Magyars attempted to secure equally favorable conditions in the new treaty. The point of greatest difficulty was the bank question. Although the majority of the stock was held in Austria, the Hungarian government insisted upon an equal share in the administration. In case this were not conceded they threatened to establish a separate Hungarian bank, and to regulate their tariff without any reference to that of Austria. They also refused to assume any part of the debt of 80,000,000 gulden due the bank from the government. The negotiations were protracted into the middle of the following year before a settlement could be reached. It was finally arranged that the president of the Austro-Hungarian bank should be appointed by the emperor on the nomination of the central cabinet, one vice-president on the nomination of the Austrian minister of finance, and one on that of the Hungarian; eight directors were to be elected by the share-holders of their own free choice—two on the nomination of the Austrian government, and two on that of the Hungarian. The Hungarian government also consented to assume an ultimate responsibility for thirty per cent. of the government debt to the bank. In the matter of the tariff it was agreed to levy a high tax on coffee and petroleum in the interest of Hungary, where those articles do not find much sale, and to put high duties on manufactured goods for the benefit of Austrian manufactures.

In the matter of religious liberty but slight progress was made between the years 1876 and 1881. In spite of loud protests from the Roman Catholic bishops, supported by the greater part of the inhabitants, permission was granted to a few Protestant congregations in ultramontane Tyrol to hold public religious services, and in the year 1877 the Old Catholics at last received official recognition from the state. But in general, although before the elections of 1879 the Lower House of the *Reichsrath* was in favor of full religious freedom, all attempts in that direction were frustrated by the Upper House, and still more by the emperor himself. By their union with the Federalists in 1879 the Clericals hoped to restore the schools to the church, and otherwise increase the power of the ecclesiastics; but as Count Taaffe's ministry proved more concerned for federal than for clerical interests, twenty-seven members of the clerical party seceded from the ministerial ranks in November of 1881. By this action, which gives them the balance of power in the Lower House, they hope to force the government to concede what they demand.

In conclusion, it may not be amiss to mention two ministerial utterances which throw considerable light on certain peculiarities of Austrian administration. The first is from Giskra, who was called as a witness (January, 1875), in a suit for peculation, against Ofenheim, formerly director of the Lemberg-Czernowitz railroad. Giskra unblushingly averred in full court that in Austria every one takes *trinkgeld*, from servants and waiters up to the highest officials of the government, and instanced his own acceptance in this way on one occasion of 100,000 florins, with the full knowledge and permission of the emperor. The other is a statement made by Prince Adolf Auersperg, while minister-president, with reference to the passage of the protective tariff in 1878; a measure which was carried through the *Reichsrath* only by the assistance of the Poles, a part of the Liberals opposing it: "The official Press does not cost a penny, but the opposition Press—that takes hush-money. We only needed a few votes in the Lower House, but it cost a great deal."

§ 34.

ITALY.

In Italy the year 1876 was marked by the accession to power of the Progressists (Liberals) after sixteen years of Moderate (Conservative) rule. Minghetti's ministry had for some time been losing ground. Their weak policy in the matter of ecclesiastical disregard of civil law, relative to the appointment and instalment of bishops, pastors, and other religious functionaries, and their apparent inability to put an end to brigandage in Sicily, had largely reduced the number of their supporters before the close of 1875. But it was not until the next year that they were obliged to resign, and the question which ultimately brought about their downfall was the manner of raising the hated grist tax. Minghetti's successor in office was Depretis, the leader of one section of the Progressists. This change of ministers involved a dissolution and new elections. These resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Progressists. In the new parliament, which met on the 20th of November, over 400 out of the total number of 508 seats were occupied by members of the various sections of the Left. In January of 1877 the antipapal policy of the new ministry manifested itself in the introduction of a bill, directed chiefly against the higher clergy, to punish religious functionaries for inciting disobedience to the laws of the state by speech or writing. Although this bill was thrown out by the Senate, yet the evident determination of the government to extort from all ecclesiastics strict obedience to the civil authorities had a beneficial effect, and about thirty of the bishops submitted to the requirements of the law, and received the legal exequatur at the hands of the Italian government.

The following year opened with the death of Victor Emmanuel (January 9th), first king of Italy, and the accession to the throne of his eldest son as King Humbert I. Parliament was re-opened on the 7th of March, and before the close of that month Depretis had ceased to be prime-minister, and Cairoli, leader of the extreme Left, was directing the affairs of the nation. But no min-

istry can achieve a reasonable degree of permanence so long as the majority is divided into a number of sections under various chiefs (Depretis, Nicotera, Crispi, Cairoli), each greedy of power, and accordingly Cairoli in his turn soon made place for Depretis, and Depretis for Cairoli, and Cairoli again for Depretis. During Cairoli's first ministry occurred an attempt on the life of King Humbert. The *Internationale* had appeared in Italy, republican unions had been formed, and Barsanti clubs abounded. (Barsanti was a corporal who had been executed by martial law for the murder of his lieutenant, and forthwith exalted into a socialist hero.) The king undertook a journey through the principal cities of his dominion. In Bologna, Pisa, and Florence placards appeared on the walls containing such sentiments as "Death to the king!" "Down with the monarchy!" and letters were received announcing an intended attempt at assassination. On the 17th of November he made his entrance into Naples in a carriage, the other occupants of which were the queen, the Prince of Naples, and Cairoli. A cook named Giovanni Passanante, pressing through the crowd, sprung on to the step of the carriage and attempted to stab the king with a large knife. The first blow was parried by Humbert himself, the second wounded Cairoli, who had thrown himself between the monarch and his assassin. In Florence and Pisa members of the *Internationale* threw bombs among the crowd which gathered to celebrate the king's escape from death, and a number of persons were killed or wounded. These outrages aroused the loyalty and indignation of the whole nation. Cairoli was forced to take active measures against the *Internationale*, and especially to suppress the Barsanti clubs, and the support of public opinion rendered his measures effective. Passanante himself was condemned to death, but the king commuted his sentence to imprisonment for life.

In 1879 a bill passed the Chamber making civil marriage an obligatory prerequisite to the performance of the religious ceremony. Civil marriage had long been compulsory, but as the law did not require the civil to precede the religious contract, many had contented themselves with the latter alone, until it was estimated that the number of marriages of this description, invalid in the eyes of the law, must reach about 120,000. The Pope and his bishops vigorously opposed the new law, as was to have been expected, protesting against it as an encroachment by the State

on territory rightfully belonging to the Church. An extension of the suffrage had been promised by the Progressists ever since their accession to power, but the first bill with that end in view was not introduced until 1879, and, after passing the House, was thrown out by the Senate in 1880. After the new elections of May, 1880, which resulted in the return of 346 Progressists and 160 Moderates, the ministry introduced a second bill of a slightly more radical character. Hitherto, out of a population of 30,000,000 souls, only 500,000 have enjoyed the privileges of the franchise, and not more than one-half of the privileged few have ever exercised their privilege. The proposed law practically bestows the suffrage upon all males above the age of twenty-one who can sign their names, or about one-half of the adult male population. This bill has already passed the House, and it seems probable that it will be carried through the Senate also,* the government having created one hundred new Progressist senators for the purpose of convincing that body of the advantages of a Progressist policy. Another Progressist measure, long demanded by public opinion, and delayed by the necessities of the treasury, where the receipts are always less than the expenditures, was the abolition of the tax on the inferior cereals. This was farther accompanied by a provision for the total abolition of the grist tax on the 1st of January, 1884.

In the matter of foreign policy the tendency of the Liberal *regime* has been toward estrangement from France and alliance with Germany, and latterly with Austria also. The death of Victor Emmanuel and the accession of King Humbert were both favorable to the anti-French party. Victor Emmanuel felt himself under weighty obligations to the French emperor—and, indeed, it was only the overwhelming rapidity of Napoleon's defeat which prevented the Italian king from coming to his assistance—and was, consequently, well disposed toward a permanent French alliance, while Humbert was more inclined to enter into closer relations with Germany. French lust of aggression and French arrogance toward Italy finally converted the policy of a party into the sentiment of a nation. Whatever gratitude toward France the Italian people still cherished was completely blotted out by the conduct of the French government in regard to Tunis (1880 and 1881),

* January, 1882.

almost resulting in open hostilities with Italy. A riotous attack upon Italian laborers in Marseilles, in the summer of 1881, and the hostile tone of the French Press helped still farther to widen the breach between the two nations, and to place Italy in the foremost rank of France's bitterest foes. It has already been stated that Italy has entered into intimate relations with Austro-Hungary; but this friendship was preceded by a period of strained relations between the two states, consequent upon the desire of a large part of the Italian people to annex to Italy certain Italian-speaking districts in the possession of their Austrian neighbors. The *Italia irredenta* programme included territory possessed by Switzerland, France, England, and Austria; but considerations of expediency induced the leaders of the agitation to reclaim the Austrian districts first. In 1878 government encouragement caused this agitation to assume formidable proportions, and, as a matter of course, the inevitable Garibaldi figured among the agitators. It seems probable that during the Russo-Turkish war some sort of a treaty was concluded between Russia and Italy for the event of Austria's interference with Russian movements in the Balkan peninsula. This understanding was apparently renewed in 1879, but the conclusion in the same year of an alliance between Austria and Germany rendered a change of policy advisable. Alliance with Germany now meant friendly relations with Austria, and alliance with Russia involved a breach with Germany; accordingly, official countenance was withdrawn from the *Italia irredenta* scheme, and, for the time being, the agitation was deprived of its political importance. The increasing coolness between Italy and the French republic increased the necessity of friendly relations with Austro-Hungary, and French hostility and German friendship, working together, finally brought about a friendly visit of the Italian royal pair in Vienna, in the autumn of 1881, and something like an Austro-Italian alliance.

Unfortunately for Italy, Italian history involves a history of the papacy. About a month after the death of Victor Emmanuel, February 7th, 1878, occurred that of Pope Pius IX., the first Christian to achieve infallibility. On the 20th of the same month Pecci, cardinal-camerlengo and Bishop of Perugia, candidate of the Moderate party, was elected Pope (Leo XIII.) by a vote of forty-four to eighteen. Pecci had been appointed Bishop of Perugia and created cardinal at the instance of King Leopold

of Belgium, in the year 1846; but the nomination was reserved *in petto*, and Gregory XVI. dying before it had been made public, he did not receive the cardinal's hood until 1853. Under Pius IX. the favorites of Gregory XVI. were thrust into the background, and the papal ear was monopolized by Cardinal Antonelli. Accordingly, it was not until after the death of the latter (November 6th, 1876) that Pecci was finally summoned to the Vatican and appointed camerlengo (September 24th, 1877). It was the new Pope's wish to make an end of the "imprisonment" in the Vatican, and appear publicly in the streets of Rome. With this end in view, he inquired whether, in case of a public coronation in St. Peter's, the Italian government would be able to guarantee the maintenance of order. Crispi, minister of the interior, fearing that the Pope's adherents might be guilty of indiscretions which would excite the fury of the Roman mob, and provoke disorders beyond the power of the government to restrain, refused to undertake such a guarantee. Accordingly, the coronation took place in private, and Leo, like his predecessor, assumed the rôle of "Prisoner of the Vatican." It was at first popularly supposed that, inasmuch as the new Pope belonged to the Moderate party, a change of policy might be expected in the direction of reconciliation with the civil authorities in those states where the policy of Pius IX. had provoked a *culturkampf*. Time has shown, however, that the expectation of important concessions on the part of the papacy was based on an erroneous judgment of Leo's character and position. Willing to make concessions in matters of outward form, he is as obstinate as his predecessor in maintaining the supremacy of ecclesiastical over civil authority, and his apparent readiness to conciliate—his political affability—only renders him a more dangerous foe. Franchi, a Moderate, succeeded Simeoni, an Ultra, as secretary of state, and negotiations were at once commenced with a view to establishing political relations with Prussia, Switzerland, and Russia. Leo's demands were in substance the same as those of Pius. Owing to the death of Franchi these efforts at reconciliation remained for the moment fruitless. In 1881, however, negotiations with Prussia and Russia were again resumed, and resulted in the restoration of direct political communications with both those countries. A *modus vivendi* was also found between the government of the former country and the Roman curia, of such a nature that two of the vacant

bishoprics in Prussia (Treves and Fulda) were filled before the close of the year. It is as yet impossible to say what concessions have been made on either side, but the necessities of Bismarck's position with regard to internal policy give just ground for the belief that the essential concessions were on his part, and those of form on that of the Pope.

A general programme of Leo's policy was contained in his encyclica of April 21st, 1878, which "renewed and confirmed all protests of his predecessor as against deprivation of the temporal dominion, so also against infringement of the rights justly belonging to the Roman Church." In other words, he assumed and promised to carry out in its general features the policy of Pius IX. He did, however, in so far break with the system of his predecessor as to attempt to free the church from the fetters of the Jesuits; but in most matters the power of the latter has proved too great for him to overcome. In certain directions he has shown independence of their control. Ultramontane and impracticable as his foreign policy may seem to outsiders, in the eyes of the Jesuits it is too liberal by far. Any attempt at negotiations with refractory governments, involving as it must a suggestion of concession, is an abandonment of Pius's position of *non possumus*, and hence unacceptable to the Jesuits. In the matter of the participation of his Italian followers in the civil elections also, Leo has broken with the policy of his predecessor. Pius forbade such participation as implying recognition of the usurping Italian government. Leo has removed this prohibition, and encouraged his followers to appear at the polls. As this change of base has so far been visible only in Roman municipal elections it is too early to predict its ultimate effects on Italian politics at large.

The fracas attending the removal of the late Pope's body from St. Peter's to the tomb prepared in the church of St. Lorenzo, on the night of July 12th–13th, 1881, disturbed Leo's hitherto good relations with the Italian government, and even raised the question of his departure from Rome. Permission had been granted to the executors of Pius's will to remove his body on the night mentioned. Against the wishes of the executors, permission had also been granted by the prefect of police, Bacco, to the members of the "Society for the Guardianship of Catholic Interests" to follow the hearse publicly with lighted torches. This torch-light

procession in honor of their ancient tyrant naturally aroused the wrath of the Roman mob. No provisions had been made for the protection of the procession, and a disgraceful riot ensued. To excuse the government for its neglect of the most common precautions, Depretis, the prime-minister, accused the late Pope's executors, and indirectly Pope Leo, with breach of faith. The whole affair was used by Leo's advisers to demonstrate to Leo himself and to the world at large the reality of his "imprisonment" and the hostility of the civil authorities. The radicals made use of the incident to commence an agitation for the repeal of the law of papal guarantees; the indirect accusation of the prime-minister was repeated directly, and in public meetings and the daily Press the Pope was freely called a "liar." Feeling ran so high that the annual Italian pilgrimage was postponed for fear of a serious collision. At the same time the Pope informed the foreign ambassadors to the Vatican that "if the smallest leaf on the pontifical tiara is ruffled" he would leave Rome at once—an event which seems improbable; for even if Italy wishes to get rid of him, no other country wishes to receive him.

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§ 35.

SPAIN.

For Spain the period under consideration was ushered in by an event of the most favorable nature—the final suppression of the Carlist revolt in the northern provinces. On the 19th of February, 1876, Estella, the strongest point in Navarre, surrendered unconditionally to the royalist general Primo de Rivera. On the 21st King Alphonso entered Tolosa, and on the following day San Sebastian. Lizzaraga, Dorregaray, and Saballs had crossed the French frontier; other Carlist leaders had made their submission to the legitimate sovereign. The Spanish government had 100,000 soldiers in the field, while the pretender, who had retreated to the historical valley of Roncesvalles, could muster scarcely 2000 men. Under these circumstances resistance was hopeless. On the 28th of February Don Carlos crossed the French frontier, his followers were disarmed, he himself was invited by the French

authorities to take up his residence in some foreign country, and the insurrection was at an end. Those provinces in which the Carlists had found their chief support, the Basque provinces (Alava, Viscaya, Guipuzcoa) and Navarre, were deprived of the *fueros* or special privileges which they had hitherto enjoyed. Their protest against the military conscription was disregarded, and their provincial integrity in the matter of taxation was abrogated in so far that the taxes were now levied directly by the central government and not through the medium of the provincial parliaments. The retention of the *fueros* had been promised in 1875 in case of immediate submission to Alphonso's government; but the fact that such submission was not rendered, and that the return of the revolted provinces to their allegiance was effected by force of arms, thus giving the government the desired opportunity to abrogate the mediæval privileges in question, must be regarded as a real gain for Spain. The abrogation of the *fueros* met, however, with a most obstinate resistance, and it became necessary to place the recalcitrant provinces in a state of siege.

In contrast with the enlightened and progressive conduct of the Spanish government in the assertion of political unity was its retrogressive and bigoted action with regard to liberty of conscience. Article 11 of the new constitution, adopted by the Cortes in May of 1876, contained the following provision: "The nation pledges itself to the maintenance of the Catholic religion, which is the state religion—the support of its clergy and worship. On Spanish soil no one can be punished for his religious opinions, or for the practice of his own peculiar religious rites, on condition that proper regard be had to the teachings of Christian morality. Nevertheless, no public ceremonies or demonstrations will be permitted on the part of those not members of the state church." Castelar and Sagasta advocated the restoration of full religious freedom, as granted by the constitution of 1869; the Clericals, on the other hand, most obstinately opposed the small pretence of liberty which Article 11 conceded. Rome regarded the concordat of 1851, which forbade the practice of any other religious rites than those of the Romish church, as still in force. In this respect her policy was the same which it has ever been, viz., a concordat is a perpetual treaty, and cannot be annulled except with the consent of the Roman curia. The degree of freedom actually granted by Article 11 depends largely upon

the interpretation put upon it by the party in power. What Canovas's interpretation would be had already been clearly shown by his reactionary measures before the adoption of the constitution—namely, the suspension of Protestant newspapers, the closing of Protestant churches, the interference with freedom of instruction in the schools and universities, the abolition of civil marriage, the restoration to churches and religious orders of their confiscated property, and to the clergy of their former incomes. As might have been expected from these precedents, so long as Canovas del Castello remained in power, the words "public demonstrations" received the narrowest possible interpretation. No notice of the hours of service or of the religious character of the building was allowed to appear on the outer walls of Protestant churches; and in Cadiz (March 29th, 1877) one zealous alcalde went so far as to send policemen into a church to interrupt the service on the ground that the sound of the preacher's voice could be heard in the street, although the doors were closed, and that there had, therefore, been a "public demonstration." In the Balearic Isles, under pretence that the introduction of the Protestant religion was being made the vehicle of an English political propaganda, bigotry was allowed to have full sway, and the authorities even consented to the exclusion of Protestant children from the public schools, for fear they might infect the orthodox Romanists. This *regime* of illiberality lasted until 1881. The resignation of the Canovas ministry in the early part of that year, and the Liberal victory in the August elections, which at length transferred the power to Sagasta, brought about a total change in the religious policy of the government. The speech from the throne on the re-assembling of the Cortes (September 20th, 1881) called attention to the necessity of a liberal interpretation of the constitution in favor of liberty of conscience and of reforms in schools and universities, and promised the introduction of a bill restoring civil marriage.

In addition to the Carlist insurrection and the religious question, the financial situation constituted a third embarrassment for Alphonso's government. In April of 1876 Salaverria, the minister of finance, laid before the Cortes a statement regarding the condition of the finances, to the effect that it would be impossible to pay full interest on the public debt until, by some process of consolidation, the principal had been so far reduced that the

interest would not exceed 180,000,000 pesetas (francs). In order to conduct the government, and pay any part of the interest in the mean time, it was necessary to retain the extraordinary war tax, increase the other taxes, and reduce the salaries of all officials, including the clergy, twenty-five per cent. At the same time a loan of fifteen or twenty million piasters (the piaster is equal to five francs) was obtained from a syndicate of Spanish bankers at ten per cent. interest, the Cuban customs being pledged for its payment. This is a fair exhibit of the general condition of Spanish finances. The country is bankrupt; the revenue is not sufficient to pay the interest on the public debt; and, like the Porte, the Spanish government can no longer borrow except at high rates of interest, the payment of which is secured by a lien on some special source of revenue.

The particular loan above referred to was for the purpose of a more vigorous prosecution of the war in Cuba. The insurrection which had begun in 1868 still continued, and interference was threatened on the part of the United States. The threat of foreign interference spurred the government to the adoption of energetic measures, which were at length rendered possible by the suppression of the Carlist revolt. Toward the end of 1876 General Martinez Campos was despatched to Cuba to take command of the military operations there; at the same time the Spanish troops already on the island were re-enforced by an addition of 25,000 men. In consequence of these measures Campos and Jovellar, the governor-general, were able to report in the spring of 1878 that the central committee of the insurgents had submitted and the revolt was at an end. Campos returned to Spain, to become the advocate of reform and a policy of justice toward the colony he had reclaimed. He proposed to abolish slavery, to remove the oppressive restrictions which forced the Cubans to purchase all their supplies from Spain at exorbitant prices, and in general to place Cuba on an equal footing with the various provinces of the mother country. The execution of all his plans involved an immediate expenditure by the home government of 200,000,000 francs. As Canovas was unwilling to demand this sum from the Cortes he resigned, and on the 7th of March, 1879, Campos was intrusted with the formation of a new ministry. In June of the same year he was able to lay his programme of reform before a newly-elected Cortes, but before the year closed he

had been relegated to the ranks of the opposition, and Canovas was again in power. Under his administration a bill for the abolition of slavery in the Antilles at length passed the Cortes (in January of 1881), and the remainder of Campos's programme was finally so far carried out, at least in what must be considered its essential feature—the bestowal on Cubans of equal rights with Spaniards —that in opening the newly-elected Liberal Cortes on the 20th of September, 1881, the king was able to say, with reference to the colonies, "The constitution has been promulgated and the previous censorship of the Press abolished. In Cuba and Porto Rico the sons of those provinces enjoy already, as citizens of the Spanish nation, the same rights as their brethren in the Peninsula." These reforms have not been without effect, and the elections to this same Cortes have shown that, although there is a considerable party of autonomists, or home-rulers, in Cuba, yet the majority of the inhabitants are contented with their present condition and loyally disposed toward Spain.

As in Germany and Italy, so also in Spain, the year 1878 was marked by a murderous attempt on the king's life, due to the influence of the *Internationale.* The would-be murderer, Moncasi by name, a cooper from Catalonia, made the journey from Tarragona to Madrid for the express purpose of murdering his sovereign. His attempt was unsuccessful, and he was executed. A like fate overtook Otero, a Galician, who fired two shots at the king as he was driving in an open carriage with the queen on the 30th of December, 1879. In conclusion, mention should be made of the marriage of Alphonso with his cousin Mercedes, daughter of the Duke of Montpensier, on the 23d of January, 1878. Mercedes died on the 26th of June of the same year, and on the 29th of November, 1879, Alphonso married the Archduchess Maria Christina of Austria, by whom he became the father of a daughter in September of the following year.

§ 36.

BELGIUM, SWITZERLAND, HOLLAND, DENMARK.

The principal interest of Belgian history during the years 1876–'81 lies in the battle there waged—and still being waged—between liberal ideas and ultramontane bigotry. Under the Clerical *regime*, which began in 1870, there was much truth in the boast of Dumortier, a Clerical member of parliament, "Nowhere is the Pope so truly Pope as in Belgium; in Belgium he is more Pope than in Rome." The clergy, although paid by the state, were absolutely free from all interference or restraint on the part of the civil authorities, and the entire educational system of the country was practically in their control. The attitude of the government toward them was well illustrated by the military reception accorded to Dechamps, Archbishop of Mechlin, on the 21st of April, 1875, after his appointment as cardinal, the whole garrison turning out to receive him with music and the firing of cannons. In view of the recent pastoral letters of the Belgian bishops, denouncing Kaiser Wilhelm, Bismarck, and the Prussian ecclesiastical policy, this reception had every appearance of a hostile demonstration against Germany on the part of the Belgian government, and the general attitude of the party in power at Brussels certainly justified such an interpretation. The sympathies of the Clericals were unreservedly with France, in spite of the scarcely concealed desire of the latter to disregard the guarantees of neutrality and annex Belgium to herself. Nor was this annexation merely a part of Napoleon's plans of conquest; the Duke of Broglie, while ambassador in London after the Franco-Prussian war, openly announced France's willingness to leave Alsace and Lorraine in the hands of Germany, provided she should receive Belgium in return; and Thiers made the same declaration to Count Harry von Arnim while the latter was the German representative at Paris.

The overthrow of the Conservative *regime* in France in 1878 exerted no small influence on Belgian politics, and contributed

largely toward the attainment of the same end in that country also. In accordance with the constitution, one-half of both Chambers must be changed every four years. The quadrennial elections occurred in June of 1878, and resulted in a victory for the Liberals. The latter had a majority of six in the Senate (thirty-six to thirty) and ten in the lower House (seventy-one to sixty-one). Accordingly, Malou's ministry handed in their resignations, and Frère Orban was intrusted with the formation of the new cabinet, which, to the discontent of the Clericals, comprised a special minister of public instruction. The programme of the new ministry comprised a reform of the educational system, with a view to removing it from the control of the clergy and placing it under that of the state, the more complete development of the system of compulsory military service, and the introduction of secret balloting. The first of these three measures, which was also by far the most important, is the only one which specially demands our attention. A bill laid before the Chambers in April of 1879 deprived the clergy of the supervision of the schools, banished religious instruction to the time before or after the regular school hours, and made education absolutely free for the poorer classes of the population. The opposition of the Clerical party assumed the most bitter character. Placards appeared threatening King Leopold with death in case he signed the bill. Nevertheless, it passed both Houses, and on the 1st of July received the royal signature. Placards now appeared advocating the king's assassination, one of which was traced to the Jesuit college in Brussels. A conclave of bishops, held in Mechlin on the 1st of September, decided to refuse absolution to all teachers in the state schools, and to all parents sending their children to those schools. The clergy refused to impart religious instruction under the new law, and the task accordingly devolved upon lay teachers. The bishops held a new conclave, and decided to refuse the sacrament to teachers in the state schools, and to confirm only those children, attendants of state schools, whose parents demanded their exemption from the religious instruction of lay teachers. The Bishop of Tournai went so far as to lay the state school in that place under an absolute interdict. Frère Orban complained to the Pope, and the latter ostensibly interfered in behalf of the government, sending a general vicar to replace the Bishop of Tournai, and calling upon the other bishops to pursue

a more moderate course. But it soon transpired (revealed by Dumont, Bishop of Tournai) that either the infallible Pope, or his secretary of state, Cardinal Nina, had been guilty of double-dealing; and that, while ostensibly counselling the bishops to moderation, the Pope was in reality encouraging them to persist in the course which they had adopted with his express approbation. The discovery of this deception induced the Belgian government to break off all relations with the Roman curia. The Belgian ambassador at the Vatican was recalled, Vannutelli, the papal nuncius at Brussels, to whose intriguing character some part of the difficulty is perhaps attributable, was dismissed, and Frère Orban roundly accused the Pope of dishonesty. Belgium, with its army of 30,000 priests and 18,000 nuns, the very stronghold of papacy—where ardent priests had exhibited to excited multitudes straws from the imaginary cell of the "imprisoned" Pius IX., and whose assistance had been counted on by fiery ecclesiastics for the restoration of the temporal dominion of the Pope—found itself suddenly plunged into the very centre of the *culturkampf*, a standard-bearer of the antipapal legions.

The chief interest of the history of Switzerland during the years 1876–'81 lies, like that of Belgium, in the strife with the Vatican. The expulsion of Bishops Lachat and Mermillod, and the consequent severance of political relations with the Vatican in the year 1875, had placed Switzerland in the front rank of the *culturkampf*. Berne and Geneva were the cantons specially concerned. To secure themselves against the hostile agitation of the Roman Catholic priests of the Jura, sympathizers with Lachat, whose expulsion had been pronounced unconstitutional by the federal government, and who had accordingly returned to their homes, the Great Council of the canton of Berne passed a law (September 13th, 1875) punishing with fine and imprisonment any person guilty of inciting opposition to the civil authorities, or instigating members of one confession to hostilities against members of another, demanding from all ecclesiastics a written pledge of unconditional obedience to the laws of the land, prohibiting the exercise of episcopal functions without express permission from the authorities, and forbidding religious demonstrations of any description in the streets or other public places. An appeal to the federal parliament against the constitutionality of these measures was rejected. Thereupon the Great Council went a step

farther, throwing open the graveyards to all citizens, without distinction of belief or disbelief, and forbidding any religious pomp in connection with funeral processions. The canton of Geneva pursued a somewhat similar course, confining religious ceremonies to the churches, abolishing religious orders, granting to the Old Catholics the use of the church of Notre-Dame, in common with the papists, and offering assistance toward the endowment of an Old Catholic bishopric. About the same time the Clerical party suffered a defeat in the country at large through the confirmation by a popular vote of a bill passed by the federal parliament in 1874, making civil marriage obligatory. A democratic provision of the Swiss constitution allows eight cantons or 30,000 citizens of the republic to demand the submission of any measure to a *plébiscite*. More than 100,000 signatures had been gathered, demanding the *referendum* in the case of the obligatory civil marriage bill, and that measure was accordingly submitted to the test of a popular vote. The result was the adoption of the measure by the small majority of 8154 votes (June, 1875), 204,700 voting for, and 212,854 against the introduction of compulsory civil marriage.

For the purpose of weakening and disintegrating the Clerical party, the Liberal cantons decided to afford all possible assistance to the Old Catholic movement. Equally with the adherents of the Pope, the Old Catholics were regarded as Catholics, each parish being allowed to determine by a majority vote whether it would have a Roman Catholic or an Old Catholic pastor, or both parties be allowed the use of the parish church at different hours. In accordance with the *non possumus* theory of Pius IX., that they might not seem to recognize the right of the state to interfere in ecclesiastical matters, many Roman Catholics refrained from voting in parish elections, thus greatly furthering the cause of the Old Catholics. In the year 1876 out of about 1,000,000 nominal Catholics the Old Catholics numbered 73,380, constituting fifty-five parishes and seventeen unions or clubs. Their organization was completed in September of that year by the consecration of Herzog, pastor and professor in Berne, as bishop of the Swiss Old Catholics—the cantons of Geneva, Neuchâtel, Solothurn, and Aargau contributing to his support, to which number was added in 1877 the canton of Berne. The Roman Catholic bishops greeted this unwelcome colleague with a formal anathema, and a

declaration of the invalidity of his consecration as lacking the approval of the Pope. Another blow to papal authority in Switzerland was the complete or partial abolition of the cloisters in some of the cantons, reducing, according to official statistics, the number of monks and nuns from 8566 to 3570 between the years 1871 and 1877. But it must not be supposed that all the Swiss cantons were engaged in this antipapal conflict, or were even neutral. In the year 1878, after the accession of Leo XIII. and his unsuccessful attempt to open negotiations with the Swiss government, several Ultramontane cantons protested against the continuance of the struggle, and demanded the restoration of political relations with the Vatican. The canton of Tessin (Italian), which had fallen completely into the hands of the Clerical party in 1875, with the result, among other things, of bringing the whole school system under the control of the clergy, formed the extreme on the one side, as did Berne on the other. The Liberals in Tessin, like the Clericals in Berne, were continually appealing to the federal parliament. That body showed itself ready to assist the Liberals whenever it could consistently do so, among other things interfering in 1879 to prevent the admission of foreign monks to capuchin cloisters in Tessin, and holding out a prospect of the ultimate abolition of all cloisters. In general, however, the *culturkampf* in Switzerland has assumed a more moderate character since the accession of Leo XIII. The appointment in 1880 of Cosandey as Bishop of Lausanne and Geneva, in place of the obnoxious Mermillod, removed one important obstacle in the way of peace; but in the matter of Lachat neither party has yet displayed an inclination to yield. Leo's change of policy with reference to the participation of his followers in parish elections has exerted an unfavorable influence on the prospects of the Old Catholics, depriving them of a number of parishes formerly in their hands, and a corresponding amount of state support. The present condition of the religious question has developed in several cantons a considerable party in favor of the complete separation of Church and State; but all attempts to realize this desirable end have so far resulted in failure.

The proverbial parsimony of the Swiss people (which does not, however, prevent the Swiss budget, like that of most European nations, from displaying a deficit) was strikingly exhibited in the difficulties attending the completion of the St. Gothard tunnel.

The cost of this enterprise had been originally estimated at 187,000,000 francs, but this sum proved insufficient, and a new estimate set the cost at 289,000,000 francs. Delegates from Germany, Italy, and Switzerland met at Luzerne in June of 1877 to devise means for the completion of the undertaking and apportion the additional expense between the three countries concerned. By abandoning certain costly features of the original enterprise the sum required was reduced from 102,000,000 to 46,000,000 francs—of which 8,000,000 was assigned to Switzerland, 10,000,000 each to Germany and Italy, and the remainder was covered by issuing shares. Germany and Italy unhesitatingly appropriated the sum allotted them. In Switzerland the case was different; several cantons refused to contribute their quota, and for a time there was danger that Switzerland might fail to meet her obligations with regard to the completion of the tunnel. The federal government was obliged to interfere. Then followed an appeal to the people, and it was not until the year 1879 that the required sum was finally appropriated—4,500,000 by the federal government, 2,000,000 by the cantons immediately benefited, and 1,500,000 by the two railroads especially interested. The tunnel itself was finally completed, after eight years' work, on the 29th of February, 1880, and opened to traffic on the 1st of January, 1882.

There was no *culturkampf* in Holland, for the reason that neither concordats nor previous concessions of any description afforded the Pope either reasonable or unreasonable grounds for laying claim to special rights and a privileged position in relation to the law. The nearest approach to a religious contest was the struggle, between the Liberals on the one side and the Ultramontanes and extreme Calvinists on the other, on the question of confessional schools. In this struggle the former have so far had the upper hand, thus keeping the schools entirely out of the arena of religious controversy. The majority in both Chambers has, during these years, been steadily Liberal; but the Cabinet has been in the main Conservative—King William assuming a more direct part in the direction of the government than is perhaps altogether consonant with his position as constitutional monarch. Whether Liberals or Conservatives have held the tiller, each year's budget has displayed an ominous deficit, largely caused by the interminable war in Atchin, which constantly breaks out

afresh just as its termination has been joyfully announced or hopefully predicted by the government. The death, without issue, of William, Prince of Orange (June 11th, 1879), and Henry, the king's younger brother (January 13th, 1879), has raised the question of the future disposition of Luxemburg. The connection of the grand-duchy with Holland is not organic, but merely personal; and, while women may inherit in the latter, in the former the Salic law prevails. King William is sixty-five years old. His only surviving son, Prince Alexander, is weak, both mentally and physically, and generally regarded as incapable of ascending the throne. The succession in Holland, therefore, devolves upon the king's infant daughter by his second marriage (born August 31st, 1880), while the legal heir to the grand-duchy of Luxemburg is uncertain, a fact which involves future danger—the more so as there are grounds on which the inheritance may be claimed by the King of Prussia.

The history of the little kingdom of Denmark during the years 1876–'81 is little more than the history of a struggle between the king and the *Landthing*, or House of Lords, on the one side, and the *Folkething*, or popular House of Representatives, on the other. This struggle, which began in a question relative to an appropriation for military purposes, the *Folkething* disapproving of the costly system of fortifications proposed by the government, finally developed into a permanent conflict. The House refuses to pass any budget until the obnoxious ministry is removed; while the king, supported by the *Landthing*, refuses to yield, maintaining that such a concession would put into the hands of the Commons more power than was intended by the constitution.

The marriage of Princess Thyra, younger sister to the Princess of Wales and the Empress of Russia, with Prince Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, son and heir of the late George V., dispossessed King of Hanover, brought the Danish court into bad odor in Berlin. After his father's death (June 12th, 1878) Ernest Augustus, by the advice of his Hanoverian friends, and especially Windthorst, announced his intention to maintain his claims to all the late king's rights and titles. This forced the Prussian government to regard him as a pretender, and retain in its possession the Guelph fund of 16,000,000 thalers, and it also involves his exclusion from the succession in the duchy of Brunswick in case

of the death of the aged sovereign of that state. His marriage with Princess Thyra was the union of two interests hostile to Prussia, the one laying claim to North Schleswig, the other to Hanover, and ultimately Brunswick also. The feeling of hostility toward Prussia entertained at Copenhagen was farther emphasized by the reception with marked honor of a deputation of Guelph malcontents from Hanover as an official delegation sent to attend the marriage of their king (December 21st, 1878). By way of answer to this demonstration, in February of 1879 the German chancellor published the text of an agreement entered into between the emperors of Germany and Austria modifying the treaty of Prague (1866), and releasing Prussia from her obligation under that treaty to surrender to Denmark the Danish-speaking northern districts of Schleswig. The date of this agreement, October 11th, 1878, marks it as a partial payment on the part of Austria for the territory conferred upon her by the treaty of Berlin.

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§ 37.

FRANCE.

THE adoption of a republican constitution in France antedates, properly speaking, the period under consideration, belonging to the year 1875. The majority of the committee of thirty appointed to frame a constitution were Royalists; consequently, the constitution laid before the Assembly was of an indefinite character, not recognizing the republic as final, but merely as a *septennate*, the executive head of which they called the "Marshal-president of the republic." To Wallon, a member of the Left Centre, belongs the credit of proposing an amendment definitively recognizing the republic, and so framed as to meet the approval of the majority of the delegates. By this amendment it was provided that "The president of the republic shall be elected by a majority vote of the Senate and House of Representatives convened in joint session. He shall be elected for seven years. He may be re-elected." The Orleanists joined with the Republicans in voting for this amendment, which was finally adopted by a majority of 200 (449 to 249). The organization of the Senate occasioned

a division between these new allies. The former wished to confer upon the president the right of appointing part of the senators; the latter desired to assimilate the elections for the Senate to those for the Lower House. Again Wallon proposed a compromise which met with the approval of both parties. The Senate was to consist of three hundred members, seventy-five elected by the National Assembly, and holding office for life (vacancies to be filled by the Senate itself), the remainder chosen by the departments and colonies—their representatives in the Lower House, the general and district (*arrondissement*) councils and municipal (*commune*) representatives forming a college for that purpose—with a nine years' term of office, one-third to be renewed each three years. In the matter of legislation both Houses were to have equal rights, excepting that the Senate could not initiate financial measures. This compromise was adopted by a vote of 448 to 221; and by the end of February, 1875, the republican constitution was a *fait accompli*. In June a new school law was passed abolishing the state monopoly of public instruction, granting to all citizens the right to establish schools and colleges, and bestowing the power to confer degrees upon a jury composed of representatives of the state and free universities. The tendency of this measure was to give the Roman Catholic priesthood the eventual control of education in France. The Church was willing to expend larger sums for educational purposes than the State; moreover, the coherence of its organization and its influence in high circles opened to the graduates of its institutions a better chance of making a career. In November the mode of voting for the members of the new House came up. Gambetta and the Republicans in general were in favor of the *scrutin de liste*, believing themselves more sure of a majority in case all the voters of each department voted for the whole list of delegates from that department. The Right favored *scrutin d'arrondissement*, since the vote of the conservative country population would be more effective in case the electors of each district voted for one delegate only. Both methods have their disadvantages. The former, by increasing the unit of suffrage from the district to the department, gives undue power to the majority; the latter—which was the method actually adopted by a vote of 357 to 326—makes all districts equal, giving one of 30,000 inhabitants the same representation as one of 90,000. After choosing seventy-five life-sen-

ators, the majority Moderate Republicans, and appointing a committee of twenty-five to represent it until the new Chambers should be convened, the National Assembly, elected February 8th, 1871, came to an end on the 31st of December, 1875.

With the year 1876 begins the history of the definitive and organized republic. The elections for the Senate, on the 30th of January, resulted in a Monarchical majority. Out of the whole number of 300 senators 100 were Moderate Republicans, 40 Bonapartists, and more than 120 Orleanists and Legitimists. The elections to the Lower House, on the other hand, resulted in the return, in round numbers, of 360 Republicans, 20 of whom were Radicals, or *Intransigeants*, 90 Monarchists, and 80 Bonapartists. Buffet, the minister-president, failed of election to either House. In December he failed to be elected life-senator, in January he failed to be elected ordinary senator, and in the February elections to the Assembly he was defeated in four different districts. This rendered his resignation inevitable; and Dufaure, minister of justice in the late cabinet, an adherent of order, who was ready to support any form of government provided it were legitimate and orderly, was intrusted with the formation of a new ministry from the Right and Left Centres. The Chambers were opened March 7th, 1876; the Duke of Audiffret-Pasquier was chosen president of the Senate, and Jules Grévy of the House, and the work of the organized republic had begun. The first efforts of the Republican majority in the House were directed toward the removal of the state of siege in Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, and Versailles, the repeal of the Clerical school laws of 1875, and a reorganization of the *personnel* of the prefectures and mayoralties in the interest of the Republicans. The first of these measures met with no opposition in either House, and on the 4th of April the four cities in question were restored to their full rights and privileges. On the 22d of March Waddington, as minister of public instruction, brought forward a bill restoring to the state the exclusive right to confer academic degrees. This measure, which Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans and a member of the Senate, characterized in an open letter as "an attack on religion and the church," passed the Assembly with a majority of over 200 votes (338 to 128), but was thrown out in the Senate by a majority of five (144 to 139). At the funeral of the composer Felicien David, who, as member of the Legion of Honor, was entitled to a mil-

itary escort, the commanding officer, learning that in his will the deceased had expressly desired to be buried without religious ceremonies, marched the escort back to their barracks. The action of the ministry, in view of this act of Clerical impertinence, was weak and undecided. They lost respect in both Houses, and before the end of the year Dufaure was obliged to resign. MacMahon summoned Audiffret-Pasquier to form a new Cabinet, but the latter advised him to call a pronounced Republican to office. MacMahon and his advisers believed that, if the Republicans were once in power, they would alarm the country population by attempting to carry out radical and revolutionary measures, and thus strengthen the hands of the Conservatives. Jules Simon was the man chosen to bring the Republicans into discredit. The other members of the Cabinet remained substantially the same as before.

MacMahon's expectations were not fulfilled. The new ministry showed no inclination to hand over the country to radicalism. The elections to the councils-general which were to participate in the election of seventy-five new senators took place before the end of 1877, and therefore it was necessary, before that time arrived, to get rid of Simon and his Republican cabinet and commit the government to statesmen of the Right. Simon controlled a majority in the House, and could not be overthrown in a parliamentary manner, hence it became necessary for the marshal-president himself to force resignation upon him. In April the "Catholic Assembly" met in Paris. It was resolved to collect among the French Roman Catholics signatures to a petition to the government regarding the Pope's "imprisonment," setting forth the obstacles in the way of the free exercise of his spiritual functions, expressing a fear that he might soon be forbidden to hold any communication with the Roman Catholic world, and calling upon the French government to interfere for the restoration of his freedom. Simon issued an order directing all prefects to prevent the circulation of this petition, as calculated to incite French citizens to hostilities against a neighboring friendly power. Some of the bishops issued pastorals and open letters containing still more direct attacks upon the Italian government, and were warned to desist from all farther interference in matters of foreign policy. On the 3d of May, in the Lower House, Leblond interpellated the ministry with regard to the measures employed for the

repression of the Ultramontane agitation, which he designated as "a declaration of war on Italy." Simon detailed the measures which had been adopted, and added, with reference to the letters of the bishops, that they were based on the theory of the Pope's "imprisonment." "It is, however, not a fact that the Pope is a prisoner. The statements made are, if not altogether false, at least exaggerated." Informed of Simon's words, the Pope took the earliest possible opportunity to complain publicly that the French minister-president had called him a "liar." On the 15th this complaint became known to MacMahon, among whose most intimate counsellors were Madame MacMahon and Bishop Dupanloup, her conscience-holder. On the following morning Simon received a letter from the president, practically asking for his resignation, on the ground that he had not exercised sufficient influence on the House of Representatives with reference to the Press Bill then under discussion. (At a later date the Duke of Broglie ascribed the president's action to the undue influence which Simon allowed Gambetta to exert upon him.) All the ministers at once handed in their resignations. Although the Republicans had a majority of 200 in the Lower House, a Cabinet was formed containing one Bonapartist, two Legitimists, and three Orleanists; one of the latter, the Duke of Broglie, being minister-president. At the same time the president prorogued the Chambers for one month; but, before they separated, 363 members of the House united in a manifesto of protest to their constituents against the unconstitutional course pursued by the marshal.

The new ministry displayed the greatest activity in the removal of Republican officials. Out of 87 prefects 50 were either transferred or removed altogether; 150 subprefects, secretaries-general, etc., suffered a similar fate, and the new officials extended the policy of removal to those below them in office. Repressive measures were adopted with regard to clubs, meetings, cafés, and restaurants of a Republican character, and, above all, the Press. The Chambers re-assembled on the 16th of June. Broglie read a message of the president to the Senate, asking the consent of the latter to a dissolution of the House. This consent was granted by a vote of 150 to 130, and on the 25th of June the Chamber was dissolved. The electoral campaign for the new Chamber began at once. The four Republican groups united in supporting for re-election the 363 rep-

resentatives who had signed the manifesto of May 19th. Gambetta was the virtual leader of the Republican forces. A speech of his at a banquet in Lille, on the 15th of August, gave the watchword to the party: "When in the elections France shall have pronounced her sovereign verdict, it will be necessary either to submit or to resign (*se soumettre ou se démettre*)." For these words the ex-dictator was condemned to three months' imprisonment and fined 2000 francs, but the government did not dare to enforce the sentence for fear of a popular rising. Wherever the Republican chief appeared he was greeted with popular demonstrations and public applause. The marshal, on the other hand, who, pushed into the foreground by his reactionary ministers, undertook a tour of the provinces and made political speeches at various places, was greeted with cries of "Long live the Republic!" "Long live the 363!" "Long live Thiers!"

The latter, whose name was a pledge of order and patriotism, the Republican moderator, who held the various fractions together and was looked on by Gambetta as MacMahon's successor, died on the 4th of September at the ripe age of eighty. Victor Hugo (Senate) and Gambetta forthwith issued a letter designating Jules Grévy as Thiers's successor in the representation of his vacant Parisian electoral district, in the leadership of the 363, and as future president of the republic.

September 19th MacMahon published his electoral manifesto. In this he announced that the government would designate the candidates who met with its approval, that hostile elections would only prolong the crisis and retard the course of business, for he would in no case yield to radicalism. This called forth a number of counter manifestoes from the Republican side. In his address to his Belleville electors Gambetta declared that "France will condemn the dictatorial policy, and leave the chief of the executive power no other choice than either *se soumettre ou se démettre*." For these words he was condemned to three months' imprisonment and a fine of 4000 francs; but again the government did not dare to arrest him. The bishops also took part in the campaign, and threw the whole weight of their position on the side of the government. A three days' supplication was decreed for the favorable issue of the elections, and papal absolution offered to all who rendered assistance to the marshal. The electoral proclamations of the Republicans were for the most

part confiscated by the prefects of the departments in which they were issued. On the 12th of October, two days before the elections, the president issued a second manifesto, in which the voters were appealed to in the following language: "You will vote for the candidates whom I recommend to your free choice. Go to the polls without fear. Follow my summons. I myself am your security for the maintenance of peace and order."

The elections resulted in the return of about 320 Republicans and 210 Royalists, 112 of whom were Bonapartists. Both parties were mistaken in their reckoning. The Republicans had expected to elect 400 delegates in place of the original 363, while the government had expected to have a majority at its disposal. The result was, however, a Republican victory, for 320 delegates could refuse to vote the budget as well as 363, and a second dissolution was impossible, since the thirteen constitutional Orleanists who held the balance of power in the Senate refused their consent. The elections to the councils-general, whose members would take part in the election of seventy-five new senators in the following year, also resulted to the advantage of the Republicans. It was evident that the great majority of all classes of the population was against the Broglie ministry; still the latter did not resign. The Chambers met on the 7th of November. Albert Grévy moved the appointment of a committee of thirty-three for the investigation of abuses occurring during the late elections. In spite of the opposition of the government the motion was carried by a vote of 320 to 203. The committee appointed consisted entirely of members of the four Republican groups, as the result of whose labors ninety-three members of the Right were ultimately unseated. Finally, on the 20th of November, all the ministers resigned. Still possessed of the infatuation that he was justified in rescuing the country from the dangers of radicalism by the interference of his personal will, MacMahon formed a new ministry (Rochebouët) consisting entirely of Royalists and Bonapartists, differing from the preceding only in the fact that none of its members were sufficiently prominent to have seats in either House. This Cabinet presented itself to the Chambers on the 24th of November, whereupon, at Jules Ferry's motion, the Lower House resolved, by a vote of 323 to 108, to enter into no relations with an unparliamentary cabinet. MacMahon would not yield. On the 26th the minister of finance asked the Chamber

to vote the four direct taxes in order that government business might not come to a stand-still. The budget commission, presided over by Gambetta, refused to take any notice of the measures of the obnoxious cabinet. The president saw himself obliged to dismiss Rochebouët and summon Dufaure to form a new ministry (December 6th), but as he still persisted in his theory of personal government, and wished to fill three of the ministerial posts (foreign affairs, war, and navy) with his own followers, Dufaure declined the task. Thereupon negotiations with the Right were renewed. Extremists talked of a *coup d'état.* Others proposed an appeal to the people, and the passage of the budget by means of a *plébiscite.* There was even a military plot on foot. Business came to a stand-still. Petitions and delegations urged the marshal to yield. This lasted a week, then he surrendered. *Se soumettre* was preferred to *se démettre.* Dufaure was again summoned, and on the 14th the formation of a new cabinet was completed. All the ministers, with the exception of Borel (war), were Republicans, and, as though to emphasize the defeat of the Clericals, four of them—Waddington, Say, Borel, and Pothnan (foreign affairs, finance, war, marine)—were Protestants. Dufaure at once introduced a bill granting amnesty for all political offences since the 16th of May. Sweeping changes were also made in the *personnel* of the prefectures. Out of eighty-seven prefects eighty-two were removed and one transferred. Then the House adjourned until the 8th of January.

The victory was Gambetta's victory. His power increased every day. Experience had tempered his radicalism and taught him moderation. He realized the danger arising from the socialistic vagaries and wild fanaticism of the extreme Left, and exerted all his influence to restrain them. The power must fall into the hands of his party if they were patient and bided their time. It might elude them if they grasped at it too hastily. The Radicals called him an "opportunist;" but he won the more adherents among the lovers of peace and order. His appearance in the provinces was the signal for a genuine ovation. In the autumn of 1878 he made a brief tour, which resembled a triumphal procession. When he appeared in the theatre the audience rose, the representation was interrupted, and all joined in the *Marseillaise.* On this tour he delivered political speeches—explanations of his policy. In these speeches he denounced the Clericals, declaring

clericalism to be the most dangerous foe the republic had to fear. He would maintain the concordat, but insist upon its strict observance. From the report of Bardoux, minister of public instruction, it appeared that out of 138,252 monks and nuns in the French republic 20,341 were educators of one sort or another, giving instruction in 2328 public and 768 private schools. The unauthorized religious orders numbered 21,444 members—7444 male and 14,000 female—of whom a large part, and particularly the Jesuits, busied themselves with education. This Gambetta conceived to be a source of great danger to the republic, and he expressed himself accordingly, still farther exciting, if that were possible, the hatred of the Clericals against him. Besides the Clericals and the extreme radical wing of the Republicans, Gambetta also enjoyed the cordial hatred of the Bonapartists. He was scarcely allowed to speak without interruptions from Cassagnac; nor was he himself sufficiently guarded in his language. In November of 1878 some hasty words directed against Fourton led, in accordance with the unfortunate and foolish traditions of French politics, to a challenge, and a duel was fought with pistols at thirty-five paces, but a kindly Providence interfered to save each champion from the other's deadly aim.

As to the marshal-president, he seemed to have concluded to allow the people their own way. He remained in office and did the honors of the republic toward the numerous distinguished and princely visitors to the Paris Exposition of 1878. Chief in the latter category was the Prince of Wales, who showed Gambetta marked attention, inviting him to breakfast at his hotel, and speaking of him as an "*homme vraiment supérieur.*" France felt that the presence of so many princely personages implied the full and friendly recognition of the French republic by the European monarchies, and the Paris papers exultingly expressed themselves to that effect. Only Germany refused to take part in the Exposition at large, reluctantly consenting to participate in the exhibition of painting and sculpture. After the foreign princes had departed, MacMahon became more sensible of his political impotence. Whatever hopes he may have cherished of a conflict between the two Chambers was finally dispelled by the result of the senatorial elections (January 5th, 1879). Of the seventy-five outgoing senators fifty-six were Monarchists and nineteen Republicans; of the seventy-five incoming senators sixty were Republi-

cans and fifteen Monarchists. A Monarchical majority of twenty-four had been turned into a Republican majority of fifty-eight. The Republicans, sure of both Chambers, at once began a more aggressive policy. The removal of a number of Bonapartist generals was demanded. The marshal would not consent to the removal of his old comrades in arms; thereupon, Dufaure handed in his resignation. Once more the marshal stood before the alternatives *se soumettre ou se démettre.* This time he chose the latter. On the morning of January 30th his letter of resignation was read in both Houses, and at six o'clock on the same day Senate and Assembly met in joint session to choose a new president. In accordance with the programme agreed to by the various Republican factions in 1877, Jules Grévy was elected president, 563 votes being cast for him and 99 for General Chanzy. The post made vacant by Grévy's elevation was filled the next day by the election of Gambetta to the speakership of the House by a vote of 314 to 91.

In order to leave the hands of the new president free, Dufaure handed in his resignation. Waddington was thereupon intrusted with the formation of a new cabinet. This displayed a farther inclination toward the Left. Two of its members, Freycinet and Lepère, belonged to the Republican Union—Gambetta's group—the others were taken from the Left Centre and the Moderate Left. The four questions which this cabinet had to solve were amnesty, the prosecution of the Broglie ministry of 1877, removal of the Chambers from Versailles to Paris, and the secularization of education, *i. e.*, the withdrawal of the control of public instruction from the hands of the priests. The Radicals, such as Victor Hugo (Senate) and Louis Blanc (House), had long demanded complete amnesty for the criminals of the Commune. The greater part of the lesser offenders had already been pardoned by the president. A bill was now brought in granting amnesty to all those not condemned for offences against the common law. In spite of the opposition of both Radicals and Monarchists, this bill passed both Houses, and a credit of 300,000 francs was granted for the purpose of bringing the released Communists back from New Caledonia. The question of the prosecution of Broglie and Rochebouët, with their associates, almost involved a ministerial crisis. The committee reported in favor of impeaching the members of both cabinets. Waddington agreed with the committee

as to the grave character of the crimes committed, but regarded an impeachment as impolitic. Finally, a resolution was passed in the Lower Chamber to the effect that the ministers of May 16th and November 23d (1877) had betrayed the republic. This resolution the minister of the interior was requested to placard in every *commune*. De Broglie, Rochebouët, and their colleagues protested against being condemned and branded with infamy without the formality of a trial; but their protests passed unheeded. The third of the four questions before the Waddington ministry was solved in June. The Chambers met in joint session, and repealed the ninth article of the Constitution, which designated Versailles as their place of meeting. The constitutional difficulty being thus removed, a bill was passed in both Houses providing for a removal to Paris.

The solution of the fourth question involved a *culturkampf*. In France the concordat and the organic laws were strict enough, if enforced, to hold the clergy in obedience; but previous governments had not insisted on their observance, so that the bishops and the various religious orders, particularly the Jesuits, had acquired a degree of power, especially in the educational field, which was both dangerous and intolerable. To reduce this power the minister of public instruction, Jules Ferry, brought in a bill depriving the *congrégations* (religious orders) of the right to maintain high-schools, or share in conferring academic degrees, and forbidding the members of unauthorized *congrégations* to conduct educational institutions of any description whatever, or give instruction in them. It was also provided that only laymen should in future be eligible for the Educational Council—a body appointed by law for the assistance of the minister of public instruction; at the same time steps were taken to secure better obedience to the concordat and the organic laws. A circular was issued ordering prefects to enforce the reading in the churches of the prayer for the republic, and directing them to report at once any bishop who should absent himself from his diocese without first obtaining permission from the government. The new school law, which, it must be confessed, was somewhat too polemical in its character, called forth fiery fulminations from the bishops and the Clerical party at large, but the most dangerous opposition came from the Republican Left Centre in the Senate. Jules Simon and his followers opposed the bill as illiberal and

unrepublican in its provisions. It passed the Lower Chamber by a large majority in July of 1879; but its discussion in the Senate was postponed until January of 1880. In the mean time Waddington, who, like Simon, belonged to the Conservative Republicans, was replaced by Freycinet, a member of Gambetta's group, and a devoted personal adherent of the ex-dictator. This change marked a step on Gambetta's road to the open assumption of power, and was universally conceded to be a convincing proof, had proof been wanting, that he it was who dictated the policy of France. This change of ministry took place toward the end of December, 1879. On the 9th of March, 1880, the Senate debate on the school laws was ended. The bill was returned to the Lower Chamber with Section 7, excluding members of unauthorized religious orders from all participation in the work of education, struck out. Freycinet was interpellated as to the course which the government intended to pursue. He replied that the existing laws against unauthorized *congrégations* would be enforced. The Chamber thereupon adopted a resolution approving of the policy proposed. There was abundant provision of unrepealed laws, which, if enforced, would prevent Jesuits and members of other unauthorized *congrégations* from engaging in education; but it was generally supposed that these laws had become antiquated and invalid from disuse. As the Senate refused to exclude members of unauthorized *congrégations* from the schools, the government now had recourse to this half-forgotten legislation. On the 30th of March President Grévy issued a proclamation ordering the "so-called society of Jesus" to disband, and vacate all institutions in its possession within three months (they had 74 educational institutions with 1011 teachers and about 10,000 scholars), a period which was extended to five months in the case of educational establishments of a scientific character. The other unauthorized *congrégations* were ordered to submit their constitution and statutes to the government for approval, and to obtain recognition for each separate institution before the 1st of July. These March decrees met with the hearty approval of the Lower Chamber, and the Senate expressed no formal disapproval. Loud protests were raised by the Clericals, and disturbances predicted; but the protests passed unheeded, and the closing of a number of Jesuit establishments, which took place on the 1st of July, was attended by no disturbances of any

importance. As for the other unauthorized *congrégations*, although they did not make their submission by the time appointed, no measures were taken against them; but, instead, negotiations for a compromise were opened with the Vatican.

In the mean time the question of full amnesty for the criminals of the Commune had again come up, and at length received a definitive solution. April 20th, 1879, the imprisoned Communist, Blanqui, was elected to the Chamber from Bordeaux. The Radicals once more demanded full amnesty for political offenders and the recognition of Blanqui's election; but Gambetta was against them, and the election was annulled by an overwhelming majority (372 to 33). A new election was ordered. Blanqui was again a candidate; but, fortunately for the Chamber, which was thus rescued from an embarrassing predicament, was defeated by a member of the Republican Union. In June of 1880 Blanqui was again a prominent candidate in Lyons, and another ineligible Communist, Trinquet, was elected in one of the Paris districts. It was evident that, in the large cities at least, public sentiment demanded complete amnesty. A new amnesty bill was brought before the Chamber. Gambetta left his president's chair to speak in its favor. His speech was greeted with thunders of applause, and the measure was carried by a vote of 333 to 140. But Jules Simon, Waddington, and the Moderate Republicans in the Senate opposed the bill, and it was finally returned so amended as to be unacceptable to the majority in the Chamber. Another conflict had arisen between the two Houses. But a way out of the difficulty was at length discovered. A bill was passed granting amnesty to all not convicted of murder or incendiarism who were pardoned before the 14th of July, and to all, without exception, whose sentences were commuted before the 10th of the same month. By this means the Senate found its conscience satisfied, and the House gained its wish. The government granted the necessary pardons and commutations within the time allotted, and all the criminals of the Commune were restored to their full rights and privileges as French citizens.

Prominent among the returning Communists was the notorious Rochefort, who at once began through the columns of his paper, the *Intransigeant*, an attack of the most virulent description on Gambetta and his "opportunism." But neither Radicals nor Conservatives could shake Gambetta's position. Indeed, the very

epithets they made use of, and the ridicule they showered upon him, bore witness to their consciousness of his absolute power. A Bonapartist journal, *Le Pays*, designated him as "*Monsieur Gambetta, Dictateur.*" The Orleanist paper *Soleil* said: "The ministers are nothing; the president of the republic is less than nothing. Gambetta, as has been wittily remarked, is the emperor of the republic. He is more than that; he is the republic itself." Radical journals used similar language. It was manifestly the opinion of the whole country—of those who feared and hated, as well as those who trusted and admired him—and in this regard foreign nations also were of the same opinion as the French. Gambetta's utterances on questions of foreign policy were regarded as semi-official utterances of the French people. The National Festival was celebrated on the 14th of July, the anniversary of the storming of the Bastile. There was a grand military display, and President Grévy presented 436 new banners to the army. The martial pageant revived national self-confidence. It began to be felt that France was ready to take her revenge for Alsace and Lorraine. This feeling colored Gambetta's speech at a banquet in Cherbourg, August 9th, 1880. In guarded language he declared that on the first favorable opportunity France must reclaim her lost provinces. This speech attracted great attention, especially in Germany. The question was, did Gambetta speak for himself merely, or for France? To cause it to appear as though the former were the case, Grévy and Freycinet took every opportunity, in replying to delegations and on other public occasions, to announce a policy of peace, and the latter, in a speech at Montauban, was understood to characterize Gambetta's policy as a "policy of adventure."

It was to his too independent attitude on this occasion that Freycinet's downfall seems to have been due; but the ostensible cause of his resignation was a question of internal policy. The negotiations with the Vatican had resulted in a compromise. The Jesuits were to be abandoned to the mercy of the French government, while the other unauthorized *congrégations* were to remain undisturbed for the present, on condition of signing a sort of general submission to the laws of the state. This arrangement was opposed by Constans, Cazot, and Farre (interior, justice, and war), Gambetta's special adherents in the ministry, and after various attempts at a compromise Freycinet finally resigned (Septem-

ber 19th), and Jules Ferry was charged with the formation of a new cabinet. That Freycinet's fall might not be attributed to his Montauban speech, it was necessary to place in the foreign office a known advocate of peace, and accordingly Barthélemy St. Hilaire, an old friend of Thiers and an admirer of Bismarck's policy, was selected to discharge the duties of that post. It was more than ever manifest that Gambetta was the real, though irresponsible, dictator of French policy, and that cabinets existed merely at his pleasure. The new cabinet carried out the March decrees without compromise. Early in November, 1880, after the courts had declared the expulsion of the Jesuits legal, the Carmelites, Franciscans, Capuchins, Dominicans, Marists, Redemptorists, and others were expelled from their cloisters. The total number of institutions thus closed amounted to 261. In many cases force was necessary to remove the monks from their cells. Monasteries were besieged. Here and there the populace rose in defence of the Sisters of Charity, the military were called in, and blood was shed. Prominent men, like the Duke de Broglie, encouraged the monks and nuns in their resistance, and even shared with them the perils of a siege. A number of officials resigned rather than be concerned in the execution of such godless measures; others, who remained at their posts, were excommunicated. The bishops thundered and the Pope protested; but the nation at large was with the government. The excitement soon subsided, and the next local elections proved, by the test of increased Republican majorities in the country districts, that even the peasants approved of the course pursued. This encouraged the ministry to go a step farther. The property of religious orders was subjected to taxation, education made compulsory, and religion practically excluded from the schools.

But public attention was soon diverted from internal affairs by the course of events in Tunis. Since 1878 France had been making preparations for the annexation of the Regency. At the time of the treaty of Berlin both Germany and England had privately signified their approbation of a French occupation. Bismarck's policy is to isolate France. He has repeatedly urged England—for that is what it amounts to—to annex Egypt, in the hope of thus causing a quarrel between the two Western powers. He favored a French occupation of Tunis for similar reasons. That enterprise must, furthermore, result in the complete estrangement

of France and Italy, if not in active hostility between them, and would probably involve complications with Spain and Turkey. In fact, it was an undertaking thoroughly well calculated to isolate France, in addition to which it might prove in itself a task of unexpected difficulty. French statesmen accepted the bait. In the winter of 1880–'81 it became generally known in France that the Kroumirs (nomad Arabs, on the north-eastern border of Algeria) were guilty of frequent predatory incursions into French territory, and that the Bey of Tunis was totally unable to restrain his marauding subjects. Public sentiment was manufactured. It soon became evident to all that French troops ought to cross the Tunisian border and chastise the miscreants. There were 30,000 Italian colonists in Tunis. Italy was the country nearest to the Regency, and most nearly concerned in its affairs. She intended at some time to annex it. This rendered speedy action and the display of considerable force all the more necessary. In April of 1881 a French army corps, which had been quietly collected in the eastern part of Algeria, crossed the border, French troops were landed on the coast, and French ships proceeded to bombard a Tunisian fort. The Bey protested against the violation of his territory. England's hands were tied by Salisbury's concessions, and Granville could only indicate to the French government that the Tunisian policy must not be repeated in Tripoli or Morocco. The Porte protested against the infringement of its sovereign rights, collected troops in Tripoli, worked upon the religious fanaticism of the Arabs in Algeria and Tunis to incite them to revolt, and assiduously cultivated the friendship of Germany. Austria and Russia were indifferent. Italy, unprepared to enter single-handed upon a war with France, waited for future combinations to give her an opportunity of revenge. The borders crossed, no Kroumirs could be found. Nevertheless, French troops were sent to Tunis, and M. Roustan, the French agent at the court of the Bey, extorted from the latter a treaty, involving in reality a French protectorate. France assumed the direction of the Bey's foreign relations, occupied the Tunisian coast, exacted a war indemnity (or at least the promise of one), and placed a Resident at the capital of the Regency. It was plain that the semi-fictitious Kroumirs had been a mere pretext, and a clumsy one at that. But the territory annexed was commercially of considerable value, and the price paid promised to be small; accordingly, the French

people showed themselves ready to overlook the doubtful character of the means employed. All was *couleur de rose.* But this did not last long. It soon became apparent that the treaty extorted from the Bey was the beginning and not the end of the matter. Something very like a religious war broke out along almost the entire southern frontier from Morocco to Tripoli. In Tunis the French held little more than the ground they camped on. In Oran, in the extreme west of Algeria, Bon Amena proved a troublesome foe. Moreover, his operations involved the French in a foreign complication. In his raids he killed some Spanish subjects engaged in the culture of *esparto* grass, drove many more out of the country, and destroyed considerable property. This caused bitter feeling against France on the part of the Spanish people, which was enhanced by the apprehension of an invasion of Morocco; for the Spanish feel regarding Morocco as the Italians felt regarding Tunis. The great extent of the territory involved, the intense heat, the neighborhood of the desert, the irregular nature of the warfare, and the intangible character of the assailants, all combined to increase the difficulties of the French position. The enterprise assumed immense proportions. By the middle of September (1881) 60,000 men had been put in the field, and more than $20,000,000 expended. The end is not yet in sight. It is in many respects a repetition of the recent English experiences in Afghanistan and the Transvaal, only France neither can nor will recede. It must also be added that under this experimental test the new army organization has not proved altogether satisfactory. All this led to a change of sentiment among the French people, and a general feeling of dissatisfaction with the conduct of the whole affair soon took the place of the earlier manifestations of approval.

The Tunisian expedition also completed the dislocation of an already inharmonious ministry, and forced Gambetta to assume the power at last. The elections for a new Assembly took place in August. In preparation for that event a bill was introduced replacing the *scrutin d'arrondissement* by the *scrutin de liste.* The object of this measure was to return a compact, homogeneous Republican majority, with a definite programme, instead of a number of Republican groups without homogeneity and with no programme whatever. Such a result would obviously greatly increase Gambetta's power, and render it much easier and safer for

him to assume office. Accordingly, he entered the arena in person, in order to secure the passage of the bill. The ministry were divided, and agreed to remain neutral. By the sheer force of his eloquence and personal influence Gambetta carried the bill through the Lower Chamber, but in the Senate neither eloquence nor influence could be exerted. Simon, Waddington, and the Moderate Republicans were opposed to the change, and the measure was finally defeated by a vote of 148 to 114 (June 9th). The August elections took place under the old system, but the result was, nevertheless, a victory for the Gambettists (460 Republicans of all shades, and only 90 Bonapartists and Monarchists combined). The new Chambers met on the 28th of October, the Ferry ministry resigned, and Gambetta at length took office. His attempt to induce prominent politicians, such as Ferry and Freycinet, to accept seats in his cabinet failed, and the ministry, which was at length announced, was generally regarded as being nothing but Gambetta. The appointment of Paul Bert, an atheist of the aggressive type, as minister of public worship and instruction, excited universal surprise. For the present the concordat will be strictly observed, but apparently the complete separation of Church and State is intended in the not distant future.

Gambetta himself assumed the portfolio of foreign affairs. Since 1871 he has been regarded as "the man of revenge." This gave a peculiar significance to his assumption of the foreign office, and invested small actions with unusual importance—such, for example, as the resignation of the Count St. Vallier, the peace ambassador at Berlin. More significant than the removal of St. Vallier was Count Chaudordy's appointment to St. Petersburg. Amid all his changes of political party Chaudordy has always remained a consistent Prussian-hater. Moreover, he passes for a personal friend of Count Ignatieff. France needs allies, and Gambetta's present endeavor seems to be to secure the friendship of England and Russia. Russia had been alienated by the Hartmann episode in 1880. England was estranged by the Tunis affair, and the failure to renew the commercial treaty of 1860. France, which under the empire adopted the principles of free-trade, has under the republic become a convert to the doctrine of protection. The treaty with England expired in 1881, and the negotiations for its renewal under the Ferry ministry were attended with no results. Gambetta recognized the value of the commer-

cial treaty in the attempt to secure England's friendship, and has appeared willing to make concessions, if need be, in order to insure a complete *entente cordiale.* As the world expects sooner or later a war between France and Germany, it may be well to observe that since 1871 both countries have been diligently fortifying their frontiers with such good effect that a direct invasion from either side is practically impossible. Future attacks must apparently be made by way of Switzerland or Belgium—the former of which at least is quite undefended on the side toward France—and both of those countries are rather more friendly to France than Germany. The French government has also developed a thorough system of sea transport for large bodies of troops; an arm of the service which would prove peculiarly valuable in case of war with Italy, for there again the mountain barrier between the two countries has been so fortified as to be practically impregnable. In regard to finances, the French republic is certainly in a more favorable condition than its future foes—if such they are—for in spite of an immense annual expenditure ($780,000,000 for 1882), almost double that of Great Britain, and the loss of half the wine crop, the French budget still shows an excess of receipts over expenditure. Within four years, according to the financial statement of 1882, $200,000,000 of the debt has been paid, and the taxes reduced by $60,000,000. Even allowing for considerable "financing," this is a brilliant exhibit, rendered all the more so by comparison with the prevailing deficits of European budgets. The senatorial elections of the first days of 1882 resulted in a victory for the Republican Union, thus giving Gambetta a working majority in the Senate, and at the same time serving as a vote of confidence in his policy.

To complete this survey of French history from 1876 to 1881 it is necessary to add a few words concerning the death of Prince Louis Napoleon, and its effect on the prospects of the Bonapartist party. Anxious to attract the attention of his countrymen by deeds of martial valor, the young prince attached himself to the English expedition against the Zulus, in South Africa, and was killed while engaged in a reconnoissance, June 1st, 1879. His will was opened at Rouher's house, in the presence of the leading Bonapartists, on the 30th of the same month. By that document the eldest son of Prince "Jerome" Napoleon, the seventeen-year-old Prince Victor, was named his successor in the imperial pre-

tendership. This contravened a *senatus consultum* of the second empire by which Prince "Jerome" (Napoleon Joseph Paul Charles Bonaparte, son of Jerome, King of Westphalia—called by his father's name for the sake of distinction—popularly known by the nickname "Plon-Plon") had been declared successor. The Bonapartists in general recognized the *senatus consultum*, and made their respects to Prince "Jerome." The latter accepted the inheritance of head of the family, but refused to become an imperial pretender. The Bonapartists hated "Jerome" for his republicanism and his bitter hostility to the Clerical party. Some of them refused him allegiance, a few renounced Bonapartism altogether, the rest were of necessity lukewarm adherents. For the present the party has completely lost its strength and significance.

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§ 38.

GERMANY.

At the commencement of the year 1876 the *culturkampf* was at its height. Prussia was the centre of the struggle, but Baden, Würtemberg, Bavaria, and the German Empire were also involved to a greater or less degree. On the 10th of February, 1876, the "pulpit paragraph," which had been passed in 1871 at the instance of the Bavarian *cultus*-minister, Lutz, received an extension, this time also at the wish of Bavaria. The original law provided for the punishment of ecclesiastics who prostituted the pulpit to purposes of political agitation; the new amendment rendered them liable to punishment for the composition or publication of letters or other documents calculated to disturb the public peace—a provision operative with regard to papal encyclicas and pastoral letters. This practically completed the imperial *culturkampf* legislation. The compulsory civil marriage law and the "pulpit paragraph" had both been passed at the instance of Bavaria. In that state the king and his ministers were liberally inclined, but the majority of the Lower Chamber was Ultramontane, and resisted every attempt to restrain the power of the clergy, thus forcing the government, contrary to its ordinary policy, to call in the aid of the empire. Baden and Prussia had encouraged the Old Catholics, as a serviceable weapon against the

Pope, placing them on a footing of equality with the papists, and granting them state support. In Bavaria this was rendered impossible by the attitude of the Lower Chamber, which would have thrown out such an item, if inserted in the budget by the government, and did summarily reject the petition of the Old Catholics. Despite its disagreements with the Ultramontane majority of the House, the relations of the government with the Roman Curia remained unclouded until toward the close of 1876. At that time the government, in accordance with the provisions of the concordat, exercised its right of nomination to the vacant bishoprics of Spires and Würzburg, and the nominees accepted, subject to the approval of the Pope. The latter withheld his consent, because the nominees were too liberal, and to avoid a direct conflict the acceptances were withdrawn. The government refused to make new nominations, and, following the example of Prussia, allowed the bishoprics to remain vacant. In 1877 the Archbishop of Munich died; and as there was no prospect that Pius IX. would confirm any appointee other than an Ultramontane of the most pronounced description, the government allowed that chair also to remain unoccupied. The accession of Leo XIII., and the comparatively liberal policy of Cardinal Franchi, put an end to this incipient *culturkampf*. In May of 1878 the government nominated for the vacant sees three ecclesiastics of the same moderate tendencies as those whose nomination had proved so unacceptable to Pius IX.; the Pope confirmed them at once, and friendly relations were restored.

In Bavaria, out of eight episcopal sees three were vacant at the death of Pius IX. But the condition of Prussia was still worse, for there out of twelve bishoprics eight were without a bishop, and of these eight vacancies only two were due to the death of the incumbents. (In July of 1878 a ninth bishopric was vacated by death, and in 1881 occurred the death of Förster, the exiled prince-bishop of Breslau.) The archbishops of Posen and Cologne, and the bishops of Breslau, Paderborn, Münster, and Limbourg, had been deposed for offences of a more or less serious character against the Prussian church laws. In some cases the offence consisted in encouraging the clergy to resistance by pastoral letters; in others, in disobedience to the law requiring bishops to obtain the consent of the state to all appointments of clergy (*Anzeigepflicht*), and the like. Some of the offending bishops underwent

imprisonment; all of them were ultimately obliged to leave Prussia and publish their attacks on the government from places of safety in foreign lands. The contest assumed a most bitter character, and the laws were stretched to their utmost limit in the attempt to silence the Ultramontanes. The *Germania*, the organ of the Centre in Berlin, never failed to have at least one member of its staff imprisoned at *Plötzen-See* for so-called libel against the government. Indeed, the papers of the Roman Catholic party are said to have had on their staffs one or more editors (*Sitz-Redakteure*) whose sole business it was to assume the responsibility for offensive articles, and serve out the terms of imprisonment inflicted by the courts. In the imperial *Reichstag* and the Prussian *Landtag* the party endeavored to make up for the enforced reserve of its Press. In both bodies the Centre, marshalled and commanded by Windthorst, formed a well-drilled phalanx ever ready to attack the chancellor, and casting a solid vote against all his measures. After the accession of Leo XIII. negotiations were opened between the Vatican and Berlin, and for a time the prospects of a peace seemed favorable. Franchi was willing to concede the *Anzeigepflicht* (obligation of bishops to report nominations to the government, and obtain its consent to the same, as a preliminary to instalment in office), and Bismarck on his part, in return for this concession, was willing to resume direct communication with the Roman Curia by sending an ambassador to the Vatican. Franchi died while these negotiations were still pending, and his successor, Cardinal Nina, refused to make the all-important concession of the *Anzeigepflicht*. Negotiations accordingly came to a stand-still. So much the world learned from Bismarck's own mouth.

With regard to the conditions offered by the Prussian government, it must be observed that there was nothing which could not have been accepted by Roman Catholics in other countries. Intrinsically they were not inadmissible. The attitude of the Curia was rather that what the Church has once acquired, whether by constitutional provisions, by concordat, or by use, cannot be taken away without the consent of the Church itself. Holding, therefore, a peculiarly favorable position in Prussia, through the weakness or mistaken liberality of former administrations, it was unwilling to concede points which were readily enough conceded in other countries.

The statement referred to above was made by Prince Bismarck at a parliamentary *soirée* at his palace in Berlin, on the 15th of February, 1879. At that very time he was greatly in need of the support of the Centre to carry through the *Reichstag* his new financial policy, which without that support was certain of defeat. On the 31st of March, Windthorst, ex-minister of Hanover, leader of the Centre and Bismarck's bitter foe, who had not exchanged a word with him in private for eleven years, called upon the chancellor at his palace and remained closeted with him for an hour. The ostensible occasion of his visit was to obtain from the Guelph fund in the hands of the Prussian government a settlement for the widow of King George of Hanover; but all the world felt sure that other matters than that were at the bottom of this meeting. The compromise concluded between the Conservatives and the Centre in the *Reichstag*, with reference to the chancellor's protective tariff, strengthened the general belief, which received still farther confirmation in the resignation of Falk on the 13th of July. In his place von Puttkammer, an orthodox Lutheran and a strict Conservative, was appointed *cultus*-minister; while von Gossler, a man of the same stamp, was made minister of the interior. At a later date Falk, whose resignation had been offered in the previous year, but not accepted, explained the purpose of the change to be the furtherance of the negotiations with the Vatican, by the removal of a man personally obnoxious to the Roman party as the originator and representative of the May laws.

In the early part of 1880 those negotiations seemed about to reach a successful issue. The Pope appeared willing to make concessions; and small though these turned out to be when diplomatically explained by Cardinal Nina, they were at least an advance toward a *modus vivendi*. The Prussian *Landtag* met on the 20th of May, and the government at once laid before it a bill modifying the existing church laws. There certainly was need of peace. Out of twelve dioceses only four still had a regular administration; more than one thousand parishes were vacant; Roman Catholic professorships in the theological faculties of the universities were unoccupied; and Roman Catholic children were left without religious instruction in the public schools. It was questionable, however, whether the proposed law was calculated to restore the needed peace. In general it conferred upon the

king and his ministers discretionary power of a most far-reaching character. The king was authorized to dispense with the *Anzeigepflicht*, and to restore deposed bishops to office. Ecclesiastical discipline was to be removed from the courts of justice and left to the discretion of the crown. The existing ecclesiastical laws were not to be abolished, but their enforcement was to depend entirely upon the will of the sovereign. The Pope regarded this two-edged measure with distrust, as possibly more dangerous to the Church by its arbitrary and discretionary character than the severe laws already existing, and withdrew, in consequence, what slight concessions he had made. The Centre, accordingly, opposed the bill. This deprived it of all value in Bismarck's eyes, and he consequently took no part in the debates that ensued, leaving Puttkammer to defend his own work. It was even supposed that certain features of the bill had been adopted against the chancellor's wishes in consequence of pressure from above. In detailing the difficulties encountered by him in the Schleswig-Holstein affair, Bismarck once laid considerable stress on the opposition he had encountered "from the ladies of the court." Common and plausible report explained the Arnim episode as the result of a conspiracy to overthrow the chancellor, in which some of those same ladies, and more especially the empress, were concerned, and the new church bill was attributed to interference from a like source. The defection of the Clericals rendered the co-operation of the National Liberals necessary to secure its passage, and as the price of that co-operation the Conservatives were compelled to abandon some of its more obnoxious features, particularly the section permitting a minister to dispense with the *Anzeigepflicht*, and that empowering the sovereign to reinstate deposed bishops. But even in its amended form the bill granted extensive discretionary powers to the king and his ministers, and by authorizing them to dispense with the oath of allegiance until January 1st, 1882, paved the way for the appointment of bishops in those bishoprics rendered vacant by death.

One of the rejected clauses of the bill, that empowering the king to reinstate deposed bishops, had been intended for the immediate purpose of restoring Archbishop Melchers of Cologne to office in time for the festival (*Dombaufest*) at the completion of the Cologne cathedral. Begun in 1248, the mighty Gothic structure was still unfinished when Cologne and the Rhine province

were united to Prussia by the partition which followed Napoleon's fall. Shortly afterward the original plans were brought to light once more. In 1824 Frederic William III. restored and repaired the choir. In 1842 Frederic William IV. laid the foundation of the south portal, and appealed to the German nation to complete the work according to the original design. Gifts poured in from princes and people. In 1863 the whole building, with the exception of the two western towers, was finished and dedicated; and on the 14th of August, 1880, those towers had reached their full height of 160 metres. In its long, wearisome, and frequently interrupted growth the massive structure was regarded as a symbol of the history of the German nation, so long divided and weak, at length united and strong. The 15th of October was appointed for the formal completion of the work. At the invitation of the emperor, German princes, magnates, and people assembled to witness the ceremony and share in the festivities. Cologne beheld such a pageant as her walls had never seen before. Amid the thunder of cannon and the ringing of bells, while the assembled multitude raised the hymn, "*Nun danket alle Gott*," the key-stone was put in place, and the cathedral was complete. The festivities were continued on the following day by an historical procession—arranged with special reference to the years 1248, 1322, and 1842—the most important epochs in the history of the building. Only the Clericals held aloof, ostentatiously refusing to take part in the general rejoicing. They had demanded the recall of Archbishop Melchers, and it had been refused; consequently they declined to participate. Thus the national event, which filled German hearts with pride, seemed to have widened the breach between Berlin and the Vatican, and dispelled the hopes of peace which had been so bright a few months earlier.

But, in spite of this little *contretemps*, the negotiations were not broken off. The Prussian government began to allow the Roman Catholic clergy to exercise their old influence in the administration of the public schools. The rights of the orders engaged in nursing the sick were enlarged, in accordance with the recently adopted church laws. In other matters within its discretion the former harsh policy of the government was changed to a policy of friendliness and reconciliation. Bismarck needed the assistance of the Centre to carry through his reactionary meas-

ures. Moreover, it seemed possible to make to Leo XIII. concessions which, in the case of Pius IX., would have been attended with the greatest danger. The *culturkampf* had been begun because the Roman Church displayed a spirit hostile to the unification of Germany under the lead of Prussia; the danger which that hostility threatened had now vanished. Then, too, the anti-Roman policy of the French government seemed to render a reconciliation with the Vatican a possible means of Germanizing the strongly Roman Catholic population of Alsace and Lorraine. The papacy was no longer the ally of France, and might be of service as its foe. On the other side, the increasing difficulties between Italy and the Roman Curia were of a nature to render the Pope more disposed toward peace than formerly. In the summer of 1881 Dr. Kurd von Schloezer, German minister at Washington, formerly secretary of legation at Rome, and a *persona grata* at the Vatican, was commissioned by Bismarck to open direct communication with the Holy Stool. The negotiations were conducted with the greatest secrecy. In August Dr. Korum, an Alsatian, was appointed bishop of Treves. Soon after, Dr. Kopp was nominated to the vacant see of Fulda. It was evident that the negotiations had been at least partially successful, and a *modus vivendi* reached at last. The mutual concessions were not made public, but it was announced before long that Prussia was to resume diplomatic communications with the Vatican. In the budget of 1882–'83 appeared an appropriation of 90,000 marks for that purpose, and Dr. Schloezer was designated as ambassador. Apparently, also, Prussia agreed to modify the oath of allegiance required from ecclesiastics, while the Pope, on his part, conceded the *Anzeigepflicht*. The negotiations with the Vatican cast a shadow on the good understanding with Italy. There was even some talk of the substitution of an international guarantee of the liberty and sovereign independence of the Pope in place of the guarantee of Italy alone. In Germany itself the first result of the conclusion of peace was a partial union of Clericals and Conservatives in the electoral campaign for the new *Reichstag*, in October of 1881. After the *Reichstag* met, Windthorst moved and carried a bill repealing the imperial law against the unauthorized exercise of ecclesiastical offices. Bismarck, on his side, could depend, at least so far as his policy was reactionary, upon the support of a sort of Clerico-conservative alliance,

as the Conservative contribution to which the Prussian government brought before the *Landtag*, in a somewhat strengthened form, the rejected church bill of 1880.

The Roman Catholics had been the object of special legislation as dangerous to the unification of the empire. In 1876 the imperial government attempted to forge a similar weapon (one of the so-called "caoutchouc" paragraphs) against the Social Democrats as dangerous not alone to the political, but also to the social order of the state. Bebel, a member of the *Reichstag*, and one of the leaders of the more moderate wing of the Social Democrats, proclaimed the programme of the party to be: Universal, direct suffrage of both sexes from the age of twenty on, with secret compulsory ballot; direct legislation by the people themselves; popular decision of questions of peace or war; citizen soldiery; free administration of justice; free instruction in all educational institutions; total separation of Church and State. The party was well organized for purposes of agitation among the laboring classes. It had twenty-three political organs—sixteen of which were printed in co-operative Social-democratic printing establishments, with 100,000 regular subscribers. It had well-paid officers to direct its Press. Every year it distributed hundreds of thousands of pamphlets broadcast, while 145 orators travelled from place to place, propagating and expounding the views of the party. To this agitation Bismarck did not hesitate to ascribe both the existing financial depression and also the notorious inferiority of German labor and German manufactures to the labor and manufactures of France, Belgium, and England. Nevertheless (in 1876) all parties, excepting the Conservatives, united in opposing any extraordinary legislation against the Social Democrats.

On the 11th of May, 1878, as the emperor, accompanied by his daughter, the Grand-duchess of Baden, was driving up *Unter den Linden* in an open carriage, a man standing on the sidewalk fired two shots at him from a revolver. The would-be regicide proved to be a young Leipzig tinsmith, named Hödel. Expelled by the Social Democrats for dishonest practices, he came to Berlin and joined the Christian Socialists, a local party organized by court-preacher Stöcker, with the support and sympathy of the court, for the homœopathic purpose of combating one form of socialism by another. Hödel's attempt was laid to the account of the Social Democrats. He himself was ultimately executed, and an

antisocialist bill of most stringent character, adopted by the *Bundesrath* at the motion of Prussia, was laid before the *Reichstag*. Once more, however, all parties united against the Conservatives, and the bill was defeated.

On the afternoon of Sunday, June 2d, as the emperor, quite unattended, was driving down *Unter den Linden* in an open carriage, two shots were fired in rapid succession from the window of No. 18. The weapon used was a double-barrelled shot-gun, charged with small buckshot. The emperor was wounded in the head and arms. His helmet was perforated by so many pellets that it resembled a sieve. As they brought him back to his palace his first words were, "I do not understand why I am forever shot at." The assassin was Dr. Charles Nobiling, an erratic, aspiring egotist, and an unsuccessful applicant for office. He was a Social Democrat, and there seems good reason to believe that his attempt was planned, or at least approved by, the *Internationale* in London. He resisted desperately the attempt to capture him, breaking the jaw of one of his captors, and inflicting on himself a wound which ultimately proved fatal.

As the emperor's wounds, although not necessarily fatal, were nevertheless of a very serious character, the duties of government devolved for a time upon the crown prince. In the *Bundesrath* Prussia moved the dissolution of the *Reichstag*, which had refused to pass a socialist bill, and her motion was carried. This amounted to an appeal to the people on the question of special laws against the Social Democrats. In the mean time the existing laws were interpreted with the greatest possible severity. The elections for the new *Reichstag* took place on the 31st of July, and resulted in the return of a little more than one hundred Conservatives of all shades, and about the same number of Clericals. The Liberals and Progressists combined also numbered about one hundred. The Conservatives were the only gainers by the election, polling 525,000 more votes than in the previous year, about one-half of the increase being due to an absolute increase in the total vote. The other important parties all showed a small falling off. The Social Democrats, who disclaimed all responsibility for the attempts of Hödel and Nobiling, polled 415,485 votes, 65,513 less than they had obtained the year before, returning nine members, six of whom were from Saxony. In Berlin, out of 153,600 votes cast, 56,000 were for the candidates of the Social Democracy.

The *Bundesrath* met on the 14th of August, and prepared a new socialist bill to be submitted to the *Reichstag*. The latter came together on the 9th of September. Bismarck himself entered the lists for the government measure. The debate was of the most animated description. Both the Progressists and the Social Democrats charged Bismarck with having formerly encouraged the latter, as a weapon to be used against the Progressists and progressive liberalism in general; a charge which he, for his part, indignantly, if not altogether successfully, denied. The National Liberals and some independent fractions united with the Conservatives, and the bill was finally passed (October 19th) by a vote of 221 to 149. It provided for the suppression of Social-democratic meetings, the confiscation and prohibition of Social-democratic newspapers, periodicals, and the like, and empowered the government to place in a state of lesser, or civil, siege those places in which the public safety was endangered by socialistic agitation. The declaration of the state of siege involved the power of forbidding any or all public meetings, the expulsion of persons without visible means of support, the prohibition of the possession of weapons, and strict police supervision of all inhabitants. By a Liberal amendment the operation of this measure was limited to two and a half years, namely, until the 31st of March, 1881.

The new law was energetically enforced. One hundred and fifty-three Social-democratic clubs and local organizations and one hundred and seventy-five newspapers were forbidden before the 2d of December. Berlin was declared in a state of siege, and forty-two persons, including two members of the *Reichstag*, were expelled, as dangerous to the public peace. On the 5th of December the emperor, restored to health once more, returned amid popular rejoicings to a capital subjected to a police supervision of a most minute and aggravating description.

In April of 1880 the government asked for an extension of the antisocialist bill, and the parties which had originally united to pass the bill united once more to extend the time of its operation to the 30th of September, 1884. The state of siege, ultimately suspended over Hamburg and Leipzig as well as Berlin, was renewed from year to year. The special laws were enforced with the greatest severity; but the greater the severity exercised the greater the severity required. Freedom of the Press vanished.

Vast power was placed in the hands of the government, both directly and indirectly endangering the liberty of all subjects; but the end aimed at was not attained. The Social Democrats retained their organization and increased their power. Their orators were forbidden to address the people, their electoral assemblies were prohibited, their papers were suppressed, their leaders were expelled. A division occurred in their own ranks. Most, editor of *Freiheit* (London), the leader of the more radical wing of the party, was expelled, and his teachings disowned, although the moderate Social Democrats were sufficiently revolutionary to announce their sympathy with the Russian Nihilists. Nevertheless, in spite of persecutions without and divisions within, in the elections of 1881 the party showed an increase of strength, and with their allies succeeded in returning twelve representatives in place of the nine of 1878.

Besides the Social Democrats each *Reichstag* contains a small number of particularists, who are hostile to the empire—Poles, Danes, Guelphs, or Hanoverians (who aim at the re-establishment of the Hanoverian kingdom), and representatives of Alsace-Lorraine. The thorough amalgamation of the last-named provinces in the German Empire proved a task of the greatest difficulty. In 1874 a *Landesausschuss*, or territorial commission, was created by an edict of the emperor. This body had, however, merely a consultative character, and the *Reichstag* continued, as before, to legislate for the imperial lands. In 1877 it was judged safe to enlarge the powers of this commission by removing from the province of the *Reichstag* all ordinary legislation for Alsace and Lorraine, and making the consent of the *Landesausschuss* to the measures of the *Bundesrath* requisite in all matters of the budget or local affairs. In June of 1879 another step was taken, and the imperial lands received a constitution. The executive power was to consist of a stadtholder appointed by the emperor, whose measures required the counter-signature of a secretary of state, also appointed by the emperor. The stadtholder's council, a sort of senate, was to consist of twelve persons, four of them the holders of certain offices in the appointment of the emperor or the stadtholder, eight of them confirmed by the emperor on nomination of the *Landesausschuss*, and holding office for three years. The *Landesausschuss*, or Lower House, was to be increased to fifty-eight members—thirty-four to be chosen by the various

district assemblies, and twenty-four by indirect suffrage of the people, their term of office to be three years. Where local interests were concerned Alsace-Lorraine was to be represented in the *Bundesrath* by deliberating members without a vote. General Manteuffel was appointed stadtholder, and filled the office with great tact and discretion, doing away with some petty restrictions of a galling character, and displaying a commendably conciliatory spirit.

The sentiments of the population remained French, but the aggressive Gallicism of the first years of the annexation died away. The emperor visited Strasburg and Metz in 1877, and was received with enthusiasm. An autonomist party, which accepted the existing situation, but bestowed its loyalty on the province instead of the empire, began little by little to supplant the irreconcilable party of protest. But young men of the better class were still sent to French universities instead of to the magnificently equipped German university at Strasburg, and many preferred expatriation to service in the German army. The French language was persistently retained, and even the debates of the *Landesausschuss* were conducted in that tongue, although the native and natural language of the majority of the population was German.

Opposition to the policy of centralization pursued by the imperial chancellor and his august master was also encountered from the governments of the various German states, especially Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Saxony. They were afraid of being "Prussianized." It was Bismarck's aim to reduce these separate governments to nonentities, and constitute a strong imperial government, in which the dominant influence must of necessity be Prussian. To attain this end he was willing to use any tools; as he himself said, "to take his allies where he could find them." At first he relied on the National Liberals. When their constitutional and parliamentary theories began to interfere with his schemes, he threw them aside and inaugurated a Conservative reaction. Constantly seeking to divide the ranks of his opponents, he thus fostered the growth of small parties, a coalition of two or more of which is necessary to form a majority. With different parties he must of necessity pursue different tactics. With the National Liberals he had been a free-trader; to obtain the support of the Conservative landholders he became a protectionist; as a bait to

the laboring classes he advocated state socialism, and proposed, among other measures, the support of disabled laborers by the state, by means of a compulsory system of accident insurance on the part of employers. Surveying his changes of policy in these respects, it becomes evident that the prince-chancellor himself belonged to no party and could belong to none. He regarded himself as above party programmes and party principles. To him free-trade or protection were not permanent principles of legislation, but merely a means of acquiring votes, to be adopted or cast aside as the immediate occasion required. In his eyes any measures were justified which would strengthen the imperial government with Prussia at its head. It must be farther premised that, from the very nature of his political genius and previous activity, he tended to look at all matters from the point of view of foreign policy. He made combinations of parties, and played one against another, as though they were all so many foreign states, primarily to strengthen the central power, not to improve the condition of the people. The government, not the people, occupied the place of importance in his eyes, and in so far his policy was essentially autocratic.

Bismarck's breach with his former financial policy and with his National Liberal supporters began in 1876, although it was not consummated until the winter of 1877–'78, when the latter flatly refused to take office on condition of supporting his scheme of a government tobacco monopoly. On the 25th of April, 1876, Delbrück, Prussian minister of state, and president of the imperial chancery, who had guided the financial policy, first of the North German Confederation, and afterward of the German Empire, since 1867, retired from office, and was succeeded by Hofmann, Hessian minister-president. His resignation was—accidentally, it was claimed—coincident with the introduction of Bismarck's railroad bill in the Prussian *Landtag*.

Since 1874 the imperial government had been endeavoring to gain control over the German railroad system. A special imperial railroad department had been created, and bills giving the empire the general supervision and control of the state and private railroads in the various German states had been laid before the *Bundesrath*. Saxony and the south German states opposed such a measure, as conferring too much power on the empire—*i. e.*, in the last resort, Prussia—at the expense of the individual

members. Finding it impracticable to carry directly a bill giving the empire the power desired, Bismarck next endeavored to use Prussia as a lever to force the other states to terms. Accordingly, a bill was carried through the Prussian *Landtag* (May, 1876) empowering the Prussian government to sell to the empire all railroads in its possession, and at the same time to transfer its right of control over private roads. But as a majority of the members of the *Bundesrath* opposed the acquisition of railroads by the empire, this method of exerting pressure on the other states had to be abandoned. The chancellor's resources were not yet exhausted, however. In November of 1879 the Prussian government carried through the *Landtag* a bill authorizing the state to purchase the private railroads. In this way Prussia will ultimately acquire control over about seventy-seven per cent. of the total railroad system of Germany, and be in a position to coerce the other states in somewhat the same way in which she formerly forced the middle states to join the Customs' Union whether they would or no.

One important result of the acquisition of the railroads by the empire would be to diminish the financial dependence of the latter on the individual states. The proposed government monopoly of tobacco and the tariff revision both had the same object in view. In 1875 Bismarck had advocated an exclusively revenue tariff, in which the revenue should be raised by duties on such articles of import as coffee, tea, tobacco, petroleum, and the like. On the 15th of December, 1878, he laid before the *Bundesrath* the principles of a tariff reform intended to increase the revenues of the empire by an increase of the indirect taxes, and thus decrease the amount of the annual quotas of the separate states. Emancipated from the influence of Delbrück and his free-trade principles, he proposed to return to the system which had prevailed in Prussia from 1818 to 1865, according to which all articles imported pay duty, with the protective modification that raw material intended for manufacturing purposes, not produced in Germany, or produced in insignificant quantities, should be admitted free. A commission was at once appointed to frame a new tariff, and Varnbüler, of Würtemberg, a pronounced protectionist, who had himself brought a protective bill before the *Reichstag* in the previous year, was appointed president of the commission.

The bill proposed by the commission, in harmony with Bis-

marck's suggestions, was accepted by the *Bundesrath* on the 3d of April, 1879, and laid before the *Reichstag* on the following day. The motive of the bill, as set forth by the chancellor, was the necessity, "not alone of assisting individual branches of industry by special protective duties, but still more to secure to native industry in all branches an advantage over foreign industry in the home market," and to increase the exportability of native goods. The chancellor was sure of the support of the Conservatives, for whose benefit the tax on corn and agricultural products in general was materially increased. The attitude of the National Liberals was uncertain. The left wing of the party, under Lasker, was either in favor of absolute free-trade or at least against the increase of the corn-tax, and the majority, under Bennigsen, was only partially reliable. The Progressists were, as usual, in opposition, being pronounced free-traders. Under these circumstances the vote of the Centre was necessary for the passage of the government measure. The successful negotiations with that party have already been referred to. By the union of Centre and Conservatives the bill was carried by a vote of 217 to 117 (July 13th), and Germany joined the majority of the European states in the adoption of a protective tariff. Hobrecht and Friedenthal, Prussian ministers of finance and agriculture, resigned; pronounced Conservatives were appointed in their stead, and the last trace of Liberal ascendency in the councils of Prince Bismarck had vanished.

The new financial scheme did not end at the change from free-trade to protection. The new tariff was a Conservative measure, favoring the landholders and capitalists. Other measures were necessary to win the support of the lower classes. One project, intended to strengthen the hands of the government, and at the same time secure support among the laboring men, was the tobacco monopoly. But this met with little favor in the *Reichstag*, and although, like the quadrennial elections and the biennial sessions and biennial budgets—measures intended to strengthen the imperial government at the expense of the imperial parliament—brought up year after year, was always rejected.

In September of 1880 Bismarck assumed in person the portfolio of commerce and industry, and by an exercise of the prerogative of the Prussian king created for himself an Economical Council, in which commerce, agriculture, and manufactures were

all to be represented, part of its members being chosen from the laboring classes. The attempt to create an imperial Economical Council failed, owing to the refusal of the *Reichstag* to vote the necessary appropriation. The project of compulsory state accident insurance also met with small favor in the *Reichstag*. But the indefatigable chancellor, accustomed, by a skilful manipulation of parties, to carry his object in the face of a hostile majority, would not abandon his plans. He was sure of the emperor's support and approval, and relied on that sense of his indispensableness which was so strongly felt by the nation at large, even by many of those who could not approve of his policy. In the elections of 1881 his new economical and financial projects were submitted to the direct vote of the people. No efforts were spared on the part of the government. Unlimited abuse was heaped on all opponents of the government measures, and their personal and political motives aspersed, but a similar tone toward the government was punished by fines and imprisonment as libel. The emperor was dragged into the struggle, and the chancellor's schemes represented as the cherished wishes of the aged monarch's heart. The result was a practical defeat of the government. The alluring bait of measures for the laboring classes (among other things the proceeds of the tobacco monopoly were to be devoted to the insurance of laborers against accidents) failed of the desired effect, and the candidates for whose election the government had made the greatest exertions were defeated. The total returns were: Conservatives, 76; Clericals and Guelphs combined, 107; National Liberals, 43; Secessionists (formerly the left wing of National Liberals), 47; Progressists, 68; Social Democrats, with their allies, 12; Alsace-Lorrainers, 15; Poles, 18; Danes, 2; Independents, 8. The previous Clerico-conservative majority of 220 was accordingly converted into a minority of 183.

This defeat caused no change in Bismarck's policy. The emperor's message to the new *Reichstag* (October 17th, 1881) called only the more urgently for the establishment of an imperial Economical Council, a state monopoly of tobacco, state insurance of working-men, quadrennial elections, and biennial sessions. Both in the *Reichstag* and in the Prussian *Landtag* Bismarck was severely criticised for bringing the emperor's person into the foreground, and seeking to pass his own measures by an improper use of the emperor's personal prestige and popularity. In answer

to these attacks appeared the royal rescript of January 4th, 1882, in which the emperor, speaking in his character as king of Prussia, says: "The government acts of the king require the counter-signature of a minister, and, as was also the case before the constitution was issued, have to be represented by the king's ministers, but they nevertheless remain government acts of the king, from whose decisions they result, and who thereby constitutionally expresses his will and pleasure. It is, therefore, my will that both in Prussia and in the legislative bodies of the empire there may be no doubt left as to my own constitutional right, and that of my successors, to personally conduct the policy of my government, and that the theory shall always be gainsaid that the inviolability of the king, which has always existed in Prussia, and is enunciated by article 43 of the constitution, or the necessity of a responsible counter-signature of my government acts, deprives them of the character of royal and independent decisions." This extraordinary rescript, affecting primarily Prussia, and secondarily the empire, faithfully reflected the reactionary policy of the chancellor. Officials and private individuals were decorated for activity in assisting government candidates or inventing monarchical theories. Men talked of a renewal of the struggle of 1862. The native Press scarcely ventured to comment upon the rescript, and various foreign papers, which criticised it too freely, were confiscated. The Press censorship was so exercised as to bring attacks on the government policy under the head of libels of the sovereign or his ministers.*

* Copies of *Punch* containing a cartoon on the rescript were seized in the Berlin *cafés*. The amount of freedom enjoyed by the Press under the present Press laws may be gathered from the following incidents: An editor in Breslau was fined 3000 marks for putting his paper in mourning for the death of Förster, Prince-bishop of Breslau, and speaking of him in an obituary notice as having died in banishment. Another editor was imprisoned for hinting that some of the numerous threatening letters received by Bismarck were composed at his own command, adducing the analogy of the threatening letters received by Napoleon III. Prof. Mommsen, the historian, is on trial (February, 1882) for insulting Bismarck in a campaign document, the insult consisting in accusing him of having "dispossessed the Prussian Crown." The sale of some of Heine's works, including the "Zeitgeschichte," has been forbidden in Berlin. These facts will suffice to show that freedom of speech and pen, as understood in England and America, do not exist in Germany at the present time.

A step of a different character toward the consolidation of the empire was the adoption of an imperial code. January 18th, 1875, a committee of twenty-eight had been appointed by the *Reichstag* to frame a code. Their work was laid before that body in November of 1876, and the completed code was adopted in the following month. In the matter of the location of the imperial supreme court, however, particularism gained a signal victory. Influenced by jealousy of Prussia, the governments of the various states by their delegates in the *Bundesrath* elected Leipzig by a majority of thirty to twenty-eight. The same distrust and jealousy of Prussian ascendency displayed itself in the *Reichstag*. Saxons, Würtembergers, and Bavarians voted almost without exception against Berlin in favor of Leipzig. The various anti-imperial factions—Poles, Alsace-Lorrainers, Social Democrats, and Centre—as well as the Party of Progress, also voted against Berlin, giving a majority of 213 to 142 in favor of Leipzig. This vote, showing clearly that jealousy of Prussia was not confined to the governments of the individual states, but also shared by the people at large, was just in so far an unfavorable omen for the speedy consolidation of the empire, as such consolidation signified an increase of Prussian ascendency.

Another measure with consolidation in view was the compulsion exerted on Hamburg to force it to enter the Customs' Union. By the provisions of the imperial constitution of 1871 Bremen and Hamburg, "with a district suitable to the purpose, either of their own or of the surrounding territory, are to remain free ports outside of the common customs limit until they themselves apply to be included in the same." As they showed no inclination to make such application of their own accord, Bismarck determined to take the initiative, and in May of 1879 addressed to the senates of both cities an official letter requiring them to surrender their special free-port privileges and enter the German Customs' Union. Both cities refused to take the step required.

At the time of the annexation of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, in 1867, as an act of friendship toward Hamburg, Altona was left outside of the customs limits. Bismarck now made use of Altona as a means of coercing Hamburg. On the 22d of April, 1880, Prussia moved in the *Bundesrath* the inclusion within the customs limits of Altona and the Hamburg suburb of St. Pauli, defending the inclusion of the latter on the

ground that it was impossible to establish a satisfactory customs frontier between Altona and St. Pauli, while the situation of the latter rendered such a frontier between it and Hamburg feasible. Hamburg brought in a counter-motion to the effect that the proposed incorporation in the customs territory of the suburb of St. Pauli without the consent of Hamburg was contrary to the terms of the constitution. St. Pauli contained 53,000 inhabitants, was an integral part of Hamburg, and with Altona comprised commercially the most important part of the whole city. The measure would no doubt have met with violent opposition if it had been laid before the *Reichstag*, and consequently, in spite of Progressists and Liberals, the chancellor claimed that it pertained solely to the jurisdiction of the *Bundesrath*. On the 22d of May the latter body voted to accept the measure proposed by Prussia, only in so far modified that a part and not the whole of St. Pauli was included. The chancellor followed up this coercive measure by another, once more ignoring the claims of the Progressists and Liberals in the *Reichstag* to co-ordinate jurisdiction, namely, the removal of the customs line from a point above to a point below Hamburg. This was calculated to hamper the commerce of the latter city by subjecting it to annoying customs regulations. To a deputation from Hamburg he announced his intention of building a direct railroad from Altona to Berlin and Magdeburg, and of using all his power to build up Altona at the expense of Hamburg. These various measures had the desired effect, and in 1881 the Hamburg senate sued for admission to the Customs' Union, the empire agreeing to pay 40,000,000 marks toward defraying the expenses involved. This left Bremen the only free port in the empire, and afforded the chancellor a precedent to be used in forcing that city also to surrender its special privileges.

This brief survey of the internal history of Germany in the years 1876–'81 would be incomplete without some mention of the *Juden-hetze*, or Jew-baiting, which began in 1879. The headquarters of the agitation was Berlin, as the point where the Jews were most numerous and most wealthy; but Pomerania was the only place where it resulted in open rioting. It was a well-organized movement, deriving its main support from the Conservatives, with their native abhorrence of Jews and commerce, but owing its active inspiration to that aggressive Teutonism

which had been developed in Germany, and more especially in Prussia, since the war of 1870. The leaders of the movement circulated an anti-Semitic petition (1880) advocating restriction of Jewish immigration from Russia, and curtailment of the political rights of the Jews. A violent war was waged in pamphlets and in the Press. A society was formed whose members pledged themselves not to buy of Jews, or patronize *cafés* or restaurants frequented by them. In Berlin, in the winter of 1880–'81, feeling on both sides ran so high that a number of personal encounters occurred, and the Jews were continually exposed to personal insults. Ardent anti-Semites violently ejected the obnoxious Semites from the principal *cafés* and restaurants, the police observing the while a strict neutrality. The Berlin university was likewise the scene of disgraceful disturbances, even the professors taking active part for or against the Jews. The army officers did their part by placing the Jews under a social ban, and effectually barring against them the military career. The Conservative Lutheran clergy of Prussia also joined in the universal hue-and-cry. The crown prince, to his credit, manifested a strong repugnance to this illiberal agitation, but for a long time it was generally supposed that it was not displeasing to the emperor and the court in general. The elections to the *Reichstag* in October of 1881 resulted in the defeat of the agitators in Berlin, and showed the agitation itself to be on the decline. But it had already spread across the border, and led to frightful excesses in Russia, to which allusion has already been made. In Kief, Odessa, Warsaw, and a number of lesser towns and villages, the Jews were plundered and abused, or even outraged and murdered, the authorities remaining inactive, and the judges at the trials not hesitating to express their sympathy with the rioters. It was the same agitation, differentiated by the character and civilization of the two nations.

The important military law of 1880, and the consequent increase of the German army, has been reserved for later notice on account of its bearing on the foreign relations of the empire. The army law adopted in 1874, based on the census of 1867, regulating the annual conscription and the annual budget, was to expire on the 31st of December, 1881. The new law, based on the census of 1875, and covering the period from April 1st, 1881, to March 31st, 1888, proposed both an absolute and a relative increase of the military strength of the empire, giving as the motive

for this increase the magnitude of the French and Russian armies. While the German army on a peace footing numbered 402,000 men, the French army numbered 497,000, and that of Russia 800,000. And while the total period of military service in Germany was twelve years (active, three; reserve, four; *landwehr*, or second reserve, five), in France it was twenty, and in Russia fifteen; thus making the discrepancy on a war footing still greater. The new bill proposed to include in the conscription for active service several classes which had hitherto been enrolled in the reserve, and to increase the peace footing of the army to one per cent. of the total population. This involved an increase in the peace footing of about 26,000 (from 401,659 to 427,250), and in the war footing of more than 100,000, and a permanent addition to the budget of more than 17,000,000 marks. The bill was defended by von Moltke, who laid great stress on the military preparations of France and Russia, and the necessity of counter-preparations on the part of Germany. The opposition was based on the economical ground that the already overburdened people could not stand the fresh burden thus laid upon them, and on the parliamentary ground that it was not advisable to place the army beyond the control of parliament, by voting the military budget for seven years instead of one; but, through a union of Conservatives and National Liberals, the bill was carried by a vote of 186 to 128.

The attitude of Bismarck in the Berlin Congress of 1878 had resulted in a breach of the alliance of the three emperors. He had favored the interests of Austria at the expense of Russia. Gortchakoff made no secret of his anger against Germany, and openly announced his preference for France. Count Shouvaloff, Russian ambassador at the court of St. James, was recalled on account of his German proclivities, and replaced by Prince Lobanoff, a German hater. A Russian agent endeavored to negotiate a formal alliance with France, and Russian grand-dukes appeared at the French capital. Russian troops were massed on the German border, the Russian official Press indulged in the most violent diatribes against Germany and all things German, and Alexander himself wrote to the German emperor, "Your Majesty's chancellor has forgotten the promises of 1870."

Emperor William was personally anxious to maintain good relations with Russia at any price, and accordingly, without the

assistance of his chancellor, through the agency of General Manteuffel, he arranged a personal interview with his nephew, the Russian emperor, at the border town of Alexandrovo, September 3d, 1879. But this interview, although an evidence of the personal friendship of the two sovereigns, had no apparent effect on the policy of the two empires. Bismarck, on the other hand, sought to form a closer alliance with Austro-Hungary. On the 28th of August he met Andrassy in Gastein, and on the 22d of September followed up this interview by a visit to Vienna. The result was a defensive alliance, providing that any attack upon the one state should be regarded as an attack on both, and that Oriental affairs should be settled in accordance with the decisions of the Berlin treaty. As this was manifestly aimed at Russia, it was with the greatest reluctance that the emperor gave his consent. It was only Bismarck's determination to resign, if his policy of an Austrian alliance were not adopted, which induced him to yield. The situation was so serious that the foreign committee of the *Bundesrath* was summoned to meet in Berlin in October, to consider the measures taken by the government. In Russia the immediate effect of the new alliance was the adoption by the Press, at the command of the minister of the interior, of a somewhat less warlike and offensive tone toward both Germany and Austria; the visits of the Czarevitch in Berlin and Vienna, on his way home from Cannes, at the emperor's express command, and much against his own wishes, and even a visit from Gortchakoff himself.

In alliance with Austria, Bismarck felt himself strong enough to meet the combined forces of France and Russia. At the same time diplomacy was preferred to war. Austria was to thwart Russian pan-Slavism, and supplant Russian influence in the Balkan peninsula, and both France and Russia were to be involved in complications which would dispel all lust for aggressive measures. The success of this policy in the case of France has already been reviewed, as well as the internal disturbances which came to the assistance of the German chancellor in paralyzing Russia.

It remains to notice the attitude of Germany toward the Sultan. The latter showed a readiness to make concessions to the mighty chancellor, which finds its explanation in his hope of gaining in Germany an ally against Russia. This enabled Germany to dictate to the Porte where the threats of other nations proved unavailing (in reference to Greece and Montenegro). The

invasion of Tunis by the French redoubled the Sultan's friendship. At the request of Germany he withdrew his protest against Austria's introduction of the military conscription in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and as a sign of special favor he bestowed upon Emperor William an Ottoman order. The latter, in his turn, bestowed upon the Sultan the Order of the Black Eagle. The chancellor's policy, manifestly, was to encourage the Sultan without compromising Germany by direct promises or tangible treaty engagements; thus greatly increasing the French embarrassments in Northern Africa, and holding out a constant threat to Russia without incurring any actual responsibility.

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§ 39.

SOUTH AMERICA.

In Mexico the liberal church laws of 1874 had afforded a fanatical priesthood renewed occasion to incite the hot-blooded natives to excesses against Protestantism and the national religious reform movement of the Church of Jesus. Disturbances occurred in various places, especially in Acapulco, where the reformers were attacked while at worship, six of them killed outright, and nine wounded. Early in 1876 a revolt broke out against the government of President Lerdo de Tejada. The leader of this movement was General Porfirio Diaz, whose head-quarters were at Matamoras. At the outset the government troops were successful; and on the 24th of July Lerdo was re-elected president by a large majority. Iglesias, chief-justice of the supreme court, and, by virtue of that office, vice-president of the republic, contested the validity of his election, and raised the standard of revolt in Leon, in the state of Guanajuato, his soldiers attacking the American mission-houses at that place with the cry, "Death to the Protestants!" In the mean time the fortunes of General Diaz had changed. November 15th he won a decisive victory over the government troops, and on the 1st of December entered the capital. The other two presidents fled to Mazatlan and embarked for foreign parts. Diaz assumed the presidency, and was confirmed in that office by Congress on the 4th of May, 1877, he of his own

will declaring that he would not accept a re-election. In Diaz religious liberty found a protector, and the reform movement spread rapidly, so that in 1878 it numbered 12,000 members. This excited the bitterest feeling among the Roman Catholic priesthood; and in Atzala, in the fanatical state of Puebla, orthodox zeal found vent in a massacre of the heretics. Diaz laid down his office in 1882, and was succeeded by General Gonzales, his minister of war, in whose cabinet he in his turn became minister of public works.

In the republic of San Salvador a conflict between the government and the bishop led to an insurrection in the capital in June of 1875. The government had forbidden the publication of an inflammatory letter of the bishop's, whereupon the clergy incited the people to revolt. After a few prominent citizens had been murdered and several houses burned, the troops succeeded in restoring order, and by the command of President Gonzales fifty of the insurgents were shot. Some of the prisoners, in the examination before the authorities, implicated the clergy, who, it seems, had told them that they might plunder with impunity the houses of the rich, provided only they gave a part of their booty to the Church.

In Venezuela the claims of the Roman Curia led to a conflict with Guzman Blanco's government, in which the latter won a signal victory. Archbishop Guevara had been deposed for disobedience to the laws of the state, and Bishop Arroyo of Guayana appointed in his stead. The Pope refused to acknowledge Guevara's deposition, or confirm Arroyo, and the latter accordingly declined the honor conferred upon him. May 9th, 1876, Blanco laid before Congress a church bill making the Venezuelan Church independent of the Roman bishop—the pastors to be elected by the congregations, the bishops by the pastors, and the archbishop by Congress. Congress passed the bill in a still sharper form, and elected Dr. José Ponte archbishop. Afraid of the complete loss of Venezuela, the Pope now yielded. Roca Cocchia, the papal nuncio, appeared in Caraccas, Guevara's deposition was approved, and Ponte's appointment confirmed. The new archbishop took the objectionable oath of absolute obedience to the laws of the land, and flatteringly compared Blanco to Pericles, Augustus, and Charlemagne; and Congress, at the recommendation of the president, repealed the May Laws, which had only been intended

to force the Pope to yield. A difficulty with Holland, almost resulting in war, arose from the facilities afforded to Venezuelan refugees in the Dutch island of Curaçao to plan and carry out hostile expeditions against their native country.

In the republic of Ecuador the unlimited sway of the Jesuits was brought to a close by the murder of President Moreno, on the 12th of August, 1875. The Freemasons were accused of being the authors of this deed, and renewed curses were pronounced upon them. The result of the vote for a new president showed that the people were thoroughly tired of unlimited priest rule. Dr. Borrero, the Liberal candidate, was elected by 38,637 votes, against 6000 cast for both the other candidates together; the banished Liberals were recalled, and Jesuit rule was in some degree restricted.

In the empire of Brazil the strife with the Vatican terminated in 1875. The measures adopted by the bishops of Olinda and Para against the Freemasons and other secret societies, being contrary to the law of the land, had led to the imprisonment of the bishops. The administrator of the diocese of Olinda refused to remove the interdict laid by the bishop, and was also imprisoned. The administrator of the diocese of Para, as well as several of the minor clergy, met with a similar fate. At the special request of the Pope the imprisoned clergy were all pardoned on the 17th of September, 1875, whereupon the interdict was removed and the conflict at an end. Some slight insurrections in the northern provinces, due to the conflict with the Church, were speedily put down, and six Italian Jesuits, who had incited the people to revolt, were expelled from the country. In the year 1878 the Liberals came into power. In 1879 the question of extending the suffrage to non-Catholics (50,000 German Protestants) led to a change of ministry, the Liberals, however, still remaining in power. The law adopted in 1880, by which all naturalized citizens and non-Catholics were ineligible for election to office, was sufficiently illiberal to lead Don Pedro to direct the Brazilian ambassador and consuls in Germany to publish the fact that this restriction was contrary to his personal wishes.

To the world at large the principal interest of South American history during the years 1875–'81 lies in the war between Chili and Peru. The origin of the struggle was a border strife between Chili and Bolivia. The latter state claimed the whole of the

province of Atacamba, between Chili and Peru, while the former claimed the southern part of the province, which contained rich deposits of nitrate and guano. A treaty was concluded between the disputants in 1866 by which the territory in question was to be common property in so far as taxation and the division of revenue were concerned, Bolivia also pledging herself to interfere in no way with the Chilian subjects who were in possession of the saltpetre mines. In the hands of enterprising Chilians those mines and guano deposits of Atacamba proved dangerous competitors for Peruvian nitrate and guano, and served to increase the rivalry and bitter feeling which had already sprung up between the two countries. In 1873 a secret treaty of offence and defence was concluded between Peru and Bolivia. Supported by Peru, Bolivia felt strong enough to disregard the treaty of 1866 and make good her claim to the whole province of Atacamba. Finally, an arbitrary contribution was demanded from a Chilian mercantile company in Antofagasta. The company refused to pay the sum required, whereupon the Bolivian authorities arrested some of its employés. Chili at once sent an armed force to Antofagasta, with instructions to take possession of the whole saltpetre region, and on the 6th of April, 1879, war was declared. At this very time Chili was involved in a controversy with the Argentine Republic regarding the respective boundaries of the two countries in Patagonia. Taking advantage of that fact, the allies endeavored to persuade La Plata also to declare war upon Chili. This attempt was so far successful that the Argentine Congress rejected the Patagonian treaty just concluded by Chilian and Argentine plenipotentiaries, and voted an extraordinary credit for military preparations; but the speedy success of the Chilians against the Peruvians and Bolivians led to a reconsideration of the subject, and the ultimate observance of a strict neutrality.

The population of the two allied states was more than double that of Chili; but the latter country had the advantage of superior intelligence and enterprise, as well as greater density of population and relative wealth. The first step of the Chilian government was to use its supposed naval superiority to blockade Iquique and the southern coast of Peru, from which saltpetre and guano were exported. But the Peruvian iron-clad *Huascar* proved superior to the Chilian fleet, inflicting upon the latter considerable

loss, and forcing it to raise the blockade. This led to a popular demonstration in Santiago de Chili, and the Chilian admiral and minister of war were both obliged to resign. Finally, on the 8th of October, the *Huascar* was captured, and the brief triumph of the allies came to an end. On the 2d of November, after a five hours' bombardment by land and sea, the Chilians took the seaport town of Pisagua. On the 19th the allied Peruvian and Bolivian army was defeated at Dolores. On the 23d Iquique was occupied. On the 27th an indecisive battle was fought between the Chilians and Peruvians near the town of Tarapaca, but the Peruvians ultimately retreated, and the whole province, with its rich deposits of nitrate and guano, was occupied by Chilian troops.

These disasters caused a revolution in both the allied republics. In Bolivia, Daza—himself an usurper, was overthrown, and Campero made provisional president—or, rather, a period of anarchy set in. In Peru, Pierola, who had been already for several years at the head of an insurrection, succeeded in making himself dictator; while General Prado, the regularly elected president, fled from the country. But these changes of government brought about no change in the fortunes of the war. May 27th, 1880, the allied Peruvians and Bolivians were once more defeated at Tacna, whereupon the latter abandoned the war and went home, burning and plundering Peruvian villages on the way. On the 7th of June Arica was captured. The United States had already tendered its good offices for the restoration of peace, and now (October 22d) plenipotentiaries of the three belligerent states met on the neutral ground of a United States man-of-war to consult regarding terms. Chili demanded the cession by Bolivia and Peru of the territory already occupied by her (Atacamba and Tarapaca), including the saltpetre mines, and the payment of a war indemnity of $20,000,000, Moquehua, Tacna, and Arica to remain in the hands of the Chilians until the indemnity was paid. These terms the allies rejected, declaring themselves ready, however, to submit the terms of peace absolutely to the decision of the United States. This the victorious Chilians on their part naturally refused to do, and the war continued.

Peru was no longer able to offer any serious resistance. The Chilians took the capital, Lima, and overran the whole country, but found it impossible to conclude peace. The country was

completely bankrupt; no responsible government existed—merely an anarchy of rival dictators and presidents—but a guerilla warfare still continued. Before peace could be concluded it became necessary to restore order and create a government capable of concluding a peace. This task, difficult in any case, was rendered doubly difficult by the hope entertained in Peru of the interference in her behalf of some foreign country, particularly the United States, and at the beginning of 1882 the desired end seemed still as far removed as ever.

In Colombia, Uruguay, and the Argentine Republic occurred a number of revolutions, insurrections, and minor disturbances, including among others a popular attack upon the Jesuits in Buenos Ayres—the latter defending themselves against the mob with daggers. Nicaragua insulted a German consul, and refused to make satisfaction for the offence until it was exacted, after long negotiations, by German men-of-war.

This brief sketch will serve to demonstrate that there exists in most parts of South America a turbulent, unsettled population, among whom an intolerant, fanatical priesthood attempts—often with total unscrupulousness as to the means employed—to maintain and extend unhindered the sway of the Roman Catholic Church, thus repairing in America the losses sustained by that Church in Europe.

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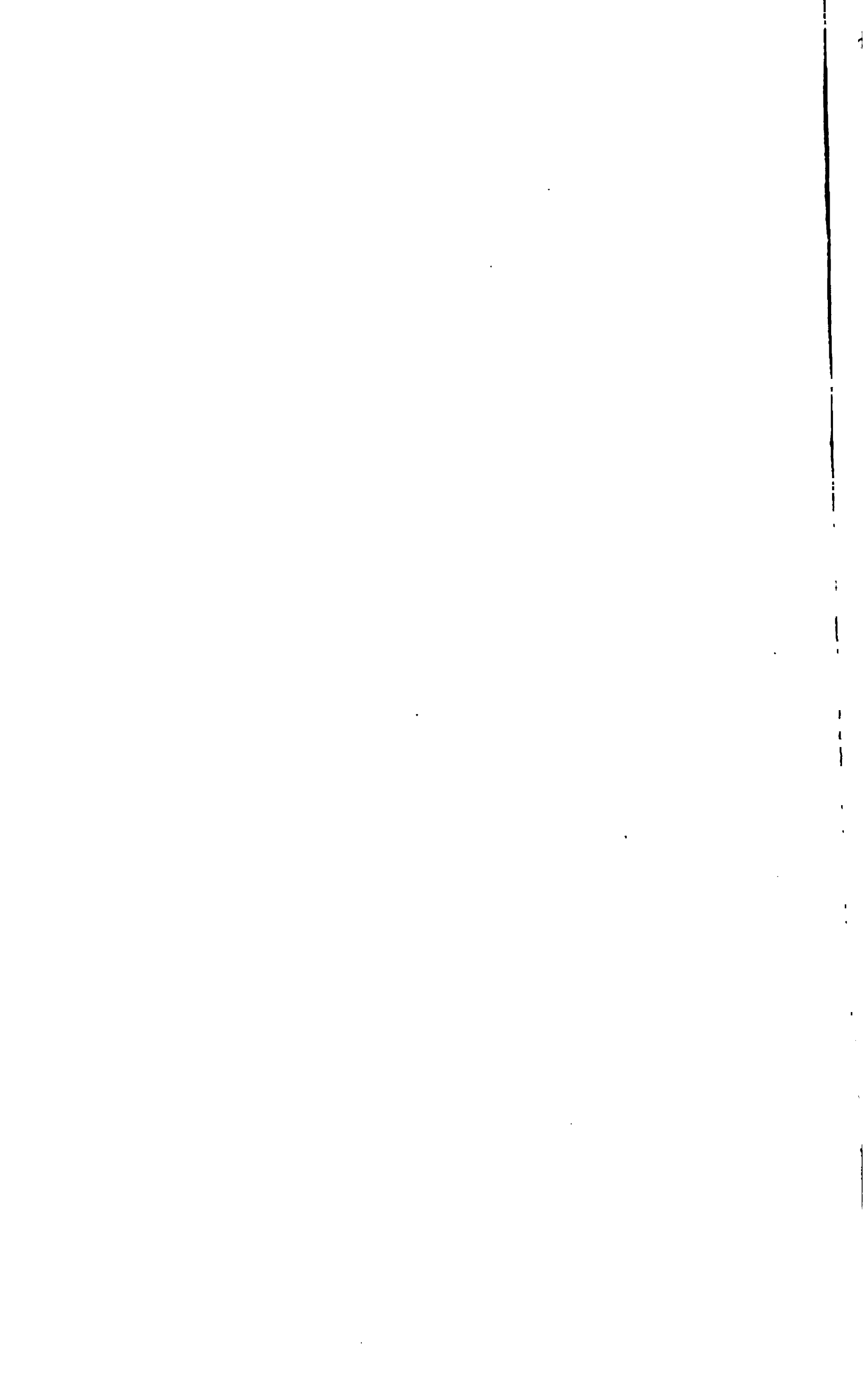

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